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Introduction

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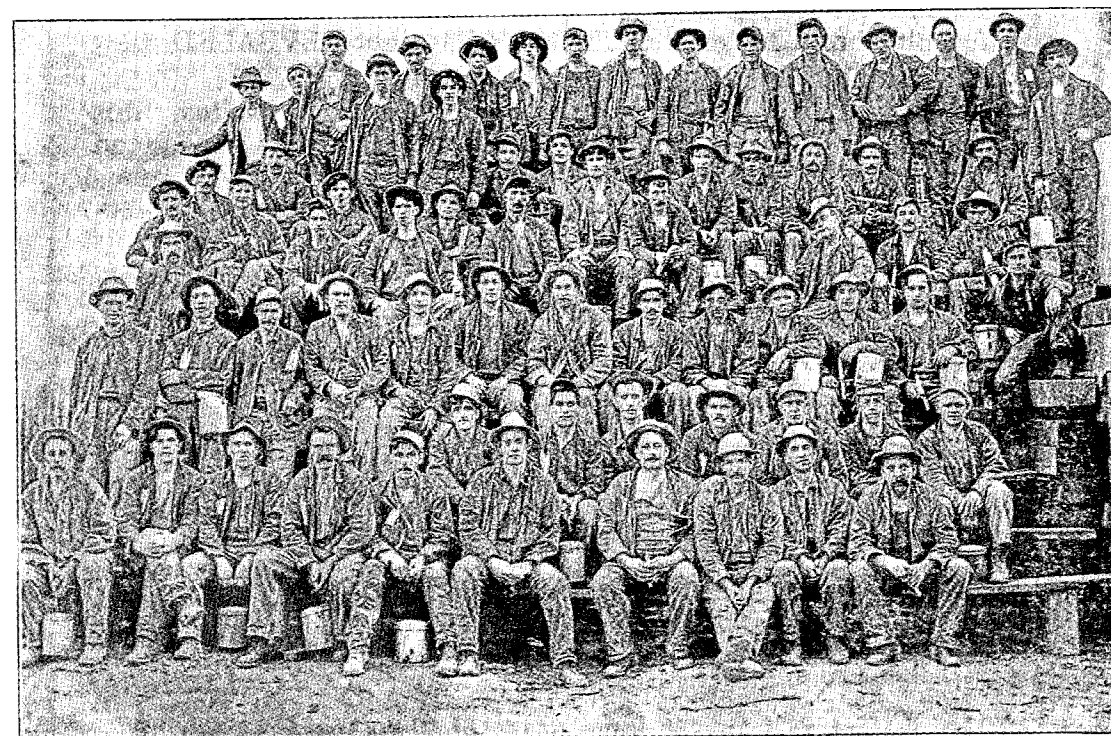
JULY, 1911

PRICE TEN CENTS

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

1968
AUG 8
GZL

*The Fighting Magazine
of the Working Class*



**The Night Shift at the Speculator Mine—A Part of the Six Thousand
Who Marched on Miners' Union Day, Butte, Mont.**

SQUEEZING THE POSTAL EMPLOYEES

By ONE OF THEM

THE COMING OF THE CAPITALIST FARMER

By FRANK BOHN

The Bible reviewed in the
light of Modern Science

GOD AND MY NEIGHBOR

By

ROBERT BLATCHFORD

IS THE BIBLE TRUE?

This is the chief subject of debate to-day between Christians and Scientists the world over

Robert Blatchford says: "Is the Bible a holy and inspired book and the Word of God to man, or is it an incongruous and contradictory collection of tribal tradition and ancient fables, written by men of genius and imagination?"

Mr. Blatchford believes RELIGIONS are not REVEALED, they are EVOLVED.

"We cannot accept as the God of Creation," he writes, "this savage idol (Jehovah) of an obscure tribe, and we have renounced him and are ashamed of him, not because of any later divine revelation, but because mankind have become too enlightened to tolerate Jehovah."

"The ethical code of the Old Testament is no longer suitable as the rule of life. The moral and intellectual advance of the human race has left it behind."

CHRISTIANS declare the highest conception of God is the Christian conception of him as a Heavenly Father. "God is love," they say. To which Blatchford replies: "This is a very lofty, poetical and gratifying conception, but it is open to one fatal objection—it is not true!"

Mr. Blatchford does not believe that a divine being would need or ask for PRAYER and PRAISE.

"If you were a human father, would you rather your children praised you and neglected each other, or that brother should stand by brother, and sister cherish sister?"

GOD AND MY NEIGHBOR is not an attack upon religion. It is a study of the Bible from the scientific point of view. It is one of the most thought-provoking books of the age. It is being discussed from hundreds of platforms and in thousands of homes.

Extra Cloth, 248 large pages, \$1.00 postpaid

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY
Publishers

118 West Kinzie Street, Chicago

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

The Growth of the REVIEW. With this issue THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW begins its twelfth year. Its period of rapid growth starts with 1908, when its editorial management was changed. At the beginning of that year its actual paid circulation was only about 3,000. By the end of the year it was 10,000, and since then its growth has been steady and solid. Our editions for the last year have been as follows:

July, 1910	26,000
August	23,000
September	26,000
October	27,000
November	28,000
December	30,000
January, 1911	33,000
February	40,000
March	35,000
April	36,000
May	46,750
June	40,000

Our actual average for the first six months of 1911 is 38,458, and no future issue will be less than 40,000; on the contrary, a rapid increase is certain.

Help Us Enlarge. THE REVIEW is now just self-supporting. Ten thousand new subscriptions at the full price of a dollar a year will make it possible for us to add thirty-two pages without advancing the price. The increased circulation will make it easy to get more advertising, and in the course of a few months this should enable us to give double the present number of pages at the same price. Two things should be noted.

1. It is the NEW subscriptions sent DIRECT to us that will help us enlarge THE REVIEW, and we must depend on our present readers to FIND the new subscribers.

2. By answering the advertisements published in THE REVIEW our readers will help us hold and increase the advertising absolutely essential to the enlargement we hope for.

A Socialist History of the United States. It is with very great pleasure that we announce what we believe to be the most important contribution to the literature of American Socialism. For over ten years Comrade Frank Bohn has been gathering data in

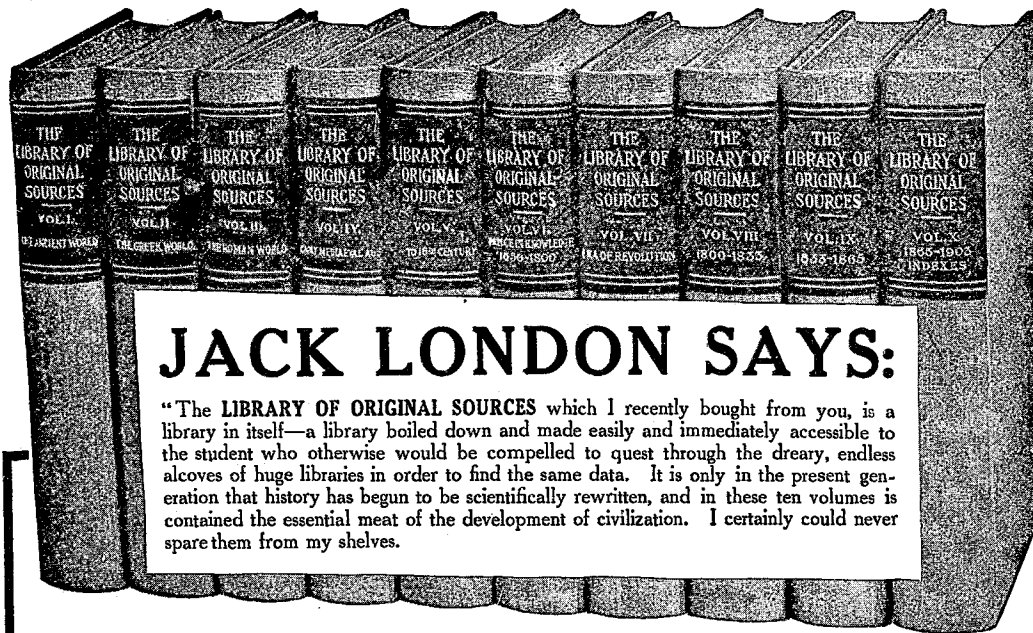
preparation for this undertaking. He worked two years as Fellow of the University of Michigan, specializing in this particular line, and has made a personal study and examination of many of the most important documents that have had a bearing upon the history of the United States.

Comrade Bohn has also had experience lecturing upon the Industrial History of the United States at Columbia University and is, we believe, better qualified to carry on this work than any other man in the United States. There have been many so-called histories, but heretofore no economic interpretation of the history of the United States.

Comrade Bohn's work, long in preparation, is nearing completion and we hope to make the publication of it one of our great accomplishments this fall. The author has had years of practical experience in the Socialist Movement of America as well as years of scientific training in methods of historical research and we have no hesitation in saying that his present work will be the most important contribution to the literature of American Socialism.

New Propaganda Books. Do not fail to read the announcement on the last page of cover, describing *Industrial Socialism*, by William D. Haywood and Frank Bohn; *The Strength of the Strong*, by Jack London, and *Shop Talks on Economics*, by Mary E. Marcy. These will all be books of the sort most urgently needed—easily understood, forcible, direct, books that help develop CLEAR-HEADED REVOLUTIONISTS. We expect to have all three ready to send out by July 15. The price after publication will be \$5.00 a hundred, but for \$12.00 sent BEFORE July 15 we will send by express prepaid upon publication 100 each of the three books.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives La Monte, Max S. Hayes, William E. Bohn, Leslie H. Marcy

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CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, Publishers (Co-operative)
118 West Kinzie Street, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

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are still for sale. We want to issue these to active Socialists at once. We promise no dividends, for our aim is not to make profits, but to circulate the greatest possible quantity of the best socialist literature at the lowest possible prices. Every dollar we have received for the last eleven years has been used to print and advertise socialist books and to build up THE REVIEW, and we expect in future as in the past to use our entire income in the work of socialist education and propaganda rather than to divide any money in dividends.

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If you already have part of these books,

we shall be glad to substitute others for them, and by the time you have read these, you will be in a position to select understandingly from our catalog the books you will want for further reading.

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A Suggestion to Stockholders. Possibly you have been thinking that as you do not want to make a profit on your work for Socialism, you would sell books to everyone at cost. Our experience leads us to think this a serious mistake. What we need is to circulate the greatest possible quantity of the best socialist books, and each stockholder can best cooperate to this end by supplying books at cost not to readers but to some hustler who will go out and sell the books at retail prices, or to some friendly bookseller who will keep them prominently displayed. And in making up an order for literature remember that nothing sells so readily as the current issue of THE REVIEW.

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

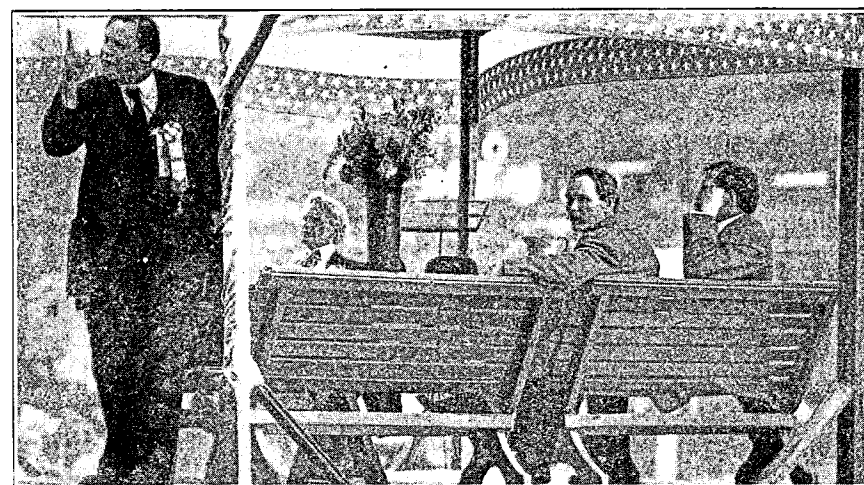
Vol. XII.

JULY, 1911

No. 1

MINERS' UNION DAY IN BUTTE

BY
CLARENCE A. SMITH



WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD ADDRESSING THE MINERS AT COLUMBIA GARDENS, MINERS' UNION DAY, BUTTE, JUNE 13. MAYOR DUNCAN ON THE LEFT, VICE-PRESIDENT CURRY AND PRESIDENT DAN SULLIVAN ON THE RIGHT.

IT would be difficult to imagine a more inspiring spectacle than that presented by the working class of Butte June 13th, the thirty-third anniversary of the organization of Butte Miners' Union. The monster parade in the morning and the tense interest and enthusiastic reception of the revolutionary addresses at the open air meeting at Columbia Gardens in the afternoon, indicated such a working class solidarity as would gladden the hearts of the least hopeful of those whose eyes are turned toward the coming revolution.

SIX THOUSAND MINERS IN LINE.

The parade formed on North Main street, in the neighborhood of miners'

union hall, the first division starting at 9:45 o'clock. More than an hour and a half was required for the parade to pass a given point. It is estimated ten thousand workers were in line, more than six thousand of whom were members of Butte Miners' Union No. 1, W. F. of M.

HAYWOOD AND DUNCAN LEAD PARADE.

"Big Bill" Haywood, former secretary-treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners, and the man who spent nearly two years in a dungeon at Boise, Idaho, a victim of the wrath of the mine owners' association, and who was later acquitted of the charge of murdering Ex-Governor Steunenberg, of Idaho, was the honor guest. Lewis J. Duncan, Socialist

mayor of Butte, occupied a carriage following the one in which Haywood rode.

Probably no other man in America has been the subject for so much capitalistic abuse and persecution as Haywood. For this reason, if for no other, it must have been gratifying to the big miner to lead the greatest labor demonstration Butte has ever known. Haywood was especially moved by the great outpouring of miners, more than six thousand of whom paid tribute to his fidelity to their interests.

CAPITALISTIC POLITICIANS NOT IN FRONT.

Although the announced line of march provided a place for the county officials following the speakers of the day, Sheriff O'Rourke and County Attorney Thos. Walker, took their places at the head of the parade when it was forming. Big Joe Shannon, a miner, and one of the marshals of the day, was cheered by the workers when he dragged the capitalistic politicians out of first place and ordered them back to the places assigned to them.

It is probable that the working people of this country will be given an opportunity of viewing Butte's greatest labor parade, as motion pictures were taken at a number of places along the line of march.

MEN WHO MADE BUTTE.

Two tally-hos carried a score or more of Butte's oldest miners. These grizzled veterans of the war of industry have for more than a quarter of a century contributed largely to the fortunes of so-called "copper kings," many of whom have never seen the mines of Butte. These disabled and aged workers would have been deprived of the privilege of participating in their union's demonstration had not the union itself provided means for their conveyance.

Officers of the Montana Federation of Labor, the Silver Bow (county) Trades and Labor Council, and of all local unions, of W. F. of M. and international affiliations alike, marched in the parade.

A check was kept against the members of the miners' union marching. At the end of the march, coupons were distributed to all miners, such coupons returnable to the secretary of the union, who thereupon credited the member with parading. Although six thousand of these coupons were printed, not enough

were on hand to accommodate all who called for them.

WOMEN THERE, TOO.

A pretty feature of the parade was the participation of the women's protective union, the members riding in carriages.

It is not possible within the space of this account to detail the splendid showing of each separate union. Mention must be made, however, of the teamsters. These men, mounted on handsome and well groomed horses, to the number of nearly two hundred, were a center of attraction along the line of march.

Two mules that were brought up from the depths of the mines for the day were given a prominent place in the procession.

THE SPEECHES.

Haywood and Mayor Duncan were the speakers at the gardens. The Socialist mayor was entirely at home before a working class audience, as he has been fighting the battles of the workers more or less successfully for many years in Butte.

When Haywood stepped to the front of the platform in response to an introduction by President Dan Sullivan, of the miners' union, he was accorded a rousing reception. The former secretary of the federation was in fine fettle, and the approval of the miners was manifested throughout by the tense interest with which they listened, and the frequent outbursts of applause.

BUTTE ALL RIGHT.

Labor's demonstration on Miners' Union Day, coming as it did so soon after the working class victory at the city election, indicates the growing class consciousness of the working people of the "greatest mining camp on earth." In the face of the vilest and most bitter opposition to the Socialist administration from capitalist interests, it is a fine thing to note that the workers possess the intelligence and class consciousness to line up solidly against their enemies. Whether or not the Socialists win the next election in this district is in reality second in importance to unifying the working class economically and politically. Every indication at this time points to the consummation of that hitherto apparently impossible task.

PICK AND SHOVEL POINTERS

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD



IT is better to be a traitor to a country than to be a traitor to your own class. A battlefield is the Foolkiller's paradise.

Workingmen fighting for capitalists are their victims.

A live soldier is a hobo. A dead soldier is a hero. More monuments!

An armory is a school where the young Idea is taught to shoot to kill.

A militiaman is a scab on the regular soldiers.

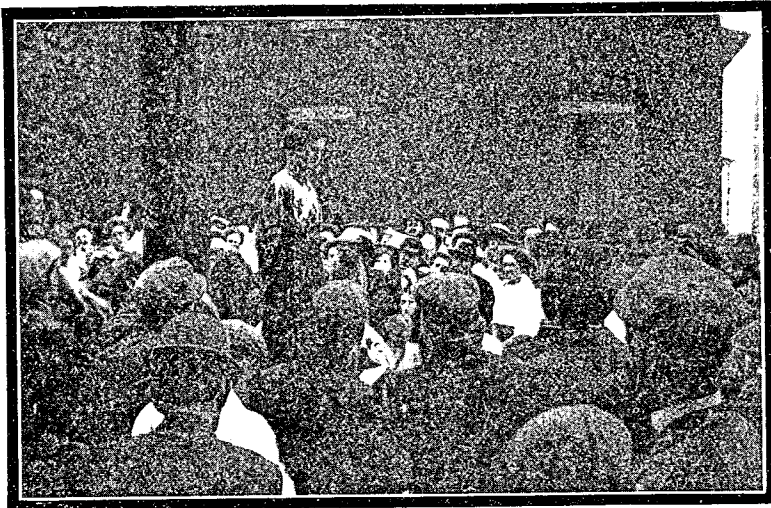
The regular army is an institution for making widows, orphans and pensions.

Capitalists have no country, no flag, no patriotism, no honor and no God but Gold! Their emblem is the dollar mark. Their ensign the black flag of commercial piracy. Their symbol the skull and crossbones of little children, and their password is Graft.

Society is in three layers. There are the dregs on the bottom, deputies, detectives, soldiers and strike-breakers; the working class—the great pay streak in the center; and the parasites—the scum on top.

The policeman is a pimple, the soldier a boil on the body politic, both the result of a diseased system. They can be readily eradicated by a strong dose of that medicine called Socialism.

The Socialist party is not a political party in the same sense as other existing parties. The success of Socialism would abolish practically every office existing under the present form of government. Councils, legislatures and congresses would not be composed principally of lawyers, as they are now, whose highest ambition seems to be to enact laws with loop-holes in them for the Rich. But the Congresses of the Workers would be composed of men and women representing the different branches of Industry and their work would be directed to improving the conditions of labor, to minimize the expenditure of labor-power and to increase production.



GIRL STRIKER SPEAKING

ONE BOSS LESS THE MINERSVILLE STRIKE

BY
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

THE particular employer engaged in this conflict is typical. Over twelve years ago he came to Minersville and opened a factory. Since that time a chain of factories have been installed throughout the anthracite regions and the farming belt that lies South of Pottsville, absorbing all the unused labor of women and girls, who previously engaged in domestic tasks at home, until, through marriage, they established homes of their own.

Dependent for a living upon brothers, fathers and husbands, the factory gate seemed the door of opportunity to them. Life had been a stepping from their father's threshold to their husband's, a sheltered, healthy, but often monotonous and uneventful existence. Many of the younger generation were educated in the public schools and felt the lure of the big cities; others were not satisfied with the domestic life, and so the factory spelled a varied experi-

ence, a wider life and independence. They welcomed it eagerly and were engulfed in its hungry maw.

When Coombs came to Minersville he was poor and unknown. He was financed by a man named Phillips, a Jewish oculist and rabbi, who likewise commenced his career poor. But running expenses of shirt and underwear factories are less in Pennsylvania towns than in New York or Philadelphia, and girls are cheaper. In the large cities girls are supposed to secure at least a living wage, as most of them are dependent solely upon their earnings. Often they do not, and lives of shame and horror are the result. But the majority attempt to secure it, and a pretence is made by the employers to pay it. Not so here. Wages are simply fit for *spending money* and do not nearly equal living expenses. The girls still live at home. They have lost the illusion of being self-supporting, and make no pretense of being. They are as dependent on

their families as ever they were, and the outrageous condition prevails of miners and farmers raising and caring for daughters to turn them over to the factory owners as instruments of production, practically free of charge.

They lend their children to Coombs and Phillips, and receive them back physical wrecks, hollow-eyed, flat-chested, nervous from overwork. Young girls are taken from schools at a tender age and crushed in the industrial prisons that disfigure the hills and valleys. The vitality of future generations is sapped through the grinding toil these future mothers must endure. From every point of view—financially, physically and morally—these factories have been a blight and a curse to every region they invade.

girl operators courageously refused to work for the eight cents, and deserted the factory. They formulated their demands for the ten-cent scale, and included a recognition of their personal rights, which had been ruthlessly trampled upon. More is involved in this strike than a question of wages.

I have been informed by one of the forewomen that Coombs was accustomed to use the vilest of profanity to drive the girls to greater efforts, and would grab their scarfs, even tearing them to shreds. In one case he shook a girl so severely that she went into hysterics.

For twelve weeks these operators have been out. Soon they realized that as long as the cutters, binders, pressers and teamsters remained at work, Coombs could the more easily replace them, and as a result of



WHERE THE WOULD-BE BOSS LIVES

At first, Coombs employed the girl operators at twelve cents per dozen pieces, but they made too much at this rate, and were reduced to ten cents, and finally to eight. Working day and night on piece work, one girl was able to earn twenty-four dollars in two weeks at the ten-cent rate, and Mr. Coombs quotes this astounding amount as an instance of the good wages the girls earned, but he conveniently forgot the little girls of fifteen and sixteen years, who earned as low as \$1.50 and \$2.00 per week, and all the others graded between this and \$9 earned by the forewoman. Ignorant of unionism and completely unorganized, the

a great open-air mass meeting, addressed by Con F. Foley, of Pottsville, and myself, in which the entire population enthusiastically participated, a general tie-up was effected. The factory is closed from cellar to roof.

Coombs became desperate. He threatened to move his factory to Brooklyn, where he claims a site has already been purchased, but the girls realize that he is bound to this region by economic ties which cannot easily be severed. He rents houses and owns a splendid residence in Minersville, and controls factories for Phillips in Tremont, Valley View, Mahoney City, Track-

ville and other places. Here he is a pillar of society, hobnobs with judges, and has his own automobile. Whereas, his importance would sink into insignificance in a great industrial center.

We are making efforts not only to tie up all of his other plants, but every factory and mill in this region, where wages are inadequate and women are shamelessly exploited. Our attempts in Tremont illustrate our difficulties and Mr. Coombs' methods. While we were addressing the girls from one factory Mr. Coombs rushed past in his machine and into his factory, where he detained the girls for about five minutes. His intimation that if they listened to the agitators they need not report for work further had effect, for when he dismissed them, they marched convict-like, arm in arm, past the meeting, and could not be induced to listen.

These girls had their wages raised to nine cents to head off a strike. Thus, they are profiting by the struggle of the girls in

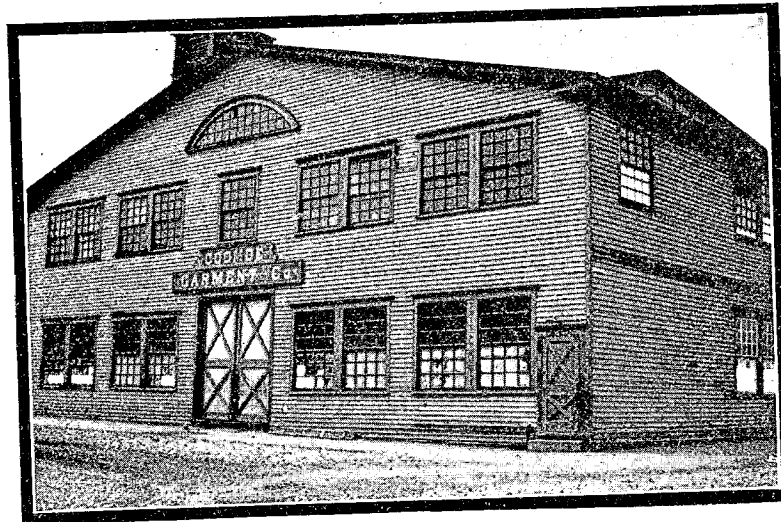


A GROUP OF STRIKERS AND COMRADES.

Minersville, while virtually scabbing on them. Far from being discouraged, however, we feel that Coombs has shown his fear, and we intend to arouse these girls to a realization of the situation.

This strike, the first of its kind in the anthracite region, has been invaluable, as it has served to set ablaze the smouldering rebellion of other women workers. It was followed by a strike in the silk mill of Shamokin, and a partial strike in the silk mill of Pottsville.

We are hopeful that it is the beginning of a real union movement among the women. Craft unionism has ignorantly segregated the workers until the women, neglected and unorganized, were left to the mercy of the capitalist wolves. Miners worry only for miners, brewery workers for themselves, and so on through the list. But the employers are alert and class conscious. The boss of the Fox factory in Tremont told the girls if they attempted to influence the Coombs girls, they would be discharged.



THE SWEAT SHOP IS CLOSED.

Committees of business men played their usual role of urging the girls to compromise for nine cents, but the girls, on the advice of the local comrades, refused the offer. As for the craft unionists, the girls could have been sold out and defeated, and no aid or advice extended to them, had not the Socialists taken up their cause. Coombs approached Foley "to fix up things," but was confronted by a committee of his own girls, with whom he refused to deal.

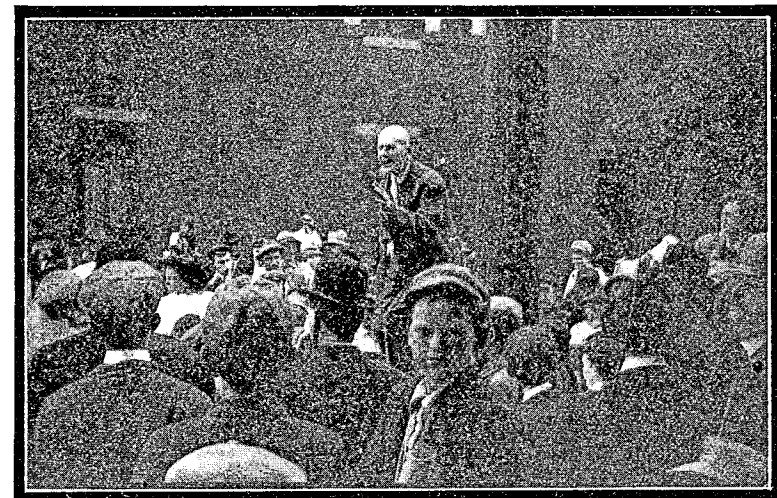
But the girls have not missed the "labor leaders," for they have been visited by both Big Bill Haywood and Eugene V. Debs. Debs stopped on his way through to Shamokin, sacrificing his personal comfort and rest between dates. He spoke on the street corner, from an old wagon, surrounded by dust-begrimed miners, striking girls and little children, and his ringing voice speaking words of cheer and revolutionary spirit, sounded throughout the little town. Two

cossacks paced back and forth; they were called in to drive the girls from the picket line, and arrogantly sought trouble at the meeting.

Comrade Debs, like a gallant old war-horse, entered the fray and poured forth his denunciation of Coombs and his kind in words of burning fire. Everybody heard his message of industrial unionism to the toilers.

We have talked industrial unionism to the girls throughout the progress of the strike, and have advanced the I. W. W. as the union in which they belong. The girls are embracing the ideas of Socialism, and the strike cannot be a failure. Successful, they will organize for better things. Defeated, the spirit that can never die will have been infused into their beings.

As did Debs and the other comrades before leaving, we must give three cheers for the striking girls of Minersville.



COMRADE DEBS SPEAKING

TO OUR EMPLOYEES:

After a period of twelve years uninterrupted operation at our factory in Minersville and during which time the best of good feeling between the employees and the management prevailed, we now find ourselves confronted with a condition which necessitates our closing down indefinitely.

Why?

Because one person gloating with vanity has managed to terrorize a portion of our employees. He has used force and to attempt to continue work would be to

endanger the lives of our employees and outside persons which we have no desire to do.

The management begs to notify the 200 or more faithful employees who were anxious and willing to work and who were prevented by intimidation and threats, to seek work elsewhere, as our factory will remain closed until Con Foley withdraws from the issue.

THE COOMBE GARMENT CO.,
Minersville, Pa.

ALL THE ROADS LEAD TO SOCIALISM

BY

JOHN A. RANDOLPH

SOcialism is a form of industrial society soon to be realized. When it prevails the workers themselves, through their industrial government, will own the land, raw materials, machinery and means of transportation. Through this industrial government they will make the laws for the operation of these industries. Thus the workers will have under their complete control the conditions of their labor. All of the product will go to the workers.

ALL THE ROADS OF CIVILIZATION LEAD TO SOCIALISM.

The invention of machines and the applications of science to industry are rapidly making Socialism necessary to the very life of the worker. The only solution to the problem of unemployment is less hours of work, more leisure and a greater income to each individual worker. The only solution of the problem of poverty is for the workers to take back the wealth produced by them and thus furnish themselves with food, clothing and shelter. The more machines which are put to work, and the larger and more complicated they become, the nearer we get to Socialism.

These conditions, of course, are forcing the working class to understand Socialism and fight for it. But the harder we study and the harder we fight the sooner we will get it. We can even imagine a working class so broken by poverty, so sunken in ignorance, so cowardly from weakness of body, mind and spirit, that it would never make the fight necessary to defeat the capitalists and their parasitic supporters. These latter are the only natural enemies of Socialism. They will fight against it to the bitter end.

BUT THE WORKERS ARE BECOMING AROUSED. THEY ARE LEARNING. THEY ARE FIGHTING. THEY ARE ORGANIZING INTO THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND INTO INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

This line of march is the great highway to Socialism. But many byways lead into this main road. The manual workers are not the only ones to fight the enemies of the working class and of progress.

The scholar, burning the midnight oil, gets deep into the study of the history and government of society. He examines causes. Taking nothing for granted he lets the facts alone speak and tell their story. He finds that all governments have been the governments of ruling classes. One form of government follows another as the interests and the powers of different groups of masters have permitted them to enslave their fellow men. He finds that the government and laws of today were born yesterday and will die tomorrow. What is coming in their place, he asks? The answer, he finds, is "Socialism." Through the byway of pure science, of an honest search for the truth, the scholar joins the march on the great highway to Socialism.

The charity worker goes among the very poor to clothe the naked, feed the hungry and repair the injuries of ignorance and disease. She labors long and well and brings some degree of comfort to many. But when she aids one, ten more stand with outstretched arms. She reforms the thief and murderer only to find that when he wishes to earn an honest living he cannot find employment. She cures the sick child and sees it sent to the factory, where it displaces its parents. All honest charity workers who have the intelligence to understand the life about them, become Socialists after a few months or at most a few years of experience. Along the byway of charity and kindly deeds they come to march as soldiers against the enemies of civilization.

The member of the old fashioned labor union goes on strike with his union for better conditions of labor and higher wages. He and his fellows are fighting a great

trust. A few hundred have gone on strike; many thousands continue to work for the trust. The strike is lost. "Let us have one union," says the union man. The cry is taken up by others. Soon some bold member of the union calls out, "ONE UNION AND LET THE UNION OWN THE MACHINES." Now if we have one union and the union owns and governs the machines we shall have Socialism. So the old fashioned union men, long misled and many times defeated, break their way at last to higher, clearer ground and join the hosts of Socialism.

The physician goes his daily rounds and finds every class of humanity afflicted by disease. The children of the poor die by thousands. The children of the rich are over-indulged. There are diseases which result from poverty and diseases which result from luxury. There are diseases caused by idleness and diseases caused by overwork. Hundreds of thousands a year suffer from accidents in industries, from unnecessary fires, unnecessary turmoil. He finds the whole race ill and hunts for the cause. The causes are profit seeking and profit taking, overwork and unemployment, starvation and gluttony. The physician is young, active minded and honest. He resolves that henceforth, while doing what he can for the afflicted individual, he will do more for afflicted society and thus for himself. So he takes his place in the ranks of the working class.

The wife in her home finds that it is far from being a heaven. She is entirely dependent upon another for support. The whole of life for herself and her children is made dependent upon another. Much of her labor, the making of cloth and of clothing, the preparation of food, these have been taken to the factory. If she follow this labor to the factory, in order to perform her portion of the useful service of the world, she will not be able to main-

tain the home. She finds herself, anxious and willing to be strong and independent minded through labor and service, forced to live upon what she discovers to be the charity of another. As a mother she fears for the future of her children. If doomed to labor in poverty for others they will suffer all the ills of slavery. If riches and mastership be their portion, their lives are only too likely to be blighted by idleness, profligacy and by poverty of the mind. The wife of the husband of every class, the mother of the children of every class—these, when they come to understand the world in which they live, gather from the dishonored and broken homes of the present to march with the workers toward Socialism.

The patriot, his country's fame besmirched and its government degraded, hastens along the way that leads to the newer and better government of the world. The philosopher, the poet, the artist—these have learned that the pursuit of knowledge and the arts is rendered impossible by a social system given over to knavery and intrigue, to dirt and vulgarity.

Lastly comes one stunted in mind and body, hobbling on a crutch, his face disfigured by fire and wounds, his lips muttering idly against life in general. His heart is sorrowful or perchance now quite unmoved through long suffering. Yet it is animated by one mighty hope which has taken possession of what remains of this long-deluded creature. It is the average worker. He, having little faith, remained long without the ranks. His byway has been rough and narrow but it led unswervingly to the main highway. His toiling comrades long ago understood and started in the right direction. This straggling wight waited until the hard conditions of life no longer permitted him to rest. He has been driven by whips to join the column.

ALL THE ROADS LEAD TO SOCIALISM.





THE BARBER MANSION

Fifty Rooms, Marble Floors and Mantels, Carved English Walnut Woodwork, Frescoed Ceilings, Silk Damask Walls. Cost, \$250,000.00.

THE BARBER FARM AT BARBERTON

BY
FRANK BOHN

THE first question put to the visitor at Barberton, Ohio, on his arrival at that busy factory town, is, "Have you seen the Barber farm?" If you haven't you are sure to set about seeing it presently. You walk out along a straight, smooth country road and get to a hill which gives prominence to the fine mansion of stone and pressed brick at its top.

THE HOUSE.

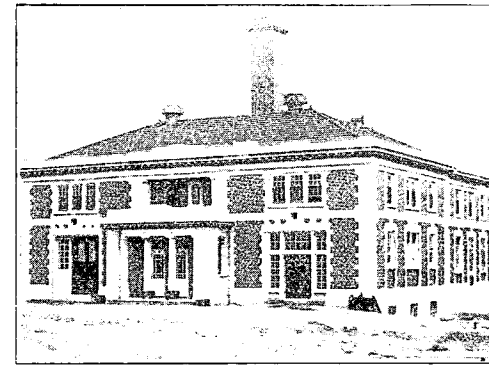
"This, then, is the residence of O. C. Barber, the great Match King?"

"O, no; this is the dwelling of the superintendent of the farm. The King's palace is on the next hill."

En route to the next hill, passing over an artistic bridge and macademized roads, one sees on every hand evidences of profound change. Quaint old farm houses sadly needing paint and a new chimney appear

mournful indeed when compared to the beautiful new brick cattle barns. An old well into which four generations of Ohio farmers plunged the "Old Oaken Bucket" is no longer called upon to perform its humble service. A gasoline engine pounding noisily by the roadside draws water from a well ten times as deep. Then we come upon "the house." From the highest spot upon which it is possible to place it, the mansion frowns upon 2,500 acres, 200 laborers, and upon the fast disappearing land marks of the many small farms which have been consolidated to please the fancy and fatten the purse of the "Match King."

"What will Socialism do with the farmer?" asked an old fashioned Ohio Republican who came with us. We turned our backs upon him and inspected the power plant in the rear of the house.



THE POWER PLANT

OHIO.

Glance at a map of the United States and you will notice that Ohio was one of the first of those western states which offered freedom to the eastern wage-worker and debt cursed farmer. Here the soil was deep and rich and the winters not so severe as in New York or New England. On they came by the thousands and then by the tens of thousands. The United States government charged \$1.25 an acre for public land, but much of the Virginia military lands were sold for sixty-five cents an acre. And, don't let it be known too widely nor among the very respectable, there were immoral people in those days who refused to pay anything at all for this good land. They simply "squatted" on a piece and held it. "Direct actionists" they might be called. Hamilton or Adams would have ousted them or jailed them for debt. But then came Jefferson and the squatters did not have to organize in order to "take and hold" possession. Political and social radicals of every description came. They sometimes left debts behind and even people with bullet holes in them.

THE FOUNDATION OF FREEDOM.

Free soil grew free men. The argument of Henry George was not without point in Ohio a hundred years ago. The tools of production—the crude plow, the scythe, the flail for thrashing—these were as easily obtained by the incoming wage-workers as were a log cabin and a good opinion of themselves. A century ago the only considerable place on the earth's surface where every man by the mere fact of being a man had a right to vote was the old Northwest Territory. It lay between the Ohio river and the Great Lakes. Here, before the

Civil War, were the "free American citizens" who still live in Fourth of July orations and in the imaginations of the deaf, dumb and blind.

Joshua R. Giddings and Tom Corwin passed up and down sweating with anger against chattel slavery and giving stormy vent to their feelings. Old John Brown came and lived here, finding men and money for his emancipation expeditions. Almost within sight of Barberton, James A. Garfield, the last farmer President, trudged up and down behind a team of mules on the Ohio canal, in the forties. Then came railroads and factories and, incidentally, the Civil War. The Ohio farmers shouldered their muskets almost en masse. Some of them came back and found that the South had not been the only field of smoke, of conflict and of change. The city of Cleveland grew from 42,000 inhabitants in 1860 to 95,000 in 1870.

THE GREAT CHANGE.

Let us again glance at the map. We see that between the Ohio river and the Great Lakes we have a marvelous grouping of industrial factors. These two water courses were in fact the old roads to the West. Along them passed the stream of homeseekers. Today if a line be drawn around Buffalo and Pittsburg on the east and St. Louis and Milwaukee on the west, you will have roughly a hundred and twenty-five thousand square miles enclosed. This area included the nation's greatest coal areas and is the seat of the iron and steel industry. It contains eight of our sixteen greatest cities. Sixty years ago it was nineteenth farm. Today it is four-fifths work shop. Some day the story of the industrial revolution in the Middle West will be told. And what a story it will be! The main thread will be the history of the American iron and steel industry in the nineteenth century. Here we can hardly touch upon it.

The mighty cities of this region are not cities at all, in the European sense. They are teeming hives of industry, black from smoke, sweating from labor, pouring out wealth beyond comprehension, but almost totally devoid of civilized interests. Here we have capitalism unrestrained and unashamed, roaring in our ears the fact that the flood tide of profit-making shall recognize no limits. Twenty minutes on a train

into Cleveland or Cincinnati or Pittsburg and the change is one of the most marvelous possible to human experience. For one passes from the best of the old time freedom to the worst of modern slavery.

No population which toiled with its hands in any other period of the world's history nor in any other place ever lived in such good houses, had such universally abundant and excellent food, nor enjoyed so much general peace and prosperity as the old-time Western farmer. Some modern land reformers talk about "three acres and liberty." The old Ohio or Illinois farmer had to have three acres for his family to sit down upon at the Sunday school picnic. He wanted at least 160 acres of black land well stocked and with tools for its cultivation.

Economic changes generally take place imperceptibly, hence they have been so little understood. Industrial evolution in the United States has come with a speed that leaves no one doubting that there has been a change. In all the world there is nothing quite so peaceful as an Ohio or Indiana farmhouse alone amid two hundred acres of fields and green woods. And the whole dominion of modern capitalism may be searched in vain for scenes so entirely the opposite of this as may be observed on every hand in the great metal working cities of the Middle West.

Yet these changes, however revolutionary as regards the life of the whole Nation, did not at first uproot the small farmer. The removal of the processes of metal working, furniture making and cloth making to the cities decreased the country population, but it gave to those who remained much greater leisure. Thus it decreased the hardships of farm life. With a rapid growth of population in all capitalist countries and the improvement of the means of transportation, the price of farm products rose. For the time being the small farmer seemed to strengthen his hold upon his economic status. These conditions, entirely temporary in their nature, misled some very keen students of American life. Professor Ely, of the University of Wisconsin, in his "Socialism and Social Reform," finds the existence of the small farmer a fact that makes the general acceptance of Socialism in America impossible. Elbert Hubbard feels grateful that we have with us in America

this strong body of individualists who will stem the tides of the social revolution. The error of both of these elderly country gentlemen is that they totally neglect to observe the final effects of the machine process and applied science upon agriculture. The first effect of the machine in any industry is to overthrow, quickly, terribly and without hope of salvation, the status of the workers. But with the position of the small capitalist the machine process always plays for a time like a cat with a mouse. The small capitalist adopts the machine and chuckles when he thinks of his rapidly increasing profits. Most of them soon know better. The industrial reorganization made necessary by the machine clears out all but the most fortunate and the richest. Finally the trust completes the dissolution.

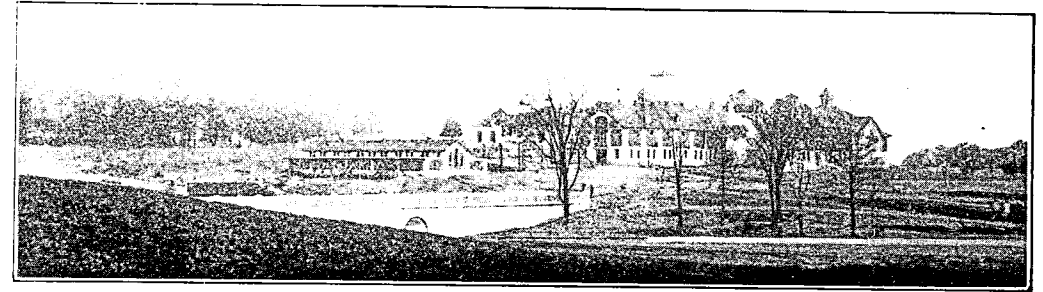
On the Middle Western farm, with its considerable area, its nearness to markets, its available local capital, and its fairly intelligent management, the small producer has remained long entrenched. And within team hauling distance of the large cities he will continue to remain for some time to come. Yet the machine process in agriculture grows rapidly more complicated and requires an ever greater amount of capital.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT.

The key note of capitalized farming is "scientific management." The manager supervises a corps of specialists. Quite likely he has been carefully trained in one of those great state agricultural schools of the Middle West, where agriculture is treated exactly as scientifically as mechanical engineering or mining. The manager is assisted by soil specialists, stock specialists, a civil engineer, a master mechanic, a veterinary and a force of clerks.

THE BARBER FARM.

The old fashioned barn was a shed-like structure in which a dozen cows and horses shivered through the winter. In the summer the cattle were ordinarily turned out to pasture. The cattle barns on the Barber farm are built as substantially and of as good material as a middle class New York apartment house on Central Park West. They have cement floors, brick walls and tiled roofs. The windows are screened to keep out flies. The stalls are kept in a marvelous state of cleanliness. In one barn, facing each other in



VIEW OF ONE OF THE CATTLE BARNs

two rows, stand 160 Guernsey cows. Up and down between the rows pass the feeders. The meal consists of four courses, each carefully measured. Each cow bears a label. Its milk is weighed and registered. The men who attend the cattle perform no other work on the farm. There is a division of labor everywhere as in a factory. Should one of the cattle become ill or even indisposed the farm veterinary prescribes for the case. There are probably very few working people in America so well cared for.

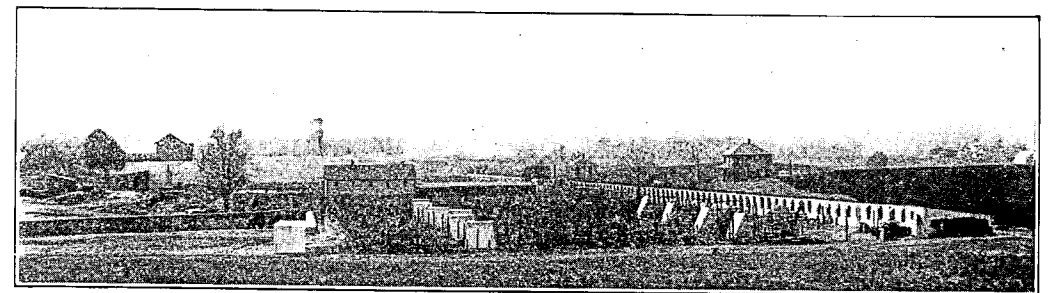
"Horses, oxen, have a home,
When their daily work is done,
Household dogs when wild winds roars
Find a place within warm doors.
"Asses, swine have litter spread
And with fitting food are fed.
All things have a home but one;
Thou, O working-man, hast none."

Apart from the main herd are placed the calves. They lie on clean straw and are fed according to the most scientific code. No foul milk, no cruelties, no careless handling, no hard labor for them. Perfection in breeding and care shines forth from their calm, clear eyes and is indicated by every motion of their bodies. When, after a happy and useful life, death comes, it will come without warning and instantaneously. After all, starvation and

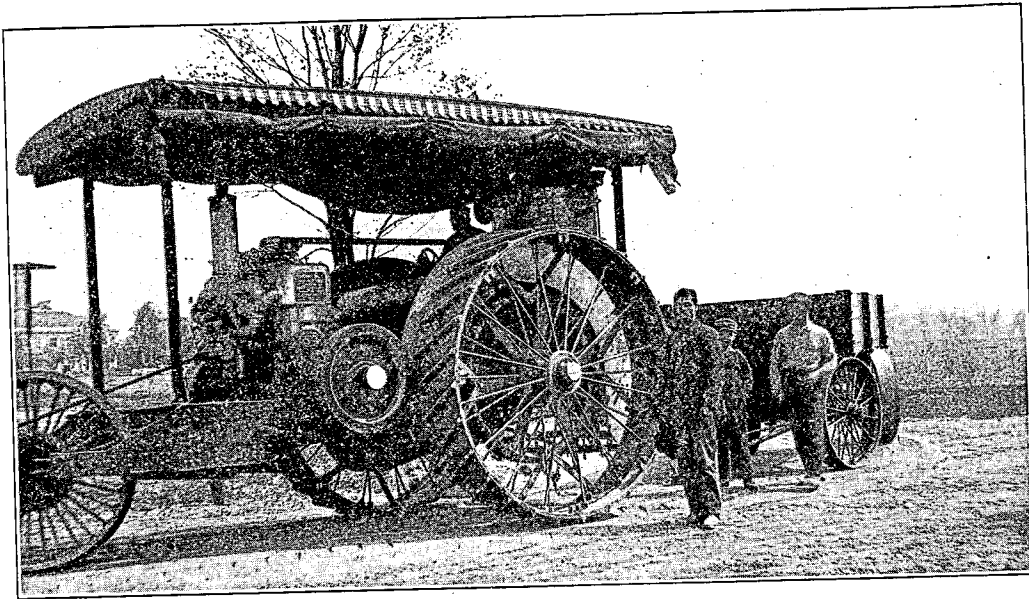
disease, slavery and sorrow are not everywhere. Some lives are happy, despite the carping of the most extreme Socialist.

One of the most disagreeable features of the old time farm was the pig sty. It was the proverbial seat of disorder and uncleanness. On the Barber farm this is entirely changed. Breeding pigs are kept in individual sties.

In no department of modern industry has science created a greater revolution than in poultry and egg production. One of the most curious transformations is the lock-out of the old fashioned "setting hen." During countless ages of revolution birds have hatched their young by sitting upon the eggs. Some reptiles, sea turtles for instance, lay their eggs in the sand and the sun warms and hatches them. But it may be surmised that ever since the whole family of birds developed from their reptile ancestors, they have brought their young into the world by warming their eggs close to their own bodies. This may now be called an "inherent trait." But human economic progress doesn't much care for "inherent traits." Every spring the hen claims a natural, primordial and indefeasible right to sit upon her eggs. But her case is thrown out of court. This much, however, must be said for the hens. They never tried to



POULTRY YARDS, 1,200 FEET LONG—10,000 FOWLS



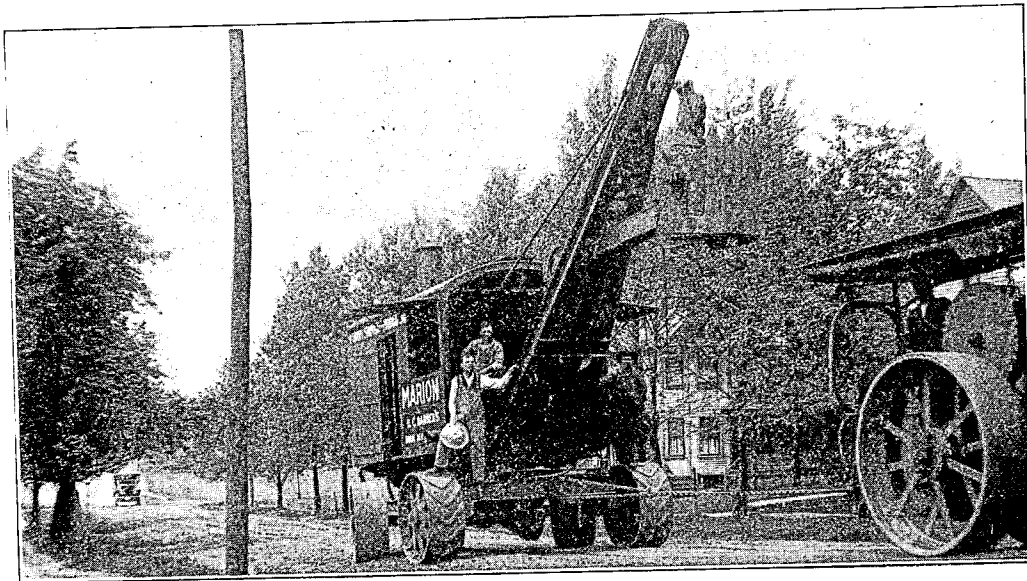
SIXTEEN PLOW, THIRTY-FIVE HORSEPOWER ENGINE

smash the incubator nor bust the cold storage trust.

Modern methods have greatly cheapened the production of eggs. These methods include artificial heating of the chicken houses, variety in the selection of foods, chicken "runs" for air and exercise and the development of breeds which lay eggs throughout the year. The industry demands expert knowledge and attention.

SOIL CULTIVATION.

On the Barber farm is a traction engine which draws eight plows. It thus dispenses with sixteen horses and seven men. It can plow a deeper furrow than is ordinarily done in the old way. It turns over 20 acres of soil per day. This is a machine which it is simply impossible to use to advantage on a farm of even two hundred or three hundred acres.



STEAM SHOVEL

The soil is carefully analyzed in order to discover its elements, with a view to proper fertilization and the growth of particular crops. The worst feature of the old system of agriculture was the ruin of the soil. American farmers have been the most careless conservationists in the world. This has resulted of course from the great abundance of new soil which could always be brought under cultivation.

Fifty years ago a farmer would wear out his land, leave it and proceed farther west. Land was cheap, labor was dear. The robbery of our agricultural soils has become a recognized national problem. Abundant information for the solution of this problem is now in the possession of the agricultural schools and experiment stations. But only large production will ever make effective use of this available knowledge.

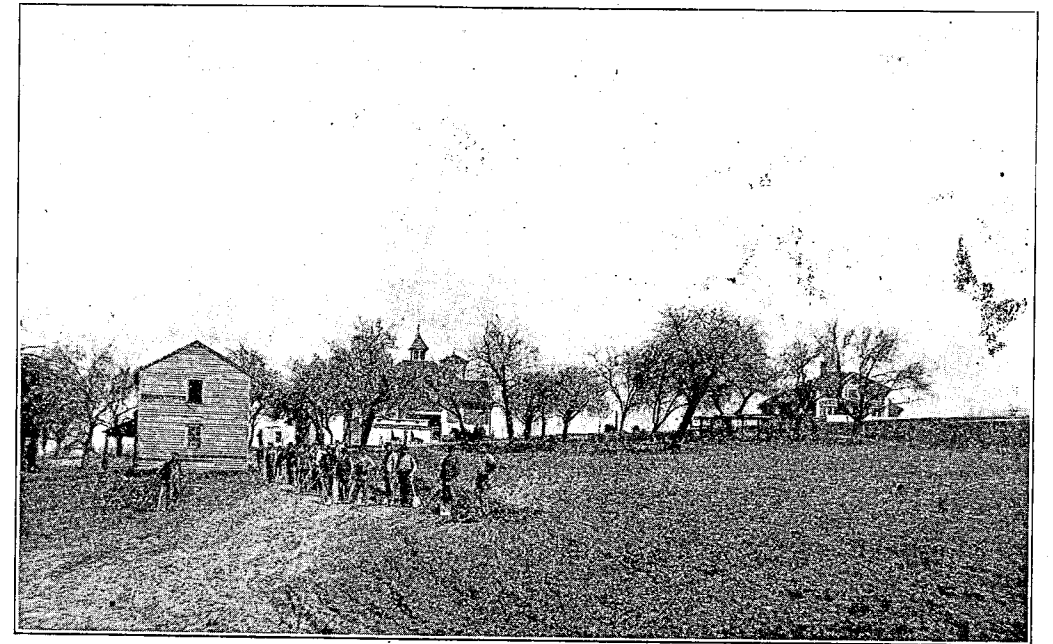


DITCH DIGGING MACHINE

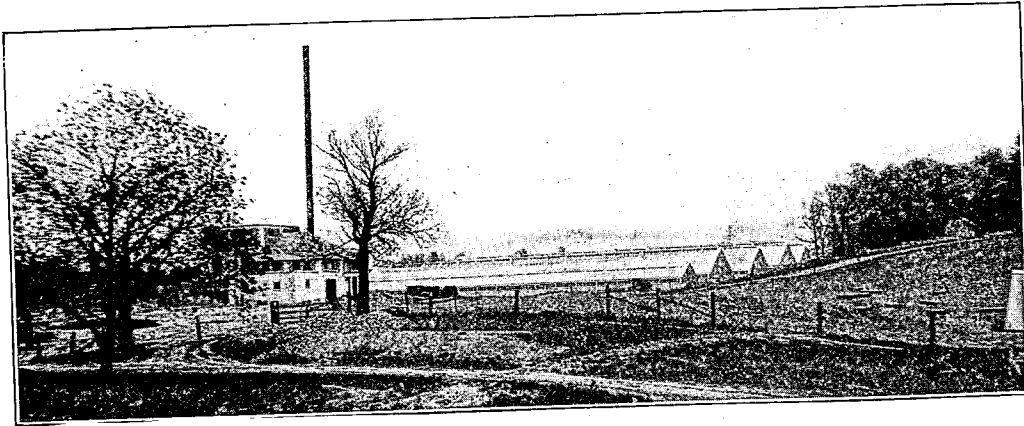
THE NEW SERFDOM.

On this new, modern capitalist farm, one looks in vain for a sight which distinguished the estate of the medieval feudal lord—the ville. It was the duty of the lord, under the old regime, to secure the status and guarantee the livelihood of his serfs. The serf had a right to live on a certain portion of land, the product of which was his and his only. He kept his cow on the common pasture and his

lord's woodland furnished his fuel. In case of drouth, storm, pestilence or invasion he could call upon his master for help. These were not the offerings of charity; they were the great fundamental rights of the workers under the feudal law. On the Barber farm the serf completes his day's work, gets his wages and goes to Barberton. Barberton is not only the agricultural village of the



ONE OF THE WORKING GANGS



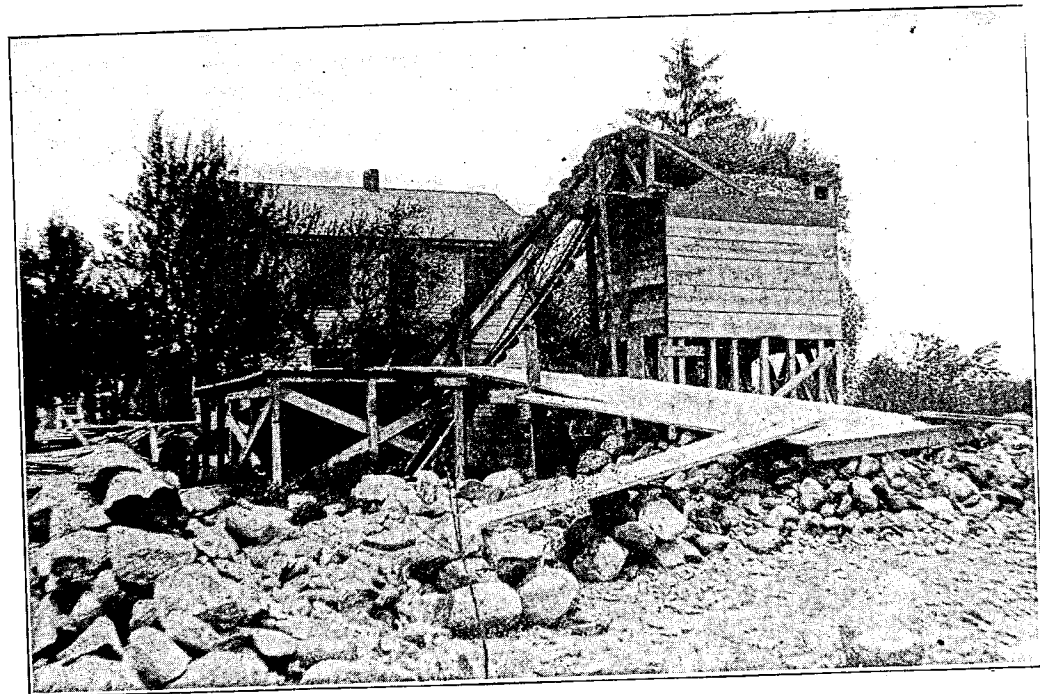
GREENHOUSES

farm serfs. It is, in fact, only incidentally that. Primarily it is the seat of Mr. Barber's great match factories. They have lately become the property of the match trust. The disease, the low wages and the burdensome toil of the slaves of the match factories is too well known to be again described here. Smoky and dusty Barberton is composed chiefly of rows of small box-like houses for these slaves. Here also dwell the better paid of the agricultural serfs. But many of the Hungarians and

Slavs engaged in construction work on the farm live as they do in the iron and steel districts of Pennsylvania, herded together in temporary shacks, or, if married, they live with their wives and children in filthy hovels.

THE MANSION.

The country mansion we have briefly mentioned. It is stated that the head waiter of the last King Edward VII is to officiate when Mr. Barber takes up his residence there. Of course a small army of lackeys



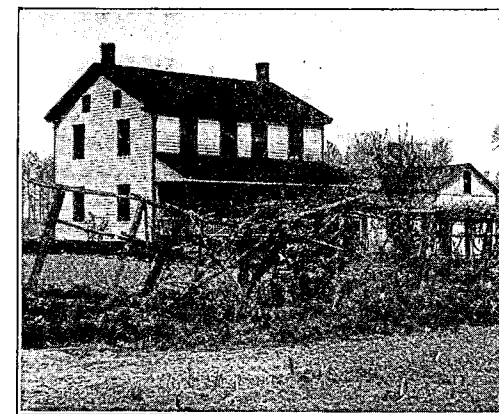
CRUSHING STONE FOR THE MACADAMIZED ROADS

will assist in the process of making this new rich vulgarian feel that he is quite an aristocrat. He will come in an expensive automobile over miles of his own roads to his palace. His lackeys will kowtow and laugh in their sleeves. We can imagine old acquaintances of his boyhood favoring him with cringing subservience. But the change has come too quickly not to arouse comment everywhere. "On what is this man fed?" the townspeople ask. "Why did he get \$25,000,000 and we 'phossy jaw'?" The Socialist party local at Barberton is strong and growing. On a street car a worker, wholly unsolicited, turned to the writer and urged industrial unionism as the only possible method of organization for the workers of Barberton. The serfdom of both the match factory and the farm have come upon these workers in their own generation. It will end before this generation has passed into history.

THE OLD HOME OF FREEDOM.

From the south wing of the Barber palace one looks down the valley to one of the old-fashioned farm houses and gardens which are still undisturbed. It was built perhaps seventy-five years ago. There is a small porch to the east where the family sat together on the long summer evenings. Fifty years ago the New York Tribune was probably lying on the little table in the sitting room and the sons of the house were going out in answer to the first call of Lincoln. The extremes of their individualism, in theory and in practice, were

tempered only by their more than religious devotion to the state and nation whose fundamental laws protected that individual freedom. It was the liberty springing from the use of the individual plow, of the scythe wielded by HIS hand, and of the hoe which HE used in HIS corn field. The house of this man must stand apart from the houses of other men and shield HIS wife and HIS children. In defense of HIS individual holdings of property, which protected HIS family and HIMSELF from cold and hunger and from insecurity for the future, he was perfectly willing to die. More than this, he gladly gave up his life in the defense of the system of law which he understood to be the foundation of his right to his farm, his cattle, his family and his political and social life. From such farms came Andrew Jackson, William Henry Harrison, Abraham Lincoln, U. S. Grant and W. T. Sherman. Down to the time of the Spanish-American War it divided first with the Southern slaveocracy and later with the rapidly growing capitalist class the government of the nation. Its downfall has been complete and final. The last voice from the farm was heard sounding the rebellious phrases of 1896. But when William Jennings Bryan went to New York City he came away wearing the label of Richard Croker and Tammany Hall. The cellar of the little house on the Barber farm has been surrendered to the rats and the attic to the owls. When freedom returns to the soil the workers will live in the great new house on the hill.

ONE OF THE OLD HOMES OF FREEDOM
There Are About Thirty of Such on the Farm.

THE CRISIS IN MEXICO

BY

EUGENE V. DEBS

NOW that Diaz is overthrown and his administration is a thing of the past, what of the Mexican revolution and the future? Will the substitution of Madero or some other landed aristocrat and bourgeois political reformer placate the people and end the revolution? Let us hope not, and yet it takes but very little in the way of concession to satisfy the ignorant and oppressed masses.

The mere overthrow of Diaz of itself means little to the Mexican people. Their condition will remain substantially the same under the new regime, and yet this change of administration with its attendant circumstances marks an epoch in the history of the Mexican nation. Certain political reforms will be instituted as concessions to the people and while economic conditions will remain substantially as they have been the people have been inspired by the revolutionary movement and the concessions made to them will but stimulate their ardor in the struggle to overthrow not merely their political dictators but their economic exploiters, and they will never cease their agitation until they have achieved their emancipation.

The real crisis in Mexico, as it seems to me, is now at hand. What the result of the approaching election may be or what the successor of Diaz may or may not do in the way of political reform are of little consequence compared to what the revolutionists will do in this crisis. Will they be able to keep their forces intact and unite in carrying on the fight along lines leading most directly to their emancipation? Most earnestly do I hope so and yet it is almost too much to expect. Already there are signs of dissension among the revolutionists themselves which threaten grave results to their movement.

As one who realizes in some measure the gravity of the situation our comrades are facing in Mexico and the vital concern of the entire working class of America in that situation, and as one whose whole heart has been with the Mexican revolutionary

movement since its inception, I feel moved to declare what I believe to be the only safe course for our Mexican comrades to pursue to reach the end they have in view. It is with no desire to obtrude myself and in no spirit of dictation that I now speak, but solely from a desire to do my duty toward our Mexican comrades as I understand that duty.

First of all, the masses of Mexican workers and producers, like those of other countries, are ignorant, superstitious, unorganized and all but helpless in their slavish subjugation. In their present demoralized state economic emancipation is simply out of the question. They must first be reached and aroused, educated and organized, and until this work is accomplished to at least some extent all hope of successful revolution is doomed to disappointment.

It is well enough for the leaders of the Mexican Liberal party to declare that this is an "economic revolution," but do the masses so understand it, and are they consciously aiming at such an end? And until they are in some degree class conscious and fitted by training and discipline for economic mastery, is not the success of such a revolution utterly out of the question?

If I read aright the manifesto recently issued by the Mexican Liberal party all political action is tabooed. "Direct action," so-called, is relied upon for results. Reading between the lines I can see nothing but anarchism in this program and if that is what the leaders mean they should frankly say so that there may be no misunderstanding as to their attitude and program. Of course they have the right to take any position they may think proper, the same right that I have to disagree with them, and frankly, if I correctly understand their position it is not calculated to promote but rather to put off the revolutionary end they have in view.

The anarchistic attitude the leaders seem to have assumed and the "direct action" they contemplate, if persisted in, will eventuate, in my opinion, in a series of Hay-

market sacrifices and the useless shedding of their noblest blood.

The battle-cry of the Mexican Liberal party is, "Land and Liberty," and its leaders declare that "the taking away of the land from the hands of the rich must be accomplished during the present insurrection." If the land can be taken from the rich in this insurrection so can also the mills, factories, mines, railroads, and the machinery of production, and the question is, what would the masses in their present ignorant and unorganized state do with them after having obtained them? It would simply add calamity to their calamities, granting that this impossible feat were capable of achievement.

It seems to me that the leaders of the Mexican Liberal party, whose honesty is unquestioned and whose ability and attainments are of a high order, underestimate the magnitude and malignity of the power they are dealing with. They propose to take the lands from the rich, dispossess them at one swoop, when they are scarcely organized, while the rich control all the armies and navies of the world. The present insurrection has accomplished much but it cannot be expected to accomplish everything, least of all economic revolution over night.

When the leaders of the Mexican Liberal party undertake to transfer the lands from the rich to the poor, that hour they attack the armed forces of capitalism, which means the United States as well as Mexico. The lands in Mexico belong in large part to American capitalists and they will fight for them to the last ditch and with all the powerful resources at their command.

Let not the Mexican revolutionists depend too much on the "International Committee of the Mexican Liberal Party Junta" which they propose organizing "in all the principal cities of the United States and Europe." That some effective co-operation may thus be secured is entirely probable, but our Mexican comrades who saw their own leaders thrown into American prisons with scarcely a protest except among the Socialists are apt to be disappointed if they rely to any great extent upon the enslaved working classes of other countries whose energies are all absorbed in their own struggle for existence.

The right course for the Mexican revo-

lutionists to pursue in this crisis, in my opinion, is to lay the foundation for economic and political organization of the dispossessed and enslaved masses, throughout the republic. This may seem to be too painfully slow in such an extreme exigency, but it will prove in the end to be not only the most direct road but the only road out of the wilderness.

The historic process must be taken into account by our Mexican comrades. There is no short cut to economic freedom. Power is necessary to achieve it, the power that springs from right education and organization, and this power in the present struggle is both economic and political, and to refuse to develop and exercise either is folly that is certain to end in disaster.

When the Mexican revolutionary leaders renounce all political action as unclean and demoralizing and when they express their abhorrence of all class-conscious political activity as simply vicious illusion "dreamed of in the opium den of politics," they align themselves with the anarchists and virtually repudiate and renounce the international Socialist movement.

If this is not their attitude I must confess I do not understand it; if it is their attitude, their dream of establishing anarchist-communism in Mexico at this stage of its industrial and social development will be rudely dispelled before many days.

The workers of all other countries are turning to the international socialist movement and developing their economic and political power to carry out its program of emancipation and that is what they will have to do in Mexico. Other countries have had their insurrections and revolutions, their dreams and hopes of sudden emancipation, but they have all had to settle down at last to the education and organization of the masses as the only possible means of attaining that end.

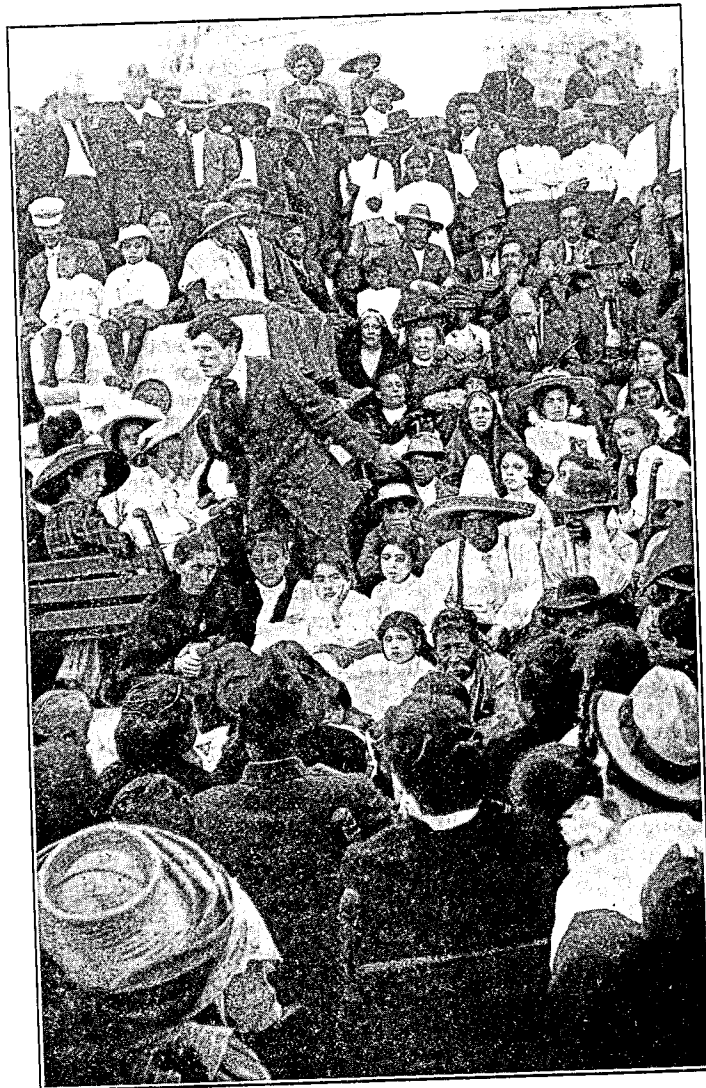
The overthrow of Diaz will mean at least, I take it, the right to organize the working class and this is the work that should be taken in hand with all the energy that can be brought to bear upon it.

Here is virgin soil for industrial unionism and all the workers should be organized as speedily as possible within one great industrial organization and at the same time united politically within the Socialist party.

This is the most direct action I know and I have had experience enough to be satisfied at least in my own mind that what is now so urgently advocated by some as direct action is the most indirect and fruitless action that could possibly be taken.

If the leaders of the Mexican revolution will in this crisis align themselves with the

international working class movement, accept its principles, adopt its program, and then proceed with all their energy to educate and organize, economically and politically, the masses of Mexican peons and wage slaves they will mark the most important era in Mexican history and blaze the way direct to emancipation.



COMRADE DE LARA SPEAKING AT A RECENT SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA MEETING IN MEXICO.

WHICH CLASS IS YOUR CLASS

BY

ROBERT J. WHEELER

YOU belong to one of the classes in society. It is very important that you understand clearly which class is your class. Each class has great interests distinct and separate from the interests of the other class. Each class tries to advance its interests, and does so at the expense of the other class. Therefore, you find in every institution in society class divisions and class conflicts. Wherever you look, in church, school, fraternal society, social club, Y. M. C. A., athletic organization, college, court and legislature; there you will find class lines drawn and class feelings displayed.

Whoever you are, in whatever station in life you may be fixed, you are a member of one or the other of the classes and your actions are, almost always, determined by the interest of the class to which you belong.

Since the foregoing is true, it will be worth our while to inquire into this matter of the class division of society in which we live. It may aid you in arriving at a better understanding of the conditions which have grown out of it.

There are two great classes—the powerful, idle, pleasure loving, wasteful, aristocratic, well-organized, wealth-owning class; and the weak, industrious, burden-bearing, saving, humble, poorly-organized, poverty-stricken working class. **TO WHICH DO YOU BELONG?** The first class is well known as the **CAPITALIST CLASS**; the second is called the **WORKING CLASS**. The **CAPITALIST CLASS** owns—it just owns; that is all. It owns governments—with their armies, courts, jails and policemen. It owns mills, mines, factories, railroads, lands and banks. It owns churches, schools, colleges, newspapers. And because it owns all these things its members enjoy life. They have wealth in abundance. Their surroundings are pleasant and beautiful. They have splendid homes, filled with beautiful things; books and pictures and music; rare works of art rescued from the ruins of

old time cities; they have costly clothes, sumptuous foods, all the time there is to devote to the satisfaction of their cultivated tastes for the best things the world has to give. And in return for all these good things, they do **NOTHING**—absolutely nothing. They are of far less value than the drone of the bee-hive. They spend their time in pursuit of pleasure. They roam over the earth in search of diversion. They commit every kind of insane act in their endeavor to while away time and get rid of the money they do not earn. And no matter what they do or where they go; whether they spend their winters in Florida catching tarpon, or their summers in Paris swapping wives, industry goes on and wealth piles up in their coffers.

They preserve their power through organization. They organize governments and place kings on thrones and presidents in office. They elevate corporation lawyers to the judicial bench. They make and unmake nations with their armies—as was done in Panama, and is now being done in Mexico. They cast the innocent into prison—as they have done in the McNamaras' case—and send the guilty to the United States Senate as they did with Lorimer. By its ownership of churches, the Capitalist Class teaches the Workers to be submissive and to endure their hard lot on earth, promising them a good time after they die. This is cheaper than paying the workers good wages on earth. The schools, colleges and newspapers back up the teaching of the Church, and hold up to the children of the working class the hope that they may become rich also. And these idle owners are made into heroes and their deeds glorified. And all the time they do nothing but own—just **OWN**.

The mills, mines, factories, railroads, banks and all other institutions owned by the Capitalist Class are operated by **HIRED HANDS**. From the lowest paid worker to the high salaried officer—all are **HIRED HANDS**. Therefore, the world could do without the mere owners. Owners are not

needed in any of the multitude of duties necessary to the production of the wealth which finally goes into their hands. Do you belong to this class?

There is also the WORKING CLASS—the class that does all the necessary work of the world. This class is poor because it gets low wages. Its members are sad and sorrowful and heavy-laden with the burdens the Owners place upon them. They live in small, cheap, unsanitary houses; eat cheap food; wear shoddy clothes; seek the lowest kinds of pleasure because they are the cheapest; know but little of the real joys of life; fear idleness, because it means loss of wages and, therefore, suffering; travel only when in search of a new job; suffer from persecution at the hands of the police; are abused by the newspapers, deceived by the politicians, lectured by the teachers and cursed by the preachers, if they try to help themselves through organization. They are held in contempt by the OWNERS. They are laughed and jeered at by the hirelings of the masters. If they endure their wrongs silently they are called “ignorant cattle,” unfit for anything but hard toil. If they organize and go forth in their strength to right their wrongs, they are beaten back by police or soldiers—men of their own class who are paid to defend the OWNERS. If they seek to make their power felt through political action and demand control over the courts through the “Recall,” the Roots, Cannons, Baileys, Olivers, and Penroses—unjailed criminals, all of them—arise and call out: “We must not listen to the clamor of the mob.”

Their children must go to the mills while yet the mother's milk is wet upon their baby lips. Their daughters are often forced into lives of prostitution in order to live. In the mills, mines and on the railroads they are slaughtered by thousands every year. Their lives are one long round of want and worry and woe; their old age a nightmare which grows more hideous as the years speed by. Yet this class produces all the wealth which the world possesses. This class is the one necessary class. This class is only a weak, subject class because it is an unorganized class. When this class learns the lesson which the success of the Capitalist Class teaches, it will organize, politically and industrially and sweep into power. Do you belong to this class?

If you have followed this far, it is quite possible that you belong to the Working Class. Now, then, reflect upon what you have read. Does it not describe your own condition in life? Does it not outline the state of society as it appears to you? Have you not again and again complained to yourself and your neighbors that they who work have but little, while those who only OWN roll in unearned wealth? How often have you become indignant over the injustices of life? Perhaps you began as a child worker in a mill or factory. You remember how you felt when the doors of the great, gloomy mill shut you in. Perhaps it was spring and you had never been imprisoned before. Out of doors the earth was waking up. The birds were singing. Flowers bursting into life filled the air with perfume. The returning sun beamed a bright welcome to all young things. But you were a prisoner. All the beauty, all the joy, all the awakening life was not for you any more. You were the child of a working man and because of that you had been sentenced to a life of poorly paid toil. And then, perhaps, while you grieved over the loss of childish joys, other children, more fortunate than you, children born to parents who OWNED, passed by or played joyfully in your sight. Do you remember how terribly you felt? How despairingly you turned to your hated work? Somehow, though you could not understand it, it seemed unjust that you should be shut up in a big prison while other children were free. And you were right. It was a terrible injustice. It was the injustice that must always exist while there is a condition that permits one class to OWN and compels the other class to endure a life of poorly paid labor.

Now you are grown to manhood. Like millions of other workingmen, perhaps you have married. You have a wife and children. You love them. You want them to have a better time, better prospects than you had. But your wages are small and expenses are large. The time is nearing when the OWNERS will stretch out greedy hands for your little children. You know what it means. They will be taken away from school. They will be hurried away to the mill. The childish joys will be denied them. They will pine for freedom. They will grow pale from their imprisonment. Yet

they must endure it. It is their fate. They are the children of a working man who does not OWN anything. They were born into the working class. They must follow in the path marked out by the wearied footsteps of generations of workingmen. And there is no help for it while there remains a Class which idles and Owns and RULES because it OWNS. And again you rage helplessly against the injustice of the society in which you live.

Perhaps you have been a man who, while knowing that you were a member of the working class, believed that somehow, sometime, you would get a chance to get out of the class in which you were born and trained. You have been taught in school, in church, in the newspaper that every person has an equal chance to rise out of the working class. You have believed that somewhere in this “land of equal opportunity” there was a chance for you. It may be that you have kept your thoughts directed toward the hope of escape from the working class. Do you not see that this is a nice little bit of fiction which the OWNERS teach you so that you will be a patient worker? It is like the “pot of gold” at the end of the rainbow. You seek for it and it is always just beyond. Forget it. There is not one chance out of one thousand that you will ever leave the working class, else why do the millions remain? Yet this is one of the very best methods the OWNERS have devised to keep us in slavery. And every year the hope becomes dimmer. With the advance of machinery, even the job is in danger. For a working man to think that he can save money, go into business and in time become rich and escape from the working class, from this time onward is moonshine. The great trusts are devouring the little fellows and casting them down into the working class, there to compete with you for a job. You will be fortunate, indeed, if you can hold what you have. What chance will your children have? Can you answer? Can you hope for them a future even as good as your past has been? You know you cannot. If things go on as they are, your children must become serfs. The little freedom which you possess will be taken away from them. The OWNERS grow richer and richer and more heartless daily. Their governments, their judges, their police per-

secute the workers more bitterly and more unjustly every year. The workers are being driven to desperation. They are preparing to REVOLT against the OWNERS. They are organizing to abolish the OWNING CLASS. If we can get rid of the OWNING CLASS, we ourselves will OWN, and all the power which the OWNING CLASS now possesses will be in our hands. We do all the useful work in society. Why should we not get greater rewards? We produce all the wealth. Why should we not get our full share of that wealth? Can you find the answer?

We do not get our share because we do not OWN the tools with which we work, nor the wealth we produce with those tools. That is the answer. The OWNING CLASS because they own the governments and courts, as well as the tools we use, can and do take almost all the wealth away from us. They leave us only enough to keep us alive and enable us to produce children so their children may have slaves to work for them. And we must change all this. We must leave our children better prepared to live than our fathers left us. How to do this every working man should know. We SOCIALISTS can tell you.

We have studied the method by which the present OWNING CLASS rose to power. We say to you that the working class can overthrow the OWNING CLASS by the same method. The present OWNING CLASS was not always in power. Once the class which now rules was a subject class just like we are now. Kings and Barons and Lords reigned and ruled. They robbed the Merchant Class, just as the Merchant Class, or the Capitalist Class, as we call it, robs us today. But the Merchant Class decided to rebel as we are now deciding. The Merchant Class organized into UNIONS and after a time their UNIONS became so strong that they were able to get most of the industries into their possession. Then they formed POLITICAL PARTIES and backed by the UNIONS, the POLITICAL PARTIES took possession of the governments, and the control of society passed from the Kings, Barons and Lords into the hands of the MERCHANT CLASS. And this is a great lesson for us to learn. The Kings, Barons and Lords did no useful work. They simply OWNED. The MERCHANT CLASS did the impor-

tant work. They got tired of giving most of the wealth to the OWNERS. So they organized to get rid of the OWNERS. They seized the governments and made servants of the class which had been their rulers. Now, the present OWNING CLASS has become a useless class. It is like the old time Kings, Barons and Lords. We are the only useful, necessary class. We are tired of supporting a lot of idlers. We want to get rid of them and become the OWNERS OF THE WEALTH WE PRODUCE.

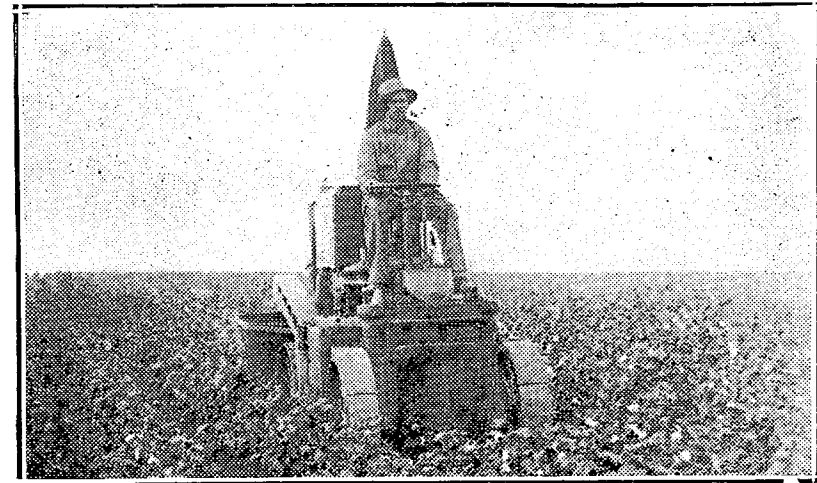
So now that you have decided which class you belong to, learn the method by which your class can become the WEALTH OWNING CLASS, as well as WEALTH PRODUCING CLASS. Join a UNION first of all. If there is no union in your town, try to organize one. Write to The Review, and they will tell you how. When we get the workers organized into unions that take in every person in each industry, and when all these UNIONS are in touch with each other, and when all organized workers learn to ACT together and STRIKE together, we will have a mighty power at our command. After you have joined an INDUSTRIAL UNION, then join the SOCIALIST PARTY. With the INDUSTRIAL UNION you will have possession of industries. With the POLITICAL PARTY you can get possession of government. This will give you control of SOCIETY. Then the WORKING CLASS WILL BE THE OWNING CLASS also. Then the WORKING CLASS will get all the wealth it produces.



We will be generous to the present idle class. We will give them a share in all the work produced if they are willing to help us do the work of production. Then there will be no more class divisions in society, because all will be WORKERS and all will be OWNERS.

This is the way by which we workers can remove the injustices from which we suffer. This is the way by which we can make certain that our children shall have a hopeful future. Beside this there is no other way by which you can make your condition better. If you ever get anything better than what you now have, it must be through the organized efforts of men like yourself. The OWNING CLASS has no interest in helping you. You must help yourself. See what you have to gain—freedom and peace and security for yourself and family; your full share of the wealth you produce; a future for your children and yourself. This is worth fighting for.

Then listen to us: Join a UNION. Join the SOCIALIST PARTY. With the UNION you can lower your hours and raise your wages; with the SOCIALIST PARTY you can control the COURTS, ARMIES AND POLICE, and prevent them from interfering with you while you are organizing. Then when you are strong enough, you can overthrow the present OWNERS and the WORKING CLASS, your class, will manage society for the benefit of all people who are willing to do their share of the work. Think it over. Then act.



The Cotton Picker at Work at Allen, Texas.

THE COTTON PICKING MACHINE

By ERNEST F. LIDYSON

“WHY, Sam, you-ve lost your job,” was the unexpected answer of the cotton planter to a Texan negro who came to ask for work. Poor Sam ignored the fact that we are living in the century of industrial evolution and therefore did not know that a mechanical cotton picker had been invented to do his work.

Unbelievable as it sounds, a machine has been invented by Mr. Angus Campbell that will discriminate between ripe and unripe cotton bolls, finger over the delicate plant, take the lint and leave the rest unharmed. This contrivance of almost human discrimination has been made at last.

It is the production of twenty years' work and perseverance.

The devices that perform the action of picking are in two drums which hang from the frame of the tractor, one on each side of the cotton plant as the machine straddles the row. An endless chain of upright cylinders of small diameter follow each other around the drum. From these cylinders the needles which do the picking project horizontally into the plant. When the machine starts, everything moves with a motion of its own. The drum carries the cylinders around, the cylinders poke the needles into the plant at the proper angle, and the fin-

gers twine and catch the cotton. Every motion is delicately adjusted. The fingers move fast enough to catch the fibre, but not fast enough to throw it off. The cylinders bring each finger into place at the proper time, so that there is never a space large enough for an open boll to pass through without touching a finger. The drum is moving backwards at the rate that the whole machine moves forward, so that the picking needles do not move horizontally through the plant, but merely turn in it.

As one machine does the work of at least twenty-five men, hand labor for this work will soon be dispensed with. It will enable the same man who plants and ploughs the cotton to pick it—and have a little time to spare as well.

Cotton is grown outside of the United States in Africa, Arabia, India and China, so that even in the most backward countries with the lowest wages, hand labor cannot long stand the competition of machines.

Men will probably be driven into the newly erected cotton mills to compete for jobs. This will teach the workers to wake up and take possession of the tools they use, in order that they may own their own products. Every modern machine is another milepost on the road to Socialism.

SQUEEZING THE POSTAL EMPLOYEES

BY
ONE OF THEM

WITH a blare of trumpets we read recently that the Post Office Department had wiped out the deficit, and all credit was conceded to Frank H. Hitchcock, the present postmaster general.

Now WHO PAID the DEFICIT?

Some few years ago Congress passed a bill making the wages of carriers in first-class cities \$1,200 a year after five years' service, making a \$200 yearly increase. But we did not get it all at once as the officials construed the bill to read that \$100 be allowed with the fiscal year beginning after the passage of the act and the other \$100 the year following. We do not know yet whether we will get the increase or not so hedged about with regulations is it.

To go back a few years. A candidate for a job as letter carrier who successfully passes the civil service examination is put upon the eligible list to wait his turn for appointment and when appointed becomes a substitute at NO SALARY whatever, just taking his chances on making something. At one time all substitutes were paid, quarterly, the enormous sum of \$1.00 a year, but this has been wiped out by the economizers, which saves \$3,000 or \$4,000 yearly.

After a substitution period of three or four years the carrier may be appointed a regular carrier at the munificent wage of \$600 per annum. At the end of one year his wage is increased to \$800 and after another year to \$1,000. He was reasonably sure of getting these increases, but note the difference under the Economizer.

Unless the substitute is now appointed

on the first day of the quarter, his wage increase will not begin until the following quarter. For instance: Suppose a carrier were appointed January 2d, or the second of July, October or April, under the old regime his wage increases would come one year from any one of these dates. But the Economy Plan forces him to wait until the beginning of the next quarter. This saves a considerable sum for the department.

In many ways they contrive to offset the wage increase, such as reducing wages of men \$200 for simple offenses, as happened to a carrier who stopped in a restaurant to buy a cup of coffee. As the requirements force the men to rise at 4 a. m. they naturally become hungry at 8:30 or so.

Roosevelt promulgated an order specifying that any carrier absenting himself from the service for 90 days resign or be dismissed. The writer knows several cases where carriers have slipped on the ice or snow, while in discharge of their duties, and broken an arm or leg or had some serious accident that necessitated their going to a hospital. Where their injuries were so serious that they could not be out inside of three months they were dismissed with no more consideration than the throwing away of an old glove.

I know many men, too, who have spent twenty-five or thirty years in the service, becoming ill and unable to report in three months, be dismissed and thrown onto the scrap heap. A man who has worked thirty or thirty-five years at one thing is too old to learn any other.

Were the carriers hired to kill their fel-

low men they would receive a pension in such a case, but we are only the Army of a Peaceful Occupation.

The Post Office Department has undergone a new speeding up process like other big businesses. This serves as an excuse for letting out the older men and putting in younger ones, who may not only be able to work faster, but who GET A MUCH LOWER WAGE. The older carrier will probably be receiving \$1,200 a year, while the new young man gets only \$600.

Carriers are now docked for any days they may be absent, no matter what the cause may be.

Previous to the abolition of Sunday work if a man scheduled to work Sunday was ill, his partner might take his place and save the day's pay for him. But the Economists order the partner to work and dock the other man anyway, thereby getting back a full day's pay.

The man who is absent Saturday and Monday is docked THREE days' pay whether scheduled to work on Sunday or not.

The Economy Plans fairly shine during the vacation season, for usually the men remaining have to perform all the work of their absent comrades. And much money is saved—all at the expense of the poor wage slave.

With fifty millions for the poor railroads, and a few more for the pneumatic tube service, it is no wonder they can't pay the substitutes anything. It is only natural that they order us to be saving with the TWINE we use.

The Department SAYS it wants to make the service attractive, but in some locations it now has to ADVERTISE FOR—MEN.

But this is not all. They would steal our very skins if it would save a nickel to the Department, but they are determined we shall not tell anybody about it. Here is the edict of William, The Fat:

"All officers and employees of the United States of every description serving in or under any of the executive departments and whether so serving in or out of Washington, are hereby FORBIDDEN, either directly or indirectly, individually or through association, to solicit an increase of pay or to influence or to attempt to influence in their own interest any legislation whatever, either before Congress or its com-

mittees, or in any way in which they serve, on penalty of instant dismissal from the government service."

What do you think about that, you postal employees? Talk about the Land of the Free and the Dear Old Flag and Our Country! You dare not even BEG FOR a RAISE! How long are you going to permit such a thing? Be sure it will stop the minute we have sense enough to stand together and DEMAND a sure and living wage.

We have the Carriers' Association with a membership of over 20,000 men, sending a representative to beg the postmaster general to mitigate some of the evils he is inflicting, when

BY UNITING WITH THE WORKERS IN OTHER LINES OF INDUSTRY WE COULD HAVE ANYTHING WE WANTED.

We have imagined that we were provided for, that the hardships of the working class were not our own. But we have held ourselves aloof from the other toilers far too long. Now we are fast learning that we shall have to join forces with the workers in the various industries.

We find that we cannot hope for anything from the old political parties, and we are beginning to turn to the only party of the working class, and to study its aims and purposes.

In the office where I work there were only two socialists a few years ago. Now, there are twenty, and more coming every month.

Now, you Carriers, you are all dissatisfied. You have been imposed upon by your Government, just as other wage workers are exploited by their bosses. Why not take your organization and reorganize it along industrial lines; take in the office clerks, railway-mail clerks, telephone operators, telegraphers and ALL MEN AND WOMEN connected with the Department to form ONE BIG UNION, and then join the rest of our fellow workers to wrest control of the industries from those who have stolen it, and return them to the rightful owners—the workers, who have built and operated them.

Taft says it is all right for us to ORGANIZE. But he does not want us to ask for anything.

Fifty charters have been granted to the

office and railway mail clerks from the A. F. of L., but this only means that we are being DIVIDED instead of being UNITED. The Industrial Workers of the World is an organization that will help you to form ONE BIG UNION.

Socialists do not propose to pit a young man of twenty-five against a man of sixty-five, and expect the old man to keep the pace of the young one.

We must have control of all the industries and then we can choose our superintendents and chief clerks from among ourselves, and if they don't fill the bill, we can bounce them, and put in those who will.

Now get some literature on Socialism and on Industrial Unionism. Read it; study it, and pass it along to your fellow carrier and everlastingly agitate and organize.

Take out a red card in the Socialist Party organization and help pay for some of our excellent propoganda. Help us to elect our own men to office, who will protect us when we want to organize and to fight.

There is nothing else will help you or me. We have got to fight. The old parties and the old unions cannot and will not help us. We shall have to stand together on purely working class lines and make a Victory for ourselves.

HOW PARIS BECAME THE CITY OF LIGHT

BY
ARISTIDE PRATELLE

THIS lovely, winding, mild-tempered little Seine has the unique privilege of reflecting in its waters the monuments of the most famous city in the world. Enveloped by an exquisite hazy atmosphere, that streamlet which so many times has been painted or sketched by our artists, and whose banks continue to be ever-varying sources of wonder and emotion, has not always been the tiny, gentle, ravishing little thing which is the delight of the Parisian people.

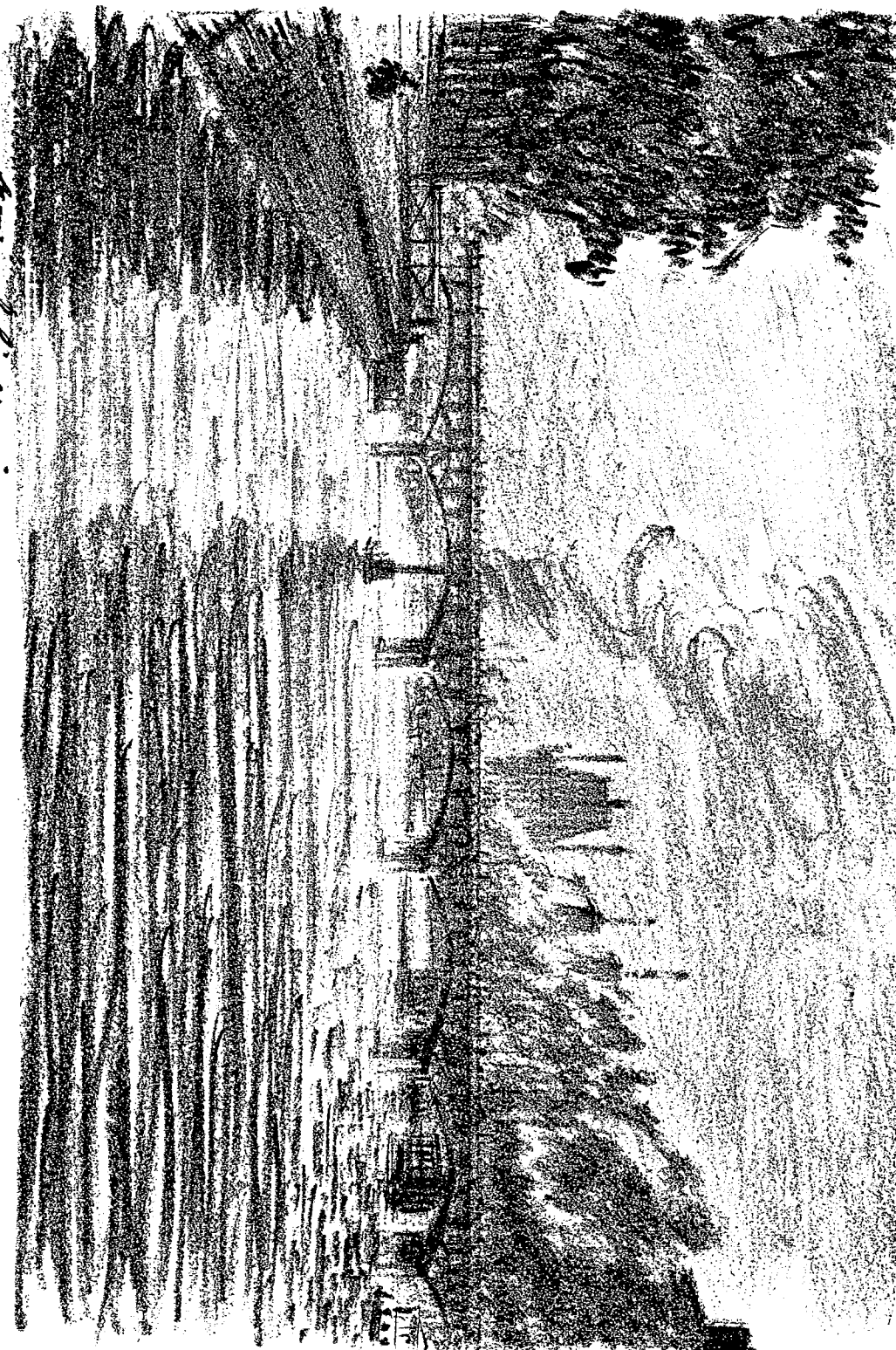
There was a time, more than a million of years ago, when the North Pole of our planet, descending gradually towards Europe, caused a general flattening of the areas and sinking of the lands in all the regions where it happened to pass. During that far remote period, the region of Paris, together with several other flat lands in France, was sunk under shallow seas. Each winter these waters were covered by a thick mantle of ice, which in summer was submitted to tremendous pressure or collisions. These powerful ice cakes or jams, on moving during the ice-run, ploughed the lands under sea and left parallel furrows running from southeast to northwest. This erosion of the lands seems

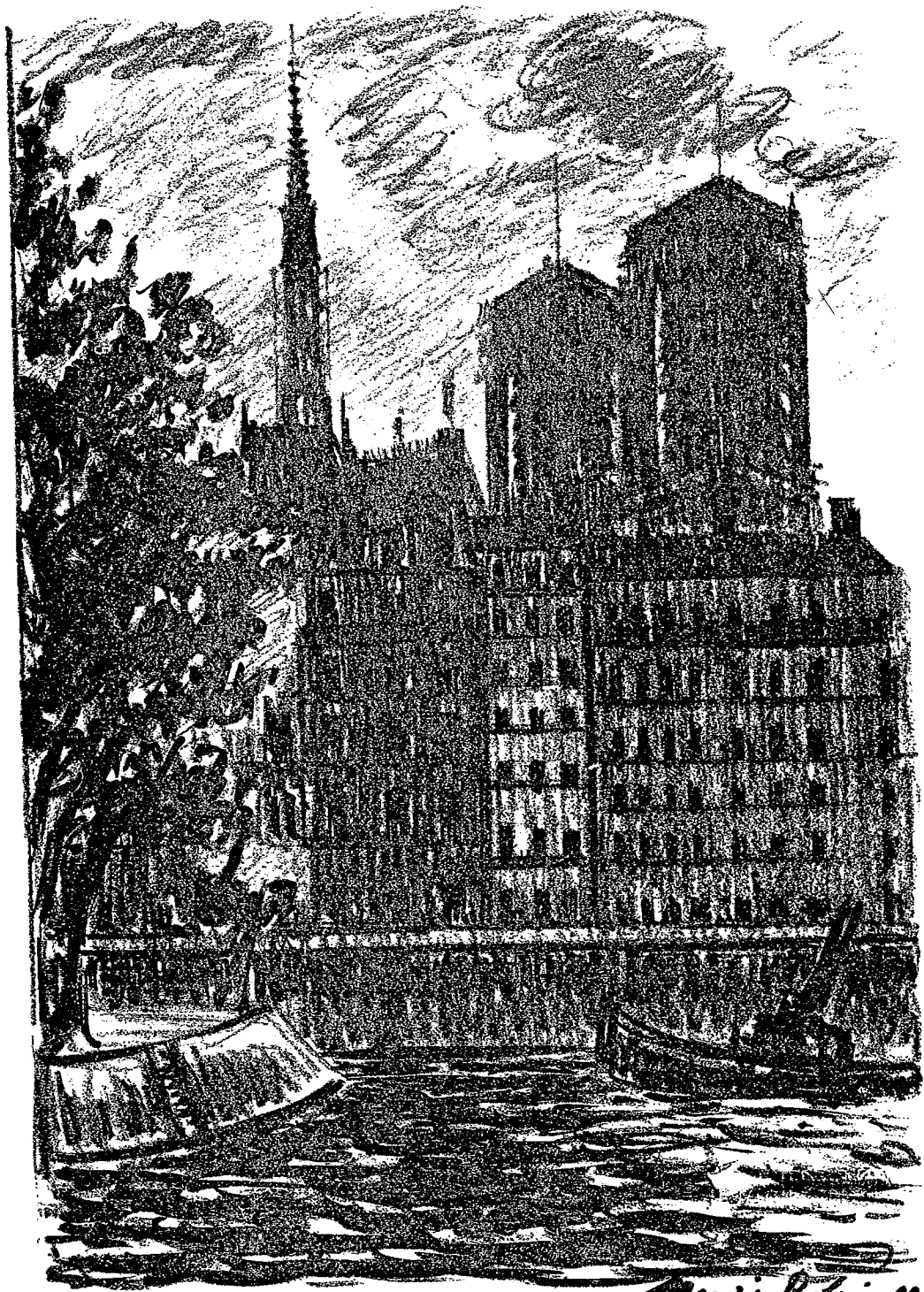
to have taken place with considerable energy around Paris, shaping the contours of the lake through which, in further periods, the Seine was about to run.

Little by little the North Pole retreated from France and went on its way towards America. Little by little the lands in Western Europe emerged again from the ocean. Little by little the climate grew warmer, the plants and animals which had migrated to milder climates began to appear again all over the territory. At the last stage of the ice era the northwest of France, emerging from the surf, was largely composed of flat islands between an intricate network of streams and lagoons. Then Paris was only a lake forty-five miles in width from west to east. From that period to the present day the layers of the Parisian ground have been left undisturbed, since no volcanic or Plutonian forces have troubled their horizontality.

At a later period yet, the Seine grew narrower and narrower, and dug rapidly a deeper bed for its waters. In the deposits of the Parisian lake the geologists have found remains of fossil pachyderms together with man implements of the Paleolithic age. There, for a very long time, a primi-

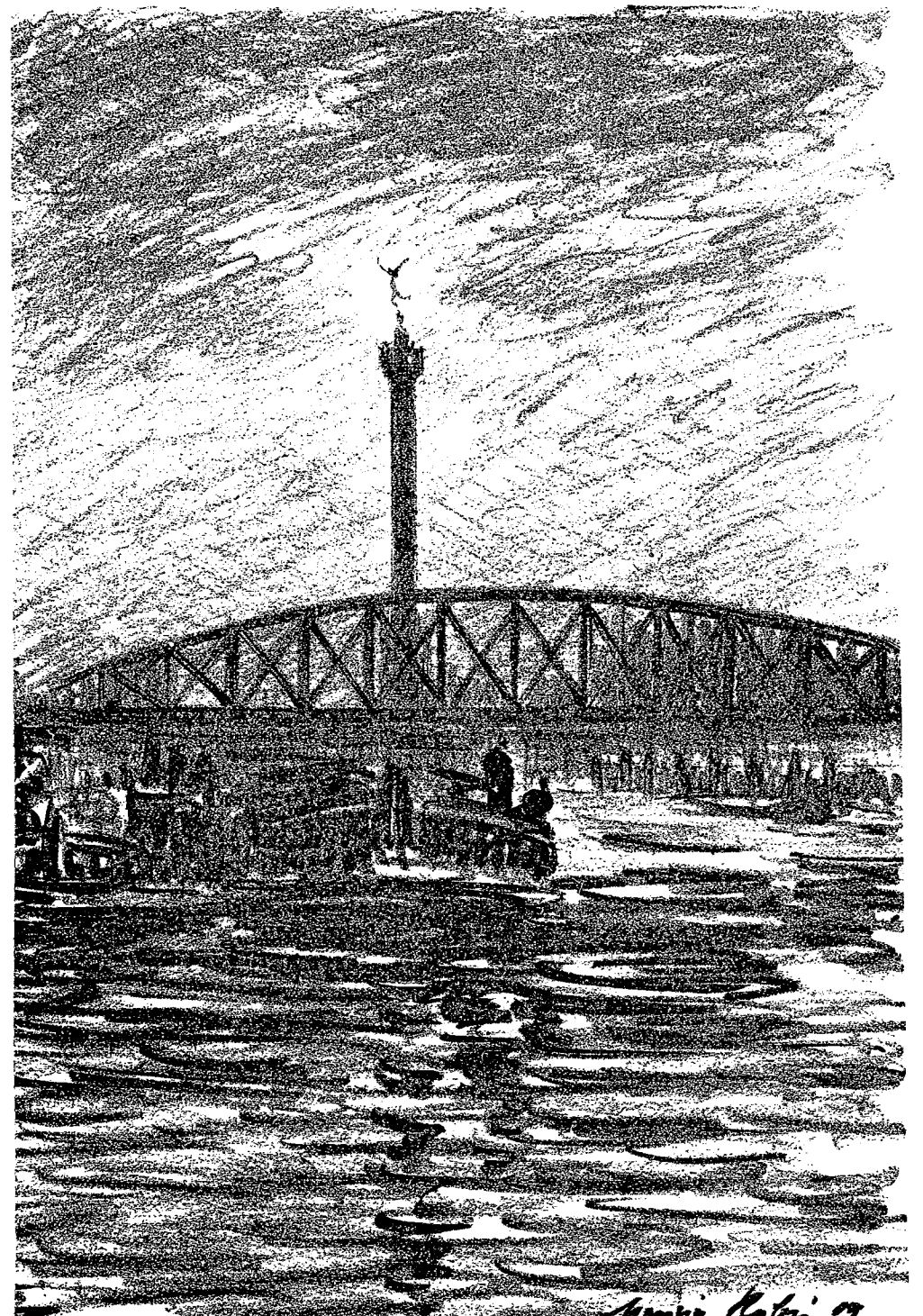
THE BRIDGE OF ARTS





Maurice Robin 09

NOTRE-DAME



Maurice Robin 09

THE BASTILLE

tive race, living on the islands of the Parisian lake, broke flints to make implements of the most primitive type. Around them, and at the same time, other populations, scattered here and there, made far more perfect weapons which enabled them to hunt and destroy wild beasts. Later yet, the mountains of Europe, on rising and growing colder, were invaded by ice-fields which, pouring abundant waters over the plains underneath, compelled the fauna and even man to move away and seek for higher places. Having now only a limited area upon which to live and move, these populations destroyed all the big animal species around them and thus found themselves deprived soon of their food supply. In order to survive, the hunter of later times became a shepherd. Little by little the scenery of the present day began to appear. The capital position of the Parisian islands on a solid, stable foundation of chalk and clay, at the meeting point of several rivers, midway between the mountain ranges of the east and the Atlantic ocean in the west, and in the very center of various ways which the emigrations followed, all these conditions were essentially favorable to the birth and growth of a powerful, durable, typical civilization.

At the dawn of history, when France was inhabited by the Celtic tribes, what is now a large, towering metropolis was but a very humble cluster of huts built with branches of trees. In the seven small islands which were surrounded by the Seine, Lutecia was protected by earthen dams from the floods of its river. The Parisii lived upon the wild beasts killed by them in the woods surrounding the rising city. It has been said that these people were rude, gallant fighters, always eager to defend their liberty. At any rate their straightforwardness and generosity has never been altered through the centuries by mixtures with other bloods. They were tall, white skinned, blue eyed, red haired. They bore a passion for all kinds of implements. They were brave and daring. Naked to the waist, they only feared that one day the heavens might fall upon their heads.

It was necessary to know exactly as possible the true origin of Paris and the Parisian region in order to understand how it is that this prodigious town has enjoyed so great a success among all other towns,

and in order to explain satisfactorily the cause of the progressive role it has played during two thousand years. We all know that in the course of the last century the Parisian people have, more than ever, been faithful to this role. Nevertheless, though for a very long time all the peoples have listened to her voice to hear the hymn of liberty, they have looked in the direction of Paris to see the lighthouse of Progress shining over the darkness of humanity, it is now obvious that Paris has no longer a monopoly of enlightenment among the cities of the world. Lately many other great cities all over the planet—Moscow, Barcelona, Berlin, Lisbon, Constantinople, Teheran, Philadelphia, Chicago, and many awakening peoples have, in their turn, shown the good example. Owing to the universal spreading of science and modern thought, owing to the birth of new wants, new desires, new aspirations, new sentiments in the hearts and heads of our brothers of all countries, the so-called backward peoples of yesterday show a strong tendency to rise to the level of the so-called pioneers of civilization.

On the other hand, we may ask ourselves if Paris is still the same town it has been in the past; if, in the present day, its inhabitants go on as pioneers of civilization and chivalrous defenders of liberty? Alas, when we observe them in their every day life, we may feel disappointed in our hopes. No doubt, among other causes, the crushing overwork imposed by wage slavery, the terrific invasion of the cheap, low grade pleasures for the common people, over all the constant sale of intellectual intoxicants of the worst kinds in the daily press—all these various causes have largely contributed to the rapid degradation of the Parisian type. Nevertheless I remain fully convinced that the population of Paris has yet a lot of surprises in store for the universe. From the Parisian temper we may expect again some of these sudden outbursts of solidarity and revolt such as those it has so commonly shown in the past.

In awaiting these happy days when the sun of Freedom will alter radically the aspect of the old capital, we feel that we must set the good example—the example of self-sacrifice, the example of hope and courage, of solidarity and strength for the wonderful days that are coming.

BEGINNERS' COURSE IN SOCIALISM

AND THE ECONOMICS OF KARL MARX

BY

MARY E. MARCY

Lesson VIII.—Shorter Hours of Labor

IN LESSON VII we discussed a general increase in wages, and how and why they would benefit the working class. We discovered that a general increase in wages would ultimately result in a fall in the average rate of profit, but would not affect prices in general.

But now that we have seen the desirability of higher wages, how may we secure them?

It is true that the working class, as a CLASS, has never been sufficiently well organized to demand a universally higher price for its labor power—a larger portion of the value of its product from the capitalist class.

It is equally true that when they shall have become sufficiently organized and class conscious to do so, they will not stop with asking higher wages, but will abolish the whole wage system itself.

But Capital makes continual war upon the workers. It reduces wages to the bare cost of living and lowers the standard of living whenever and wherever possible. It prolongs the hours of labor as far as the physical endurance of the workers will allow. And the workers find themselves forced constantly to fight in order to hold the little they already have. So that, on every side, we see groups of workers in conflict with their employers, fighting to maintain working conditions, or to improve them where they become unendurable.

It is obvious that men or women working from ten to sixteen hours daily will have little strength or leisure to study, or activity in revolutionary work. It is also patent that wages are bound to be higher where men toil eight hours a day than where they work sixteen hours. It requires two shifts of men, working eight hours daily, to run a machine that one man runs sixteen hours.

It is not only necessary, but it is a highly

desirable matter that we continue to resist and to advance and attack in our daily struggles with the capitalists. For it is through present defeats and victories that we learn our strength and our weaknesses. We learn to fight BY FIGHTING. New tactics are often evolved in struggles that seem to be total failures. And class solidarity becomes a living thing, a resistless weapon, when we are fighting and acting more and more as a class.

Even group struggles—the isolated wars waged by craft unions against their employers—bear fruitful lessons in class solidarity. For craft wars are becoming more uniformly failures, and show the vital need for a wider and ever broader organization of the workers of the world.

But craft union struggles have not always failed in that which they set out to accomplish, although victories are becoming increasingly difficult and impossible with the advance of productive machinery that abolishes the need of skilled laborers. Skilled workers have often been able to form skilled labor monopolies, or unions, where their particular skill has been in demand, and have forced their employers to give them shorter hours, higher wages or better working conditions. But these victories have been due to a monopoly of a particular kind of skill, and not at all to any class consciousness on the part of the workers.

Just at present workers all over the world in the countries where gold is the recognized standard of value are demanding, and generally securing, higher wages. This is owing to the decreasing value of gold, which exchanges for fewer commodities than formerly, and which has consequently caused a rise in prices, and an increase in the cost of living.

These workers are gaining higher wages from the employing capitalists because it

costs more to "keep" them, just as the man owning a horse has to pay a bigger bill when the price of "feed" goes up, if he wants to keep the horse. They are not gaining higher wages through *class conscious* efforts, although every struggle is a breeder of class consciousness, even though it be only in a negative way.

Modern machinery is eliminating the need of skilled labor and unskilled labor with ever increasing speed. Skilled workers are thrown into the ranks of the unskilled and unskilled workers are thrown into the ranks of the unemployed. And gradually all workers are being more and more forced to compete with each other for jobs upon a common level. Nothing can stop the progress of the automatic machine, the most wonderful invention of man through all ages—the machine that will one day free mankind from ceaseless anxiety and degrading toil!

But struggle we must—today and tomorrow. And the fight will grow keener with the passing years.

Men and women are being hurled into the ranks of the unemployed by thousands and by hundreds of thousands. We must reduce the number of jobless workers.

We must organize along industrial lines to shorten the hours of labor. If an eight hour day were inaugurated, it would mean the additional employment of millions of men and women in America tomorrow. It would insure us leisure for study and recreation—for work in the Army of the Revolution, and it would mean higher wages in America generally. For the fewer men there are competing for jobs, the higher the wage they are able to demand.

To repeat: Modern machinery is throwing more and more men and women into the Army of the Unemployed. Shorter hours will employ more men and women, and will maintain and even increase wages, to say nothing of the tremendous development of the fighting spirit, the solidarity and class consciousness of the workers.

Flood the nations with your ballots, workingmen and women of the world. Elect your shop mates, your companions of the mines, your mill hand friends, to every possible office. Put yourselves or your co-workers into every governmental position as fast as possible to render YOUR court decisions, to hold in readiness YOUR

army; to control YOUR arsenals and to protect you with YOUR constabulary, to make YOUR laws and to serve YOUR interests and the interests of your fellow workers, whenever and wherever and HOWEVER possible.

AND ORGANIZE INDUSTRIALLY. With YOUR government at your backs, ready to ward off Capitalism, ready at all times to throw itself into battle for you, you can gather the workers of the world into your industrial organization and sign the death warrant of Wage Slavery!

QUESTIONS:

Which is the most benefit to the working class, a rise in wages or shorter hours? What is the greatest hindrance to the workers securing higher wages? Or better conditions of any kind?

What would be the effect of a general shortening of the hours of labor in one nation? Do shorter hours tend to increase or to decrease wages? Why?

If the general workday were suddenly to be lengthened three hours a day, what would be the effect upon unemployment? Would this tend to reduce or to increase wages? Explain why shorter hours tend to increase wages.

When you seek a job you meet your boss as the seller of a commodity. What is that commodity? What determines the price (or wages) you will get for your labor power? What determines the value of this commodity?

What determines the price of any commodity? What determines the value of a commodity? Do supply and demand affect the VALUE of a commodity? Do they affect the PRICE of a commodity?

Suppose it takes ten men twenty hours to make 100 pairs of shoes in one factory and ten men one hundred hours to make 100 pairs of shoes in another factory. What would determine the value of a pair of shoes? The labor contained in the shoes produced in the first mentioned factory or in the second factory? Or the AVERAGE labor time necessary to produce a pair of shoes?

The working class generally receives the value of its labor power. But it does not receive the value of its PRODUCT. Explain the difference between these two.

Where do the profits come from? What

is surplus value? Who appropriates it? Can an employer of labor pay his workmen the value of their labor power and sell their product at its value, and still make a profit? Would it ever be possible for him to pay the laborers MORE than the value of their labor power and to sell their products at LESS than their value, and still make a profit? Explain why this would be possible.

Are the workers any better off where the cost of living is low than where the cost of living is high? Are they able to save any more in the countries of low prices? Do low prices benefit the working class? Do we find wages high or low where the cost of living is high? Where the cost of

living is low? Does a low cost of living benefit the capitalists? Why?

Do your butcher and your baker and your landlord exploit you? Suppose all three classes of men were suddenly able to double prices in America, would you pay the additional bills or WOULD THE EMPLOYING CAPITALISTS pay them? Would wages rise? Suppose wages did NOT rise, would you then be getting the value of your labor power? If you failed to get higher wages would this mean that the landlord and butcher and baker exploit you, or would it mean that you had to have more wages, if you were to continue to receive the value of your labor power?

What is the great aim of Socialism?

WHAT TWELVE MEN PRODUCE

By THOMAS F. KENNEDY

IF YOU enter or leave the city of Pittsburgh over the Pittsburgh & Lake Erie or the Pan Handle railroads you can get a car window view of one of the great power plants of the world. It is owned by the Philadelphia Company and stands on Brunots Island, in the Ohio river, about two miles from the "Point."

The building is not at all imposing, and a view from train or trolley would never lead one to suspect that 27,500 horse power of electrical energy is constantly pouring out of it. Least of all would one suspect that twelve men, five at the boilers and seven at the engines and dynamos, furnish all the labor required to produce all this power.

The plant runs twenty-four hours every day in the year, furnishing the power to run the street cars by day and the cars and some of the light at night.

One group of boilers is equipped with Murphy automatic stokers and the other with Roney stokers. These stokers feed the coal to the furnaces in a steady, even stream, producing more perfect combustion than the most careful hand firing. The ashes drop into pits under the furnaces and are removed without the intervention of human hands, except to push a button or move a controller handle. From the time the coal leaves the barges in the river until it is dumped as ashes on the low parts of

the island there is little of that slavish drudgery so familiar to the old time firemen. Shovels and wheelbarrows, so conspicuous in the equipment of the old time boiler house, are unknown here. "Cleaning the fires," that is, getting the "clikers" out of the furnace, is still done by hand, but with drop grates is not as hard as when the "clikers" had to be pulled out of the front door. Men must still enter the boilers at intervals and even when they are dead cold, that is an extremely disagreeable task, as any fireman knows.

Automatic oiling devices oil all machines with a certainty and regularity impossible by hand. The volume and intensity of the numerous currents leaving the plant are registered automatically. Should a feed wire or cable get broken automatic circuit breakers instantly respond and cause the current to break harmlessly in large tank like vessels of oil.

Excepting the superintendent and chief engineer on each turn, all the men employed to run the plant work the same hours under the same conditions, and there is very little difference in the wages. It requires more knowledge and there is some increase of responsibility as compared with an old style plant, but the slavish, backbreaking drudgery has been lessened, and I do not hesitate to assert that the few workers left are, on the whole, better off.

AS OTHERS SEE US

BY
A. CRAWFORD

This Comrade, Editor of the "Voice of Labor," Johannesburg, South Africa, Writes as Follows in a Late Number of "Revolt," San Francisco

I HAVE been ten days in America. Nine days ago I was certain that the movement in the West was not up to my expectations. American literature, propaganda sheets, speakers and leaders led me to expect a party of revolution. I have an impression already formed in my mind that said literature, press and utterances, however much their authors may belong to the Socialist party, are no reflex of the party. I hope I may have reason to change my view before I leave the East.

"Boost" is the shibboleth of American Commercialism. It should find no expression in a Socialist party or its press. But it *does*, and the world of Socialism is misled as to the strength and value of American Socialism.

What the movement lacks is PURPOSE. The opposing factions in the San Francisco local have each a purpose of its own. The one wants "votes," the other wants "Revolution." But the PARTY has no purpose. It has a big membership.

But big as its membership is, it is not big enough for those who want votes, and those who are striving for the Revolution are like unto a rescue party in a gased mine. Their work is difficult and precarious owing to the risk of being smothered. The only danger a revolutionary party has lies in having a membership of compromisers—too much membership.

The cry of the revolutionary is "No compromise." "Education for Revolution" is his motto and the test of value. Education for votes is waste effort. Suppose the Socialist party captures San Francisco. What then? Suppose it captures the State. What can it do?

Absolutely nothing without a mandate from the people to abolish private property in the means of production and distribution.

Municipalization is not abolishing private property. nor is nationalization.

In Johannesburg we have no Socialists in the city council. During my three years' membership of that council I did not influence the municipalization policy of the Johannesburg capitalists. They have municipal street cars, municipal water, municipal light and gas, municipal markets, municipal slaughter houses, municipal stock yards, municipal parks and farms, municipal shops and houses, etc. This is up to date Capitalism. See how it works!

Cheaper street cars transport the wage slaves to the distant suburbs where land and rent are cheaper. Cheaper water, light and gas enable the shopkeeper to add a smaller margin to the cost price of his imported goods. Markets, slaughter houses, etc., cheapen the price of meat, fruit and vegetables. Cheaper living all 'round means cheaper wages, for "cost of living" and "wages" are synonymous terms.

The Industrial Capitalists can find means of disposing of profits which come from municipal concerns. Under Capitalism no Socialist party can find a means of spending profits from municipal enterprises from which the Capitalists will gain no advantage.

Besides, her municipal businesses are run on the cheap, for a whole community acts individually as voluntary administrators and detectives to see that not a cent is unwisely spent.

And knowing that municipalization is rank Capitalism, the ruling Capitalists slyly and with apparent reluctance permit Socialists to educate the people to that sentiment, knowing that a Socialist administration will not have a mandate to do more, and, this much being of a Capitalist character, it can do nothing for the unemployed, and in the end becomes discredited.

The same can be said of nationalism as is said of municipalization. South Africa has one State Railway, one State Telephone and Telegraph Service, State mines, State farms, State hospitals and a State Land

Bank. None of these is run directly for profit. The Capitalists inserted a clause in the Constitution when union of the colonies of Transvaal, Natal, Cape Colony and Orange Free State was arranged, to the effect that all South African railways be run at cost. The profits are, of course, declared in gold mine dividends.

The advanced condition of Africa, municipally and naturally, is due to the higher development of Capitalism there than elsewhere in the world.

South Africa has a gold mining trust, a diamond mining trust, a coal mining trust, an electric power supply trust, a dynamite trust, a meat trust, and several large land trusts, besides the municipal and state trusts already referred to.

When America started its Capitalist development, England's Capitalism was fifty or more years' old. America started level with England and with the vigor of youth outstripped the mother country as a young girl might outrun her grandmother. America is now the grandmother and Africa the vigorous youngster.

Over twenty-five years ago there was no Johannesburg and no goldfields. Today Johannesburg is an up-to-date city with an area of eighty square miles and a population exceeding a quarter of a million. Today the goldfields around Johannesburg produce about \$175,000,000 worth of gold annually, nearly forty per cent of the entire world's output. I could tell many other astonishing things about South Africa, but space forbids.

One other fact, however, I might mention. Our "Labor party" absorbs all the opportunists and reactionaries and keeps the Socialist movement pure. To my mind it's a pity there is not a "Labor party" in America.

Overindulgence in politics by a Socialist Party will lead to a reaction and opposite extreme. Already the I. W. W. is attacking Socialists. This it should not do, because a political attitude has always disrupted an economic organization and an anti-political attitude is no

different from a pro-political attitude. Both are equally dangerous and disintegrating. The I. W. W. is in some places allowing itself to be driven. It must not forget that two wrongs don't make a right.

I have also noticed an anarchist revival in San Francisco. This renascent spirit is a reflex of Socialist opportunism and will find congenial food in the inevitable folly of a premature Socialist power. Only the best balanced minds will be able to withstand the attraction and fascination of the anarchist propaganda.

There may be many of my readers who will think me impertinent in thus criticizing the movement. Let me say to them that the Socialist Cause is worldwide, and I never did sit on the fence when a fight was on. South Africa, New Zealand, Australia and Canada are all countries which I have recently investigated. Capitalist conditions are alike in all these countries in Western America. These four British colonies have parties all more revolutionary than the American Socialist Party as I know it in the West. But all these colonies draw their inspiration from American Socialist literature. Debs is the most popular speaker; Jack London the most popular novelist; the "International Socialist Review," the most popular magazine, and the "fighting Appeal to Reason", the most popular weekly in the British colonies. I would like to see one Universal Socialist Party to harmonize all these.

Debs' article in last week's "Revolt" should be printed in great big letters and placed beneath the Red Flag in the most prominent part of every Socialist headquarters and meeting place in this country and every other country.

"DEATH TO COMPROMISE IS LIFE TO THE REVOLUTION!"

Let the revolution and nothing less be our purpose. Education, and nothing else our means to attain our purpose—education for revolution. Let Socialists go to Congress on nothing other than a Socialist vote, and Viva la "Revolt"!

IS THE I. W. W. TO GROW?

BY

FRANK BOHN

FROM every source comes information of the present tremendous on-sweep of industrial unionism. The causes of this have been often enough explained. The facts are clear. The working class of America desires ONE BIG UNION. AND ONE BIG UNION will shortly develop. The conditions are ripe. A great host of workers who know exactly what they want are organizing. Thousands apply the principles of industrial unionism in spontaneous strikes, but fail to keep up an organization after the fight. Others join the I. W. W. Still others are developing separate unions, such as the Brotherhood of Machinists, which now takes in all metal workers and numerous other similar organizations. Arguments against industrial unionism are now seldom heard among Socialists.

The time has come for a careful examination of the condition of the I. W. W. Is it or is it not worth anything to the American working class? Has it a future or has it only a past?

The great hopes of its founders and its marvelous growth during the first fifteen months of its existence we shall not here describe. Enough to say that both were well founded.

During the past three years the I. W. W. has fought a number of hard battles in which the correct principles of industrial unionism were exemplified in actual battle with the employers. Also, during the past two years the I. W. W. organizations in many places have degenerated into small cliques of theorists. These habitually destroy their organization and at the same time deeply injure the cause of industrial unionism. They make it their main purpose in life to attack the Socialist party. Conceiving themselves to be gifted with the power to set the whole Socialist movement right, they are usually found, not in the shops organizing and educating the workers, but in the Socialist party headquarters or meetings, expounding theory

and sneering at the ignorance of the "politicians," meanwhile describing how they were "once upon a time just as ignorant," etc., etc.

Where this goes on the I. W. W. usually has from two to seven members and soon becomes bitterly hated by everybody else. It dies when the clique tire of talking about themselves. The general headquarters of the I. W. W. finds that in all such towns it must wait two or three years before any of its organizers will again get a hearing.

THE GENESIS OF ANTI-POLITICS IN THE I. W. W.

This anti-political faction has developed from several sources. One element came logically by its position. It includes members of the I. W. W. from the mining towns, lumber camps and grading gangs of the West. Many of these men are not in one place long enough to secure the right to vote. Others have experienced the brutality of capitalist oppression and have lost the patience to build their movement by the slow process of organization and education. They imagine that somehow political action will take a long time, while industrial "direct" action will finish up the fight in a hurry.

We are not here arguing the comparative merits of industrial and political action. That argument has been settled by the facts. Experienced organizers and workers in the movement have dropped it. Only professional "rag chewers" are found devoting any great degree of attention to it.

A second element is composed of the real philosophical anarchists. These have an organization and movement of their own which engages their attention. Having a point of view and a philosophy they can be reasoned with. Busy with their propaganda, they have been least of all responsible for the present sad state of affairs in the I. W. W.

The people we mean are those who make of anti-politics a fetish. They see in the

Socialist party a number who are opposed to the I. W. W. "Therefore," say these fanatics, "as some of the Socialist party members are against us, that is sure proof that all of them are against us. The greatest enemy of the working class are these advocates of unsound doctrine—of political action. Let us destroy them. That will emancipate the working class."

The experience of the five years just past has proven conclusively that the best way for the members of the Socialist party to develop anti-politics in the I. W. W. is to attack it. Likewise the desertion of the party by I. W. W. members, and their opposition to it, has greatly strengthened the position of the reformist and compromising wing of the party. Each of these groups has helped nurse the other along.

Occasionally one finds a person of experience and intelligence engaged in disrupting the Socialist party, but at least three out of every four are young, erratic and uninformed as regards the Socialist and labor movement. The writer lately came upon one of these. He may have been twenty-one years of age, but it seemed unlikely. His first statement was, "the Socialist party is composed of snakes." Argument in such and similar cases is, of course, impossible.

THE ANTI-POLITICS FANATIC.

The fanatic is a person who sees or thinks he sees but one thing. Whether the thing he thinks he sees is there or not is of secondary importance. The anti-politics fanatics in the I. W. W. see the Socialist party and nothing else. What they think they see in the Socialist party is usually expressed by a vocabulary of vituperation which it is unnecessary to repeat here. In hating the Socialist party they forget why they hate it. They forget industrial unionism. They forget the class struggle. They forget who and what is the enemy.

If a fanatic of any kind has been in the habit of reading books, he ceases that practice as soon as his fanaticism develops. At best he reads only such books and papers as deal with and advocate his own twisted and crooked view of the world. The worst feature about the fanatic is his degenerating influence upon himself.

A peculiar type of mind in the Socialist movement furnishes the fanatics of all kinds. There is an infallible mark by which such may be known early. AS SOON AS

A MEMBER OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OR A MEMBER OF A LABOR UNION CARES MORE FOR THE SUCCESS OF SOME FACTION OR CLIQUE WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION OR MOVEMENT THAN FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE MOVEMENT AS A WHOLE, HE IS ON THE STRAIGHT HIGHWAY TO FANATICISM. By and by he will oppose his own comrades harder than he opposed the enemies of the working class. Then comes the final stage. He begins to oppose ONLY those of his own class or organization who do not fall in with his hobby. In this state he is bitter and morose and soon becomes silent and entirely inactive. This turn of mind, of course, is both the cause and effect of fanaticism.

Years ago this type was corralled by the S. L. P. With the decay of that organization they have largely fastened themselves upon the I. W. W. They have persuaded the public almost everywhere to believe that their position is that of the I. W. W. Of course there is nothing in the preamble nor in the constitution nor yet in the acts of the general executive board of the I. W. W. to form the slightest foundation for this claim.

ORGANIZING A "MIXED" LOCAL.

Mixed locals or propaganda locals in the I. W. W. have always been an unmitigated nuisance. They are not shop organizations. At first they include active members in the cause who wish to organize the working class into industrial unions. These quickly desert. The fanatics usually leave no room in such organizations for any but themselves. Soon they are found gathered about a spittoon deciding how the social revolution will finally take place, what is going to be done with the political state, how the officers of the co-operative commonwealth will be elected, and how they themselves will then be recognized as the only people who were always absolutely right.

Mixed locals have not been favored by the constitution of the I. W. W. nor by its general officers and executive board. But in one form or another they have continued. They are organized in the following way: An I. W. W. volunteer "organizer" gets to town and hunts up the Socialist party headquarters. The Socialist party local has, let us say, one hundred members

and 1,000 voters. The anti-politics "organizer" gets busy. In a party the size of a continent, with 600,000 voters, 85,000 dues-paying members and 250 periodicals, material for his purposes of course is not wanting. Here the Socialist party is run, says this I. W. W. "organizer," by lawyers, "sky-pilots" and petty business men. In another place it has not studied Marx and does not understand economics, history and allied sciences. Elsewhere are found members of the Socialist party who oppose the I. W. W. All this, continues the "organizer," is natural. "Politics" is the cause of the whole trouble. If all the members of the Socialist party would leave the party and join the I. W. W. they would at once be metamorphosed into apostles of proletarian righteousness and could then build the industrial republic within the shell of the present world within six months. The "organizer" does not desire to have in the I. W. W. Republicans, Democrats, Socialists or anybody else who will not accept as gospel the theoretical vagaries developed by the anti-politics sect. By the time the "organizer" has kept this up for two months, twenty or thirty of the younger members of the party, and a half a dozen veterans who are weary of the reform talk among many Socialists, are ready to desert the party and organize a mixed local of the I. W. W. Its evolution, or degeneration, we have described above.

Thus both the Socialist party and the I. W. W. are disrupted, deadened and sometimes completely destroyed in the localities where the fanatics operate. When one visits such a place later it is found that the remaining Socialist party membership hates the I. W. W. and is suspicious of the whole propaganda of industrial unionism, while the I. W. W. is either non-existent or is misrepresented by the aforementioned spitoon philosophers. Of course the Socialist party as a whole is big enough and strong enough to escape without much injury. But the I. W. W. has not escaped. It has suffered from this crowd until the question which is the subject of this article stares us in the face.

Absolutely nothing has ever been gained

by these silly attacks on the Socialist party. Much has been lost. While members have been so engaged they have missed fine opportunities to educate and organize real unions.

Socialists are much like other people. They are not won by sarcastic and bitter attacks. We must not expect that the whole Socialist party will join or advocate the I. W. W. Only the wage-workers are wanted, and many of these, if they are in a position to do only propaganda work, had better do it without joining the I. W. W. When workers in their industry begin to organize generally, then there will be time for them to join. But these stupid and disrupting attacks on the Socialist party are forcing all of its members and thousands of others away from the I. W. W. If members of the I. W. W. cannot see their way clear to join the Socialist party, let them leave it alone and cease from doing it injury.

The anti-politics agitation is not a movement. It cannot develop an organization of its own. It is not industrial unionism. It cannot be revolutionary because it is not positive. It is purely negative and it ends in nothing.

Is this chair-warming sect now the leading element in the I. W. W.? Is it in a majority? If it is, the I. W. W. is not dying. It is dead.

If it is not the main element in the I. W. W., then that portion of the membership who wish to organize the workers industrially must first deal with it, as it is becoming known everywhere as the I. W. W.

But let the members of the Socialist party, the vast majority of whom are industrial unionists, not hesitate even for a moment. Spread the propaganda of revolutionary unionism. In the writings of Debs, Haywood and Wm. E. Trautmann we have a solid and vital literature. To yield the industrial union field to anti-political fanatics would be just as fatal as to surrender the political field of the class struggle to Hearst, LaFollette, the California Labor Party and the other opponents of revolutionary unionism.

WALL STREET AND THE TRUST DECISIONS

BY

JOHN D.

THE Standard Oil and the Morgan capitalists, owners of the United States, have been "walking on egg shells without breaking them," ever since the United States Supreme Court handed down the decisions in the Standard Oil and American Tobacco cases.

Immediately upon receipt of the court's decree, your correspondent interviewed the dominant capitalists as to the effect it would have on the corporations affected.

John D. Rockefeller was not in town, and in his absence an official of the trust said:

"We view the decisions in the light of an emancipation proclamation for the industries of the country. Besides, all legislation now counts for naught. The court's decree is the biggest possible victory for industrial freedom."

* * *

J. Pierpont Morgan cabled from London to his New York office the following:

"I consider the decision concerning Standard Oil entirely satisfactory; moreover I expected it. The recent turn of the market for stocks shows that it is correct."

* * *

Jacob H. Schiff, who is in Berlin, dining with the German Kaiser, sent over a cable message, in which he said:

"I believe that the general effect of the Supreme Court decisions will be most favorable to the corporations of the country. It will give them an easier road to travel, and nothing under the sun can keep us back in our march of industrial progress."

* * *

George J. Gould, active head of the family, said:

"Business men know where they stand, whereas before these decisions were rendered they were slightly nervous. *I am for the United States Supreme Court every time.* For more than 100 years it has been at work, and it has *never made a mistake.* This decision is the forerunner, in my opinion, of one of the greatest business booms in history."

Henry Clews is of the opinion that:

"After nearly a quarter of a century the key to the Sherman Anti-Trust law is at last found in the decision of the Supreme Court rendered in the Tobacco case. As in the Standard Oil suit, the justices have shown great courage and wisdom, thereby proving that they are anything but fossilized, as charged by a former incumbent of the White House. It may be taken for granted, therefore, that hereafter there will be nothing but *good trusts* in the *eyes of the law.*" * * *

Frank Jay Gould also talked to Wall Street newspaper men of the decisions. In part, he said:

"The decisions will prove to be the most important for the business interests of the country, since it gives them a solid industrial foundation to rest upon." In closing, he added: "It's great."

* * *

The editor of Financial America, which is very friendly to the controlling interests of Wall Street, said editorially:

"In the provisions laid down by Chief Justice White, in regard to the supervision of the reorganization of the Standard Oil Co. and the American Tobacco Co., big business is decidedly the gainer."

* * *

Jules S. Bache & Co., the Stock Exchange house that addressed a personal appeal to the court two days before the Standard Oil decree was handed down, says:

"The country has been swung to its axis once more by the notable common sense opinions of the Supreme Court, and since the court's decree, the law has become a powerful modern weapon, etc."

* * *

Morgan says he "expected it." So did every other financier on the inside of industry in this country. They knew that Charles Evans Hughes was on the bench, and fully realized what that meant to them. Hughes has been a very useful man for the Rockefellers ever since he taught a Bible class in J. D.'s Fifth Avenue church.

Subsequently he became counsel to the investigation committee that stirred up the insurance scandal a few years ago, and Wall Street thanked him time and again, because he did not "muck-rake" the industrial companies.

Then as Governor of New York for the Rockefeller-Morgan group, he vetoed the two-cent mileage law, which would have cut into the earnings of the New York Central road. He was Governor when A. Barton Hepburn, now President of the Chamber of Commerce of the City of New York, then president of the Chase National Bank, controlled by Morgan and "Jim" Hill, demanded the appointment of CLARK WILLIAMS. Williams "tipped off" the Morgan crowd, as to where the stock of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Co., which was a dangerous competitor of the United States Steel Corporation, was deposited. Williams located the stock in the vaults of the Trust Company of America, and then Perkins got busy and had the polluted New York Times print a statement that the Trust Company was in bad shape and in danger of failing. Out of this episode grew the terrible panic of 1907. Hughes as Governor was, in a great measure, responsible for the deluge that followed. But we shall continue this part of our story in a subsequent article.

Then he was anxious to hand it to the Socialist Party, while he was the chief executive of New York. He stated that it was his opinion and suggested that it was *good LAW*, that the *Courts could* and should pass on the legality of the doings of the conventions of minority political parties. In other words, if the Socialist Party won, the court could take the stand that the convention that nominated the successful candidates acted in an illegal manner, and was therefore void. This endeared him greatly to Wall Street, because of the approaching radical wave in the political field. When Hughes went on the Supreme Bench, every newsboy in Wall Street knew that Rockefeller had put him there. Bets were made that the "dry bones" would be shaken up, and that everything that the Standard Oil wanted it would get, and that speedily.

Regarding the earnings and resources of the corporations affected by the decisions, they are enormous. The Standard Oil Company is in the front rank of companies

whose accumulated surpluses as large. The company has a capital of close to \$100,000,000; a surplus of \$429,000,000, and is also credited with owning about \$300,000,000 worth of free oil, that is, oil above the ground.

The Standard Oil Company occupies a premier position over its big rival, the United States Steel Corporation, which has \$508,000,000 stock outstanding and only a surplus of about \$164,000,000.

Its net earnings for the past ten years have averaged \$80,000,000 on less than \$100,000,000 capital, and it has paid out about \$40,000,000 yearly in dividends. John D. Rockefeller's holdings, together with those of his brother William, are equal to a controlling interest in the property. Since 1882 the company has made profits of \$1,209,442,064, and disbursed in dividends during that period about \$750,000,000.

The company now has a surplus that cannot be *equalled by any other corporation*.

It has been very daring ever since its inception. Other concerns have always kept their true assets concealed in order to ward off federal or state legislation. But the Standard Oil group of capitalists long ago realized that their industry was greatly superior to anything else in this, or any other country. That is why they are now so confident at No. 26 Broadway, where the Prince of Industry makes his headquarters.

The American Tobacco Company is also well fortified against all encroachments, legal or political. It has a capital of \$180,000,000 and a surplus of close on to \$62,000,000. Besides that, Thomas Fortune Ryan, one of its directors, is a financier whose resources, until a year or so ago, were tremendous, but ill health has practically driven him into retirement since January, 1910. This company has also the benefit of the legal mind of Senator Elihu Root, whom Wall Street says is so crooked that he would "steal a mouse from a blind kitten."

Wall Street understands exactly that there is just as much property in the control of the Standard Oil and American Tobacco Companies as there was before the Supreme Court spoke, and says over and over again, that the shareholders of both corporations will not lose a tooth-pick, when the reorganizations are put through.

EDITORIAL

The Situation in Mexico. Diaz is down and out; Madero has been admitted to a share in the government, and the peons are still working for their masters. A presidential election has been announced, and there seems to be a general disposition to await its outcome before taking any further steps of importance. In Lower California, however, some of our Socialist comrades, organized under the name of the Mexican Liberal Party, are still in arms. Their hope, according to their organ, "Regeneracion," of Los Angeles, is "not to start an independent revolution, but to help along a vast national upheaval." Much as we admire their courage, we agree with the opinion of Comrade Debs, expressed on another page of this issue of the REVIEW, that nothing is to be gained and much to be lost by attempting to fight single-handed against the forces of the old Mexican bureaucracy and those of Madero, especially in view of the practical certainty that these will, if necessary, be re-inforced by the army of the United States. To oppose this powerful alliance we have today only a little band of gallant, generous, inexperienced, hot-blooded enthusiasts and an inert mass of unorganized slaves, mostly unable to read and write, and totally devoid of the ability to construct either a great fighting machine or a great machine of production. One thing has been almost gained by the overthrow of Diaz, namely freedom of speech, press and organization. On this issue Diaz was dislodged, and if our revolutionary comrades will recognize the new government on condition of being allowed a free hand to educate and organize the slaves, they will be on the high road toward all they have dreamed. If, on the other hand, they persist in a hopeless and ill-timed fight against overwhelming odds, they will not only destroy themselves; they will also give the ruling classes just the excuse they want to set up a military despotism as relentless as that of Diaz and ten times as strong. Have patience, comrades! The capitalists have their necessary work to do in developing the natural resources of Mexico and organizing its industry along modern lines. We have our work to do meanwhile in de-

veloping a revolutionary proletariat out of the children of the peons. It might be delightful to leap from the "Barbarous Mexico" of 1910 into the Mexican Co-operative Commonwealth of 1911, but miracles do not happen. And after all, Evolution is greater than all the miracles that were ever dreamed. Let us work with the blind irresistible forces of progress; the day of the workers is almost here.

Socialist Unity in America. The great organized revolutionary force in the United States is the Socialist Party of America. By this we mean not the million men who have at one time or another voted the Socialist ticket, but the hundred thousand members who have signed the party pledge recognizing the principle of the class struggle. No other Socialist organization approaches this one in strength; through no other can anything like the same results be accomplished with the same expenditure of effort. This party has two main functions. Of these, the less important, although the more conspicuous is to nominate, and if possible elect, Socialists to office. We have already elected some of these; we shall elect many more; but they have accomplished little in their official capacity for the working class, and in the nature of things they can accomplish little. The really vital work which the Socialist Party has done, can do and will do is the education and organization of a body of clear-headed revolutionists who understand the structure of capitalist society, who are determined to destroy it, and who can and will plan intelligently and work unitedly to that end. There is only one other organization in this country established on national lines with the same end in view that is of sufficient importance to be worth discussing here, namely the Industrial Workers of the World. In this issue of the REVIEW we publish an article by Frank Bohn, an active member and former organizer of the I. W. W., pointing out certain changes in tactics that are essential to the growth and usefulness of that organization. We believe that his warning will be heeded by a majority of the membership, indeed signs are not wanting that many of the strongest members of the I. W. W. have

already reached the same conclusions for themselves and are acting on them. It is perfectly true that many Socialist Party Locals have drifted into the control of members who have no conception of the real function of the party, and think only of vote-catching, and it is not to be wondered at that some of the members who do understand Socialism have drifted out of such locals into the I. W. W., and have there become bitter critics of the party. But all this means waste of valuable strength, and it is time to stop it. Every revolutionist is needed inside the Socialist Party; that is where he can do his best work. If YOUR Local is now dominated by the middle class of reformers, don't leave it; work tirelessly to teach Socialism to the newer members and to bring more wage-workers into the party. Study and teach industrial unionism and the new union methods as they are applied in France and Italy. And when you want to apply them, don't leave your old union if you belong to one, but explain the new tactics to the men who work side by side with you. The capitalists and the new machines are crushing out the craft unions; the need of reorganization will soon be apparent to all. Now, meanwhile, is the time to educate your shop-mates in the principles of economics, showing them that their own interests are bound up with the interests of all wage-workers, and in the new tactics based, not on the lie of a community of interest between employer and employed, but on the supreme fact of the CLASS STRUGGLE.

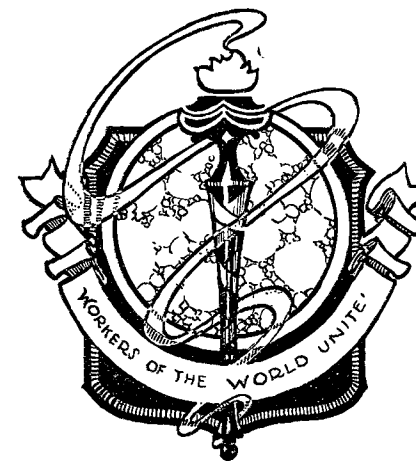
Stop Wasting Time. The Socialist Party has just voted to amend the national constitution so as to provide that all party officials be elected annually and that none shall be allowed to serve for more than one term. Now comes the central committee of Local New York with a motion that a new referendum be taken, and that the limit upon the re-election of officers be repealed. There is no reason whatever for supposing that the party members have changed their minds on this matter. New York State, in which two members of the present National Executive Committee reside, voted no on the referendum, which nevertheless carried. This attempt to reopen the question looks like a desperate effort on the part of the old members of the N. E. C. to retain their hold on the party organiza-

tion. We decline to discuss at this time the academic question of whether it is, as a general thing, better that the party have the privilege of re-electing its officers. The important point is that a majority of the membership are, for various reasons, desirous of dispensing with the services of several national officers. Under our present system of election by plurality it is hard to concentrate the opposition upon a few candidates, while many new members, ignorant of the issues involved, will vote for the old officials simply because their names are familiar. This referendum, in case it receives the necessary number of seconds, should be voted down, and one election should be held under the constitution as it has been amended. Then there will be ample time to consider an amendment allowing the re-election of officers.

Second the Motion. Local Philadelphia, with 950 members in good standing, has officially proposed the amendments to the constitution of the Socialist Party suggested in the editorial department of the April Review, providing that the State Committees shall pay to the National Committee each month two cents per member instead of five cents, and that the percentage of national dues set aside to pay the cost of conventions and congresses be changed from ten to twenty-five per cent. Other locals, including Local Kings County, New York, with 1,182 members, have made substantially the same motion, but as Local Philadelphia has stated the proposition in the best form, the Review suggests that all locals favoring the change second this motion. The reasons for the change have already been explained, but we repeat for the benefit of new readers. When the National dues were fixed at 60c per member per year, the number of members was only about 10,000, giving a total income of but \$6,000. Moreover, nearly half the states were unorganized and national organizers were an absolute necessity. Now, things are changed. The National Secretary estimates the probable membership by the end of 1911 at 100,000, which will give an income of \$60,000 under the constitution as it stands and \$24,000 if the amendments carry. All but four of the states are organized, and a large part of the

money paid in for dues is used to send speakers into organized states, a work that can be done much better by the state committees, or to pay salaries to officials not urgently needed. Meanwhile, nearly every state secretary is hard pressed for the money needed to carry on his work, and the addition of 36 cents per member per year to the income of the state offices would double their efficiency. It should never be forgotten that the greatest strength of the Socialist Party is in its volunteer workers, who earn their own living and give their leisure hours to the cause. The state and local organizations can utilize this vast force and make

every dollar go three times as far as when it is expended through a central bureau with its paid officials. Moreover, the only possible way to combine democratic control with efficient work is to decentralize, keeping as much of the responsibility as possible in the hands of the members meeting in their locals and branches. Only in this way can we prevent a clique of "leaders" from grasping the party machinery and using it for their own ends, regardless of the interests of the wage-workers or the ultimate aims of the Socialist movement. We hope that the motion of Local Philadelphia will be seconded and passed without delay.



INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

THE New Insurance Laws. The working class press of Europe is filled with talk of insurance. In Germany the old and well tried insurance measure is being revised; in England a new one has been introduced into Parliament; in France one passed last year is about to go into effect. So everywhere people are talking of the provisions of these various laws and of the desirability of insurance in general. Socialists have taken an important part in the discussion, and their efforts to settle upon a logical Socialist attitude toward this insurance matter has led to some interesting differences of opinion.

A mere reading of the various measures passed or proposed is liable to make one either laugh or weep. You read how a boy of thirteen or fourteen is to begin paying two or three cents a day; his employer is to contribute a like sum; and the government is to help out. Then after all three parties to the agreement have kept on contributing for upwards of fifty years and all their contributions have been kept account of week by week and put out at interest, finally the boy may live to be sixty or seventy years old. If he is so fortunate as to be without resources he then has a claim on the insurance fund to the extent of a dollar and a quarter or a dollar and a half a week. This is insurance, workingmen's insurance. Nobody has calculated, so far as I know, just how much it costs to keep track of all the pennies contributed while the insured is waiting to turn the corner of sixty or seventy and put out his hand for the dollar and a quarter. When you think of the wealth produced by this typical worker, and remember that after all only a mite of what he has given the world is returned after all this elaborate machinery has been in operation for fifty years—then it is that you laugh or weep, according to your temperament.

But this is taking a purely theoretical point of view. There are several other

ways of looking at the matter. It is true, as the insurance enthusiasts so often affirm, that uncertainty of livelihood is the most tragic thing in the life of the working class. Not to know from day to day whether you will have bread the next is the awful fate of the great majority of the world's workers. And most of the insurance laws under discussion do remove the awful threat of starvation. They provide some slight support in time of illness. Some of them even cover unemployment. It can be said in favor of these laws, then, that they remove the terror of immediate starvation.

One other thing is claimed for them. They are a formal acknowledgment of social responsibility. The moment a more or less inclusive insurance measure is passed society recognizes the fact that it is responsible for the life and comfort of all who have done their part to make the world what it is. This consciousness of social responsibility, it is to be taken for granted, will develop until the threat of poverty is finally removed from the civilized world.

But Socialists are bound, of course, to consider any proposition in relation to a possible social revolution. Will insurance laws such as those under discussion hinder or help the conquest of industrial society by the working class? After all this is the main question. Our political governments are controlled by the capitalist class, and their energies are devoted to maintaining the rule of that class. A pension and insurance law such as that going into effect in France, for example, gives this capitalist government added resources and power. It tends, therefore, to prolong its rule and hence that of the capitalist class. On the other hand, it tends to place and keep the workers in a state of benevolent feudalism. They are removed from danger of actual want, but from youth to old age they are in the hands of the government. They are registered, every move is recorded.

WILLIAM E. BOHN

The insurance system makes possible an official blacklist the like of which was never known before.

The only way in which this degeneration into a state of feudalism can be prevented is for the workers to take the administration of insurance funds into their own hands. An insurance measure administered by the workers in their own interest can be made a powerful means of education. This has been abundantly proved by the experiences of the German unions. The governments involved understand this feature of the situation perfectly and seem to be resolved to keep the control of insurance funds in their own hands.

All of these various arguments and points of view have been brought to account in the discussions being waged in England, Germany and France. The positions taken by the Socialists in these different countries depends partly on the nature of the law proposed and partly on national temperament.

In **England** Lloyd-George has laid before Parliament a characteristic measure. All male workers are to contribute 4 pence a week, the employer is to contribute 3 pence, and the government, 2 pence. Female workers are to contribute 3 pence. This general scheme is to be varied somewhat according to the wages paid. For example, if an employe receives less than 2 shillings, 6 pence a day he pays a penny less than the regular sum, and his employer pays a penny more. The accounting is to be done by means of a system of dues stamps. Practically all working people, even those whose employment is irregular, are to be included under the operation of the law. Small business people may also be insured, at a special rate. The period during which dues are to be paid extends from the sixteenth to the sixty-fifth year. The chief claims on the insurance fund are those resulting from sickness, including childbirth, unemployment, old age. In general, the sick and old age benefit is to be ten shillings a week for male workers, for female somewhat less. In many cases there is to be free medical attendance. The unemployment insurance is an experiment and therefore is to be tried out in only a few selected industries, including shipbuild-

ing, building trades, machine work, etc. In these industries special dues are to be collected 2½ pence a week from both employer and employe, and a smaller sum from the government. The benefits to be dispensed vary according to occupation. Machinists are to receive 6 shillings a week and builders 7 shillings.

The control of the insurance funds is mainly in the hands of the government, but the "friendly societies" and labor unions are to have part in it. The unions, to be sure, are not to have funds actually in their hands, for, as Lloyd-George maintains, all funds in union hands are to be regarded as a war chest to be used in the struggle against employers. But the "friendly societies," which correspond to our sick and death benefit societies, are to have the actual administration of funds collected from, and to be paid to, their own members. The control of insurance funds rests, to a slight degree, then, in the hands of the workers.

Most of the members of the Labor Party greet this new measure as a great advance in the direction of social justice. It has done much to restore Lloyd-George to the place in the public mind which he held some months ago before faith in him began to waver. The Socialist Democratic Party recognizes certain good features in the proposal, but consistently points out its weakness in matters both of principle and detail. Justice says of Lloyd-George's schemes: "Briefly, they are not merely not Socialism, they are anti-Socialist in their design and intention, and are characteristic of the difference between social reform and Socialism—or, rather, between the social reform which makes for Socialism and that which makes against it."

In **Germany** a new insurance law has been introduced into the Reichstag by a government commission. In certain respects, it seems to be an improvement over the old law. It proposes, for example, to include some 20,000,000 persons within the scope of its operations, whereas the old law reached only some 12,000,000. But the main change provided for is a change in administration of the law. Under the old law the administration of the insurance funds is in the hands of commissions made up of representatives

of the unions and of the employers' association. The representation is so divided that a large part of the responsibility rests with members of the working class. German Socialists and unionists maintain that this system has worked very well. It has given the working class a chance to develop its administrative ability and has proved to all that cared to learn that the working class can run its own affairs. It is evident that the new law has been designed especially to put an end to the control by the working class. As was said at the great insurance convention held recently at Berlin, the new law proposes to make the workers pay two-thirds of the dues and to give the employers two-thirds of the power.

The Socialists are making a bitter fight against the new measure, but it will doubtless be carried by the reactionary bloc. If the control of administration is the vital matter in connection with industrial insurance this will mean a severe set-back for the German working class. It may bring about a great change of attitude toward improvement by law.

But, as usual, it is in France that principles stand out most clearly and lines are drawn most sharply. The French insurance and pension law was passed on April 5, 1910; it is to go into effect on July 3. After the latter date practically all working people are to be compelled to pay dues toward their own insurance. Certain classes of salaried persons and small business people may insure themselves if they so desire. The dues for employes are to be as follows: Males, over 18, 9 francs a year; females, over 18, 6 francs a year; children, from 13 to 18, 4 francs a year. The employer contributes a sum equal to that collected from the employe. The contribution of the government varies from 60 to 100 francs for each person insured. In the main, this law is an old age pension measure. There are to be payments to the widows of the insured, and there is the beginning of assistance in cases of birth. But the chief part of the funds collected is to be used for old age pensions. These pensions are to begin normally at the age of 65, and are to run from 100 to 400 francs a year. The control of the funds involved is to rest entirely in the hands of the government.

The Socialist Party of France passed

officially upon this measure in the annual convention held at Nimes in February. It accepted the law with reservations. It said: This law is poor and inadequate, but it is something; we direct our deputies to vote for it and work for it; and as soon as it is passed they are to set to work to see that it is improved. This resolution was carried by a vote of 193 to 156. Among its opponents were Paul Lafargue, Gustave Herve, and many other well known revolutionists. These of the minority maintained that the state is the enemy of the working class, and hence the working class is bound to do all it can to weaken the state. Hence, this law must be opposed as a matter of principle. Its virtues in detail have nothing to do with the matter. During the past few weeks this view has been vigorously represented by a goodly number of writers in L'Humanite, and especially by La Bataille, the new syndicalist weekly at Paris. So effective has been the campaign against the law that thus far only some five per cent of the workers of France have registered in order to be in line to receive the benefits of the law. Registration and payment of dues are obligatory, but if the majority do not register and do not pay, what is to be done about it?

REVOLT

THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

(Published Weekly, \$1.00 a Year, Six Months for 50 Cents)

ARTICLES by William English Walling, Frank Bohn, Ed Moore, Jack London, William D. Haywood, Eugene V. Debs, Rose Pastor Stokes, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Austin Lewis, William McDewitt, Anna Strunsky Walling, Charles Edward Russell and many other writers of note. The editorials by Cloudesley Johns already have attracted widespread attention, and should be read by every one interested in the real development of the proletarian revolution. Address all communications to

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LITERATURE

Readers of the Review will please observe that Charles H. Kerr & Company sell only their own publications, and can not undertake to supply books of other publishers nor to answer questions about them.

The Doctor's Dilemma, Getting Married, and The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet, by George Bernard Shaw. Brentano's, Fifth Ave., New York. \$1.50.

If you have not read the new volume of three plays by Shaw, you have a great joy in store for you. Get this book and lend it to your conservative friends. It will make them think if nothing else will. The prefaces are, as usual, even better than the plays themselves and sparkle with satire, fun and solid common sense.

The Doctor's Dilemma is the best thing we have ever read upon the medical profession and will shatter many of our old superstitions and faiths in physicians and surgeons. Doctors, says Mr. Shaw, are no better and no worse than other people. But "I cannot knock my shins severely without forcing on some surgeon the difficult question, 'Could I not make a better use of a pocketful of guineas than this man is making of his leg? Could he not write as well—or even better—on one leg than on two? And the guineas would make all the difference in the world to me just now. My wife—my pretty ones—the leg may mortify—it is always safer to operate—he will be well in a fortnight—artificial legs are now so well made that they are really better than natural ones—evolution is toward motors and leglessness, etc., etc.'" The old economic interest and economic need that lures the professional man along the road to graft and bleeding is bared for us in a new field.

Getting Married, a play about the sex relations, will delight the heart of every Socialist, and The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet is an exquisite comedy upon respectability. The most thoroughly enjoyable and stimulating book that has come to our desk this year.

Love's Pilgrimage, by Upton Sinclair. Mitchell Kennerly, New York and London. Price \$1.35 net.

Our hero is a firm believer in the Great Man Theory and himself as The Great Man. He neglects his wife throughout

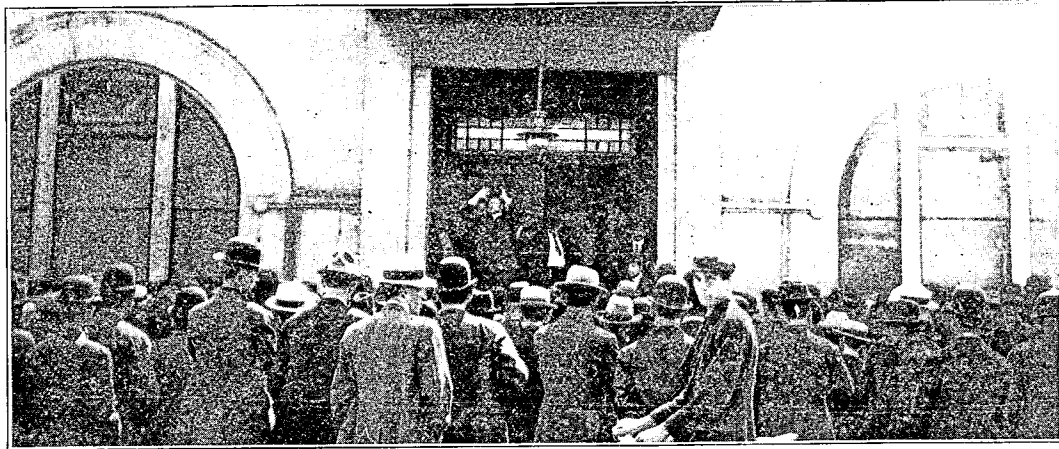
their whole married life and entertains grave ethical doubts about the sexual relations. One of those egotistical prudes who find evil in the most intimate and beautiful of all relations, he renders his wife and himself miserable by his continual wabblings about between what he believes to be the Low and the High. Filled with bitterness because the world refuses to support him while he produces his "masterpieces," he wholly fails to realize that than the man who produces bread and butter and builds houses and the woman who bears children there is none greater. He wails through something like four hundred pages of his dreary pilgrimage. His wife, Corydon, knowing that he looked upon her as the Low side of Life, showed neither spirit nor intelligence, but continued to live in the Degraded State.

The book is realistic to a marked degree. The story of the birth of Corydon's child stands out vividly among all the wearying and petty detail. But all in all it is a most immoral tale. Socialists believe love and marriage, paternity and maternity to be some of the greatest joys in the world, but they look ever towards that day when men and women shall live together for the joy in their common union, and not through economic necessity or sheer inertia.

Talks with a Boy Concerning Himself and Talks with a Girl Concerning Herself, by E. B. Lowry, M. D. Forbes & Co., Chicago. Price 50 cents.

Two excellent books explaining to boys and girls the facts concerning their physical natures, which should be given to every girl and boy approaching manhood and womanhood. The origin and development of life is explained with appropriate taste and scientific accuracy. Such books are greatly needed. Many young lives are ruined through the false modesty or ignorance of parents. Fathers and mothers should inform their children upon the all important matters of sex. These books will help you and will show the young folks the wonders of their own bodies.

NEWS AND VIEWS



COMRADE FRANK BOHN SPEAKING TO MASS MEETING OF FURNITURE WORKERS ON STRIKE AT GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.

From Grand Rapids, Mich.—Comrade Middleton writes: "I find the Review excellent propaganda. Our librarian reports that she has requests from readers to take the Review home over night to read it. FRANK BOHN has started the battle cry here and his open air meetings were most effective. The strikers are becoming very much interested and Socialism will soon carry Grand Rapids. I enclose a photograph of Comrade Bohn addressing the strikers. Organizer Hovey was threatened with arrest for selling copies of the Review at one of the Bohn meetings, but he kept at it and the policeman failed to make the threat good. If we carry Grand Rapids in 1912, which looks very likely, Local Grand Rapids will have much to thank Frank Bohn and the Review for."

Thirty-three from Flint, Mich.—"Please find enclosed check in payment for thirty-three Review subscriptions. Please start with May Review." From Comrade Wood, of Flint, Mich. Congratulations to Flint for electing a revolutionist for a mayor. It will not be long till that town is organized. And the comrades are pushing revolutionary literature to educate the new recruits into what Socialism really is. This is the work that makes for a permanent movement.

Like the Study Course.—Comrade Brown of Brooklyn writes: "Twenty-five members attended our first study class to take up Mrs. Marcy's lessons. They are the best thing I have seen yet. Congratulations on the good work"

Haywood at Virginia, Minn.—He was here and he has gone, but the memory of his lecture will linger with the people for years to come.

We had a very successful meeting even if the Lumber Trust (which has two big mills here) did issue orders to their employes that if they were seen at the Haywood lecture they would be discharged. And the United States Steel Trust went to the expense of putting on a prize fight and wrestling match and gave all their employes a free ticket and "advised" them to be present.

Yours for the revolution,
R. C. Sermon.

From Duluth.—Word comes from Duluth that our old friend, Tom Lewis, is stirring up great things there. Duluth always was a hotbed of Socialism and now that Comrade Lewis is out organizing for the local the movement is bound to grow. For Tom is one of those comrades who believes the working class is ready and eager for the "straight dope." The way they flock to hear him speak and the way the organization grows everywhere he is, would seem to prove his point beyond all dispute. Tom writes us that he is getting down to his old gait and that we may soon look for some good book orders and Review bundle orders from the local. It is too bad Tom was not born twins.

Sell Like Hot Cakes.—Enclosed find order for \$2.50. Please send me 50 more copies of the Review. Sold the other 50 in one night. John Dolge, Washington.

About Live Ones.—I wish you could accompany me to Warren, Ohio, to see their headquarters. A hall large enough to seat three hundred people, open day and evening, kept absolutely clean, the floor like the top of a dining table, walls and ceiling nicely papered, polished gas fixtures, room trimmed in red decorator's paper.

A committee room with a long table, writing desk, etc.

Another room for smoking, especially for the men.

Above all I wish you might take a peep in at the fourth and best room of all, the library, especially set aside for the women, but the gentlemen are not debarred. This room has a nice oak library table, fine oak bookcase, full of books, red brussels carpet on the floor and clean. Pictures of Debs and others on the walls.

The windows are covered with clean white lace curtains.

They have a beautiful piano, in fact nearly a complete orchestra. They have a singing class. They are just beginning to arrange for a Socialist Sunday School.

The comrades of Warren, Ohio, do not belong to that class who are always talking and never doing anything. They are so busy doing something that they have not much time for talking.

When non-Socialists come to their headquarters, they say: WHY, I DID NOT THINK YOU HAD SUCH A NICE, CLEAN PLACE. WHY, I WILL HAVE TO BRING THE WIFE AND FAMILY UP THE NEXT TIME, FOR THEY ENJOY MUSIC AND SINGING SO MUCH AND WE WILL ALL BE GLAD TO HEAR WHAT YOU HAVE TO SAY.

ATIONS sometimes speak louder than words.

Murray Youtz, Cleveland, Ohio.

By a Tired Workman.—This evening I came home from work and found the Review on the table. I have read it nearly all and most of it was so good I shall read it again. How it warms the cockles of my heart to know that the best and only working class magazine is so loyally and clearly placing before the workers the gospel of industrialism and clear-cut working class economics. How skilfully and effectually Mrs. Marcy repeats in her lessons from month to month that most necessary lesson that the workers are robbed at the factory door and not by the small grocer. Now, I'll ring off, having given partial vent to my feelings.

Comrade Rolfe, Colorado.

Vote for Socialism if you have a vote, but don't lie down if you have none. Go after the goods at the point of production, where you are exploited; use DIRECT ACTION and the general strike! This is the only way left for you to fight, if you are voteless, but remember that it is a mighty good way.

M. B. Butler,

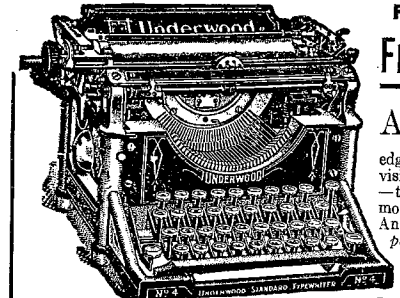
Sweat Shop Workers Again Revolt.—This time it is at Cleveland, Ohio. About four thou-

sand have decided to breathe fresh air for a time. Clothing workers are among those who may well raise the cry, "It is better to die fighting than to die starving." The striking force include a host of women and children. Contributions for the strikers may be sent to the Cleveland Citizen. Permanent relief of the miserable sweat shops of the land will not be found until there is a general strike in the industry against home work and the sweating system throughout the country. Don't forget, home work could be easily abolished by law.

New Castle, Pa.—The Review is still the best thing in Socialist literature, in my judgment.
Steve Flanagan.

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Town.....State.....

References Required

Articles on Prices.—Many of those taking up Mrs. Marcy's Study Course have sent in articles on "Why Low Prices Will Not Benefit the Working Class." The one published by us in this issue was the best received before May 12th. Many other MSS. almost equally as good came afterward, among the very best being one by D. F. Sager, of Chicago, and H. O. Bowen, of Georgetown, La. We have greatly enjoyed the evidence received from our friends of their knowledge of the Marxian position in this matter.

Williamsport, Pa.—At the last meeting of the Williamsport Local of Socialists the announcement of the death of our comrade, C. S. Snyder, who for many years was a faithful and earnest worker in the Socialist movement, was received with sincere sorrow.

In the loss of Comrade Snyder the Socialist party will miss one of their most faithful workers, while the common brotherhood of humanity loses one who always stood for the true spirit of that principle.

Even though lying on a bed of suffering for nearly six years with a broken back, he was often found addressing papers of enlightenment on economic issues to others in order that they might see the good news of the Socialist propaganda.

Therefore, be it resolved, that this resolution be placed on the minutes of our meeting and also, a copy sent to the Williamsport's Next Step, The Appeal to Reason and to The International Socialist Review.—E. C. Fredecy, W. A. Stroup, C. B. Stuart.

Sam E. Heberling was elected president of the Switchmen's Union of North America at the convention, held at St. Paul, Minn., in May. Heberling is from Denver, Colo., a Socialist of long standing, formerly organizer of the U. B. R. E., an organization that was formed on the lines of the old A. R. U. The election of Heberling speaks well for the progressiveness of the Switchmen's Union. They have always been recognized as the most advanced body of men in the railway service.

Free Speech in Philadelphia.—During the beginning of the great strike described above, when but a few hundred of the Baldwin workers were out, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was secured by the I. W. W. of Philadelphia to help in bringing out the remainder. While speaking in the open air in the vicinity of the works she was arrested by the police. The well known young agitator was released on bond and when this copy of the REVIEW is in the hands of the reader the trial will undoubtedly have been held. The defense is being made by the I. W. W. and the Socialist Party of Philadelphia, the latter donating \$50 for that purpose. It will be of considerable interest to all workers in the cause, especially in the eastern states, to learn that Comrade Flynn has joined Local Philadelphia of the Socialist Party. She is about to start on an organizing trip in New England for the Textile Workers' Industrial Union, I. W. W.

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A "LIVE ONE"—COMRADE CHANUTE'S MENTAL DYNAMITE WAGON

Leon F. Chanute, Socialist Agitator.—This comrade has what he calls a Mental Dynamite Wagon, as shown in the engraving on this page, and he is making a successful tour of Louisiana, one of the last states most of us would have picked out as hopeful campaigning ground. He writes: "I have the 800 books all O. K. Tell the live comrades that when I get time I'm going to write a little book telling them how they can make \$3,000 to \$5,000 a year hustling for Socialism. I'm doing it right now. If there ever was a period in this country when the agitators had to get on their knees with a silver tray to present or offer the co-operative commonwealth to the wage-workers of this country, it is past so far as I am concerned. I am driving Socialism into them and making them pay for it. When one of these working mules pays for something to read he will read it and think something of it; when they get it for nothing they think it's no good. I'm getting wages out of the heathen while working for Socialism. You have my consent to print the pictures of the Mental Dynamite Wagon of the Proletarian Revolution."

A Propaganda Suggestion.—A traveling salesman who is an active Socialist and a good friend of the REVIEW writes suggesting a propaganda plan which involves scarcely any outlay of money, and which ought to bring good returns for the labor involved. He suggests preparing a letter to be placed in the mail boxes of hotels wherever the proprietors or clerks will permit it, to be delivered on Sunday morning when usually there is no mail. This plan would be especially good for Locals

which meet on Sunday, since the letter might include an invitation to the meeting. The letters might be printed but would be far more likely to be read if written or typewritten, and if addressed to individual names, which could be obtained from the hotel register. Every such letter ought to carry one Socialist leaflet and no more.

Two More Revolutionary Socialist Papers.—The REVIEW hastens to welcome two new Socialist papers and to congratulate the comrades who are publishing them. "Justice" of Pittsburgh and "Revolt" of San Francisco are both papers of a type which the American Socialist and labor movement needs in every large city. Hundreds of Socialist papers have come and gone during the past ten years. We do not think that most of the failures have been due to the fact that many Socialist papers have not been needed. Every large city needs and has needed a paper of its own. But most of the papers published in the past represented, unfortunately, the weak and vacillating character of the Socialist movement in its infancy. Many of them merely advocated popular bourgeois reforms and called this policy "Socialism." Quarrels would then break out over the tactics of the movement and the conduct of the paper. The result usually was that when the paper went down it dragged the movement along with it for a year or two.

But conditions have now changed. The tactics essential to the real progress of the revolutionary movement are becoming clearer to ever larger and larger numbers. The working class Socialists of America are fighting the enemy and the enemy is granting the political

reforms. The principles of Industrial Unionism, after six years of bitter conflict, now find almost no opposition in the Socialist ranks. A Socialist paper worth the confidence of the working class must be a paper which helps to mould and educate this sentiment. How well both "Justice" and "Revolt" are fitted to do this is evident from the first number of each. "Justice" describes and proves the utter rottenness of the typographical union in Pittsburgh. It declares that the other craft union organizations in that enslaved community are just as bad, and gives that as the reason for refusing to use the label of the typographical union. The fight of "Revolt" is to be just as hard. The chief enemy of the Socialist party in San Francisco is the labor fakers' political party. The first batch of leaders and office holders of this party, it will be remembered, were sent to jail for grafting. The second lot are now in office and the disease threatens to spread over the whole state of California. Of course, in the end this will only strengthen the Socialist party. But some of the weaker brethren, lacking both in knowledge and in faith, fail to see it. "Revolt" ably edited, advanced in its position and fearless in giving and taking blows, will not only help San Francisco and California. It will teach the movement of the whole country.

It is now some three years since the International Socialist Review set out to pioneer in the hard ways of revolutionary propaganda. All hail to its young and sturdy companions.

"Justice" is published at 419 Brushton ave-

nue, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania; "Revolt" at 305 Grant avenue, San Francisco, California. Better send stamps for sample copies.

Philadelphia on Strike Against Morgan.—The great Baldwin Locomotive Works of Pennsylvania have been gobbled by J. P. Morgan. The 12,000 Baldwin slaves have gone on strike against Morgan. The two events came clip-clap. Morgan is the record union killer. The Baldwin Locomotive works is one of the prize slave pens and slaughter houses of the country. Morgan's management discharged 1,200 men, including all the most active union members. The kind of a strike the Baldwin men are likely to put up was indicated in the great Philadelphia street car strike last year. They were among the sturdiest supporters of the general strike. At present the works are tied up from the cellar to the garret. And it is about time for something to happen there. The immediate grievance of the men is as nothing to the regular dose they have been receiving. The works have run night and day and with but two shifts. One shift has worked thirteen hours five nights in the week. Another eleven hours for six days. Why do not the Baldwin men demand the 8-hour and appeal to the working class of the whole country? The whole Socialist Party with its press could do no better than make this a test case against the imperial power of J. P. Morgan. But when the men went on strike they first had to fight craft union officials. This makes several things plain to the wise ones.

News from Tahiti.—"I wish you could all visit my palm leaf office and I would treat you to bananas and cocoanut cream. What a good visit we would have, picking tree strawberries (gwavas) nicking the tree melons and plunging into the swimming pools. Comrades have written asking me to allow them to tent for a while on my plantation. They asked so many questions I could not answer satisfactorily without overworking my Socialist pen and neglecting my banana palms. I hope to reach these comrades through the Review. If you come to Tahiti bring tent and outfit, a few of the most needed tools, camping clothes, coarse shoes and gloves. Be ready to be independent of anybody. Bring cash enough to go home on if necessary. While visiting me you can do an hour or so of work morning and evening and have six or seven of daylight and two of lamplight for resting, bathing, dozing, reading, singing, visiting, etc., in and for getting ready to teach Socialism. When I can find a company of five or more men—trusty, intelligent and capable—I will give a free title to such a company for about 50 acres of the best part of my plantation. I have too much responsibility and no time for completing my books. Two or three acres is all I need. That is all anybody but a capitalist needs."

E. W. Darling,
Papeete, Tahiti, Society Islands.

The I. W. W. in South Africa and Australasia.—One of the welcome visitors at the office of the Review during the past month was Comrade Crawford, editor of The Voice of Labor, of Johannesburg, South Africa. The Voice of Labor is the only Socialist paper in South Africa and is the official organ of both the Socialist party and the I. W. W. of that colony. Comrade Crawford reports inspiring progress in his home country. The Socialist party is large and active. The I. W. W. contains 1,500 members in the Johannesburg district alone. There they have lately won an important street car strike. The street car local now numbers 300 members, the strike having been successful. Industrial unionism is being practiced throughout South Africa and Australasia. The I. W. W. is the strongest working class organization in South Africa. Best of all the political and industrial organizations work in perfect harmony. It is with very great pleasure that we announce an important article from the pen of Comrade Crawford for the August number of the Review.



COMRADE TUPPER, COLORADO.
One of the Review's "Live Ones"

One of the Biggest Factors in the Socialist Movement is the co-operative publishing company managed by the Findlay Call, Findlay, Ohio. The manager, Comrade W. Harry Spears, has written us a description of this interesting institution. It now publishes weekly Socialist papers for nearly one hundred cities and towns in the middle west. These papers contain common matter which is selected by the editor-in-chief at Findlay. One, two or three pages is edited by a local editor, who sends his material to Findlay for insertion. Thus a town of 5,000, 25,000 or 100,000 inhabitants, which could not otherwise publish a local paper, is enabled to teach Socialism in the most practicable way. Local issues are discussed from a Socialist point of view. Striking workers are supported and their confidence and support gained. Local capitalism in the shop and in politics is exposed. Socialist propaganda is thus brought right home to the workers. From many cities come reports of excellent results secured by this method.

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SOCIAL—Actual settlement encouraged and speculation discouraged. This insures speedy settlement and consequent advantages. Deeds provide against saloons and mixture of races. Ideals appeal chiefly to progressives in all lines. All lines of organization for social progress represented.

EDUCATIONAL—Industrial College in operation—two buildings—seven teachers. Has real estate (240 acres) worth, potentially \$100,000. Also has interest in 30,000 acres of adjoining lands. Students earn living in College industries and on farm. Twenty-five preparatory industrial schools affiliated.

GENERAL—Five miles of railroad front—fifteen of navigable River Bay front. Two new railroads crossing tract due coming year. Change to more than earn allotment securing new members. You get near town and share in rapid rise. In Ruskin Colony advance, near in, 500 per cent. Farther out only 50 per cent—one year. Conditions similar in Morris Park Extension, now open.

COMMENDATION—There is no ten acres within the tract on which an average family can not, with proper cultivation, make a good living; and a large proportion of it can be made sufficiently productive to enable a family to live well on two acres." (From A. J. Pettigrew, Manatee, Fla., former Socialist member of Florida Legislature, and recent nominee for Governor. For 30 years reporter for U. S. Department of Agriculture.)

"I consider the greater part of this tract ideal for gardening; and most of the remainder splendid for growing oranges and other citrus fruits." (From J. L. Fitts, West Tampa, Fla., National Organizer for the Socialist Party.) Address

RUSKIN COLLEGE, Ruskin, Florida

Industrial Unionism.—We are in receipt of the following letter pertaining to industrial unionism:

San Pedro, Cal., May 11, 1911.
Editor, International Socialist Review,
Chicago, Ill.

Comrade: The time is ripe to make it clear to the members of the Socialist Party that the burning and pressing question of industrial unionism can be no longer ignored. The great army of production must be organized on a new and strictly revolutionary basis. A revolutionary sentiment without a corresponding material foundation is of no avail. It is impossible to conceive of a bona fide revolution without the combination of these two elements. The working class army must be organized to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. It is up to the Socialist Party to equip itself with the necessary intelligence and then clearly point the finger of scorn and contempt at present industrial unionism. We must show it up as a dismal, disgusting failure. It has been organized for more than five years. I. W. W. members must admit that during all that time they are simply walking round the preamble and the departments in their constitution. Yes, they are still walking around it. It is a huge joke. They are doing business on craft-union lines, issuing charters to mixed locals, departments and fractions of departments, such as the Marine Branch of the Transportation Department. They never did issue a union charter. To illustrate, they have 13 departments which make a complete union. Now, mark you, they

are going to issue thirteen charters, one to each department instead of one for the whole to make a complete, bonafide compact union. If they understand industrial unionism why don't they get on the foundation and build up? Why don't they revise their constitution? Why don't they practice what they preach? Get down to bed rock. It has been said of late years that the I. W. W. was keeping the Socialist Party straight. The tables are turning on our friends. Things and men are coming our way. We must and are going to keep them straight or they are going down to defeat. The Socialist Party must rear a bona-fide union on its (I. W. W.) ruins.

C. A. Bruce,
W. E. Johnson.

San Pedro Branch, Local Los Angeles, Socialist Party.

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George Engelke, 857 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill.

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¶ In addition to printing THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST, and THE MICHIGAN SOCIALIST, a state paper, we are printing many of these local papers. Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, New York and Pennsylvania are being covered with papers printed on this basis. Bundles are shipped by fast express, so that any town in the United States may be served—for instance, bundles of newspapers reach Chicago in six hours.

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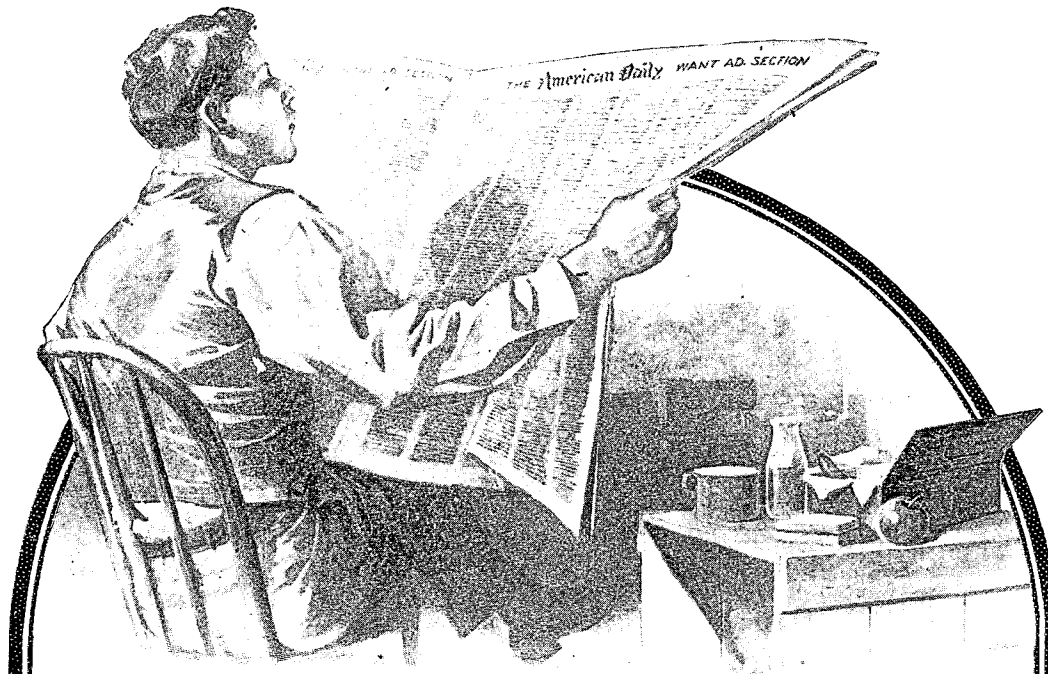
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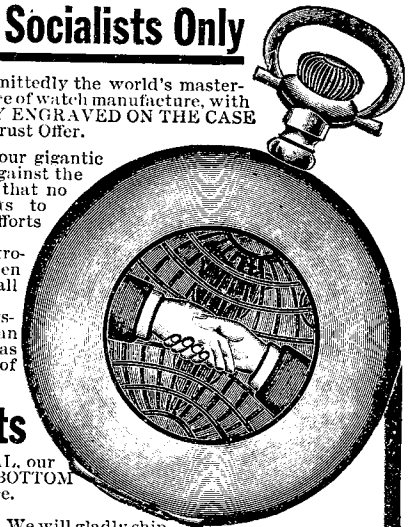
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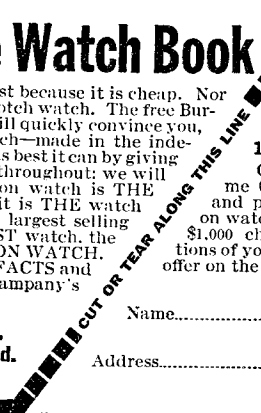
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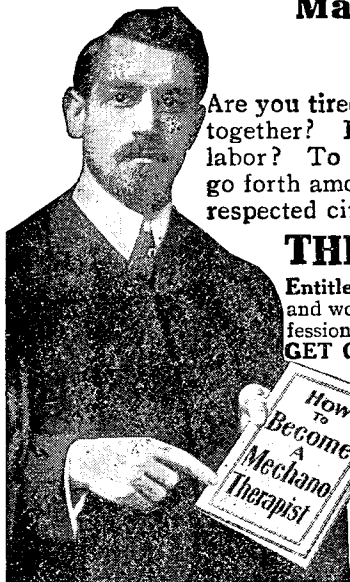
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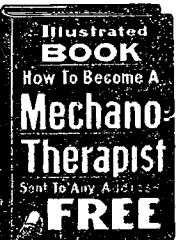
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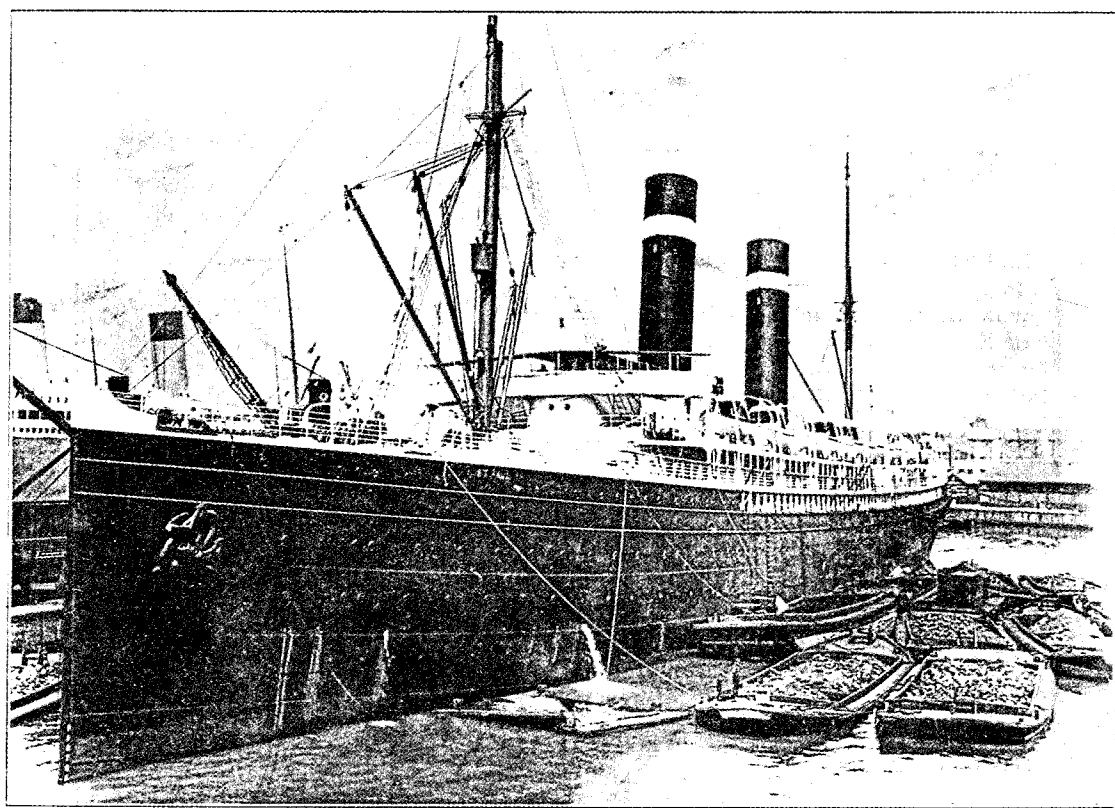


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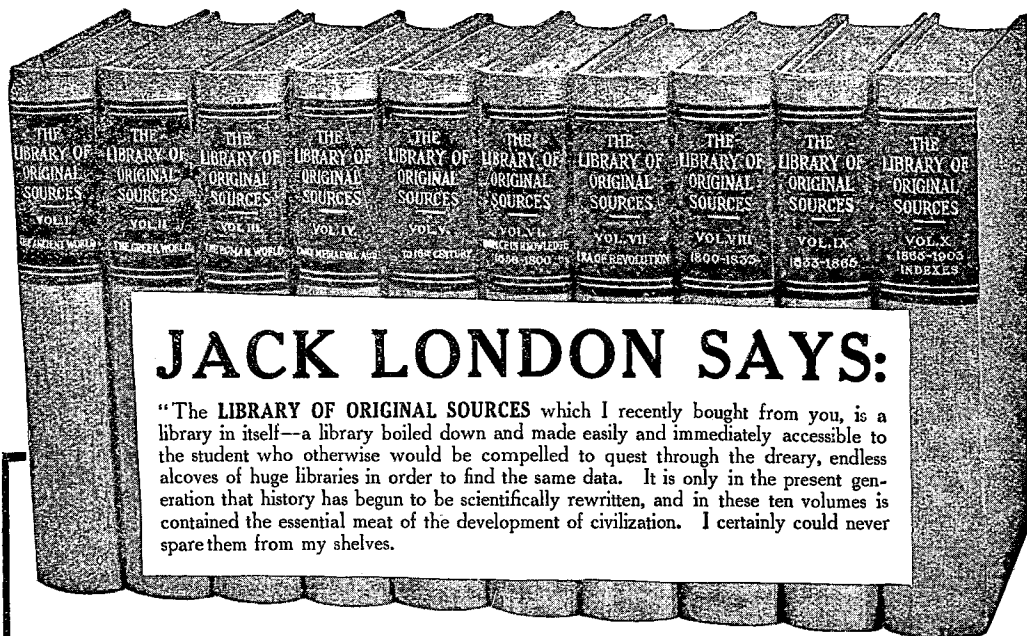
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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XII.

AUGUST, 1911

No. 2

THE GREAT SEAMEN'S STRIKE

BY

E. SUMNER BOYD

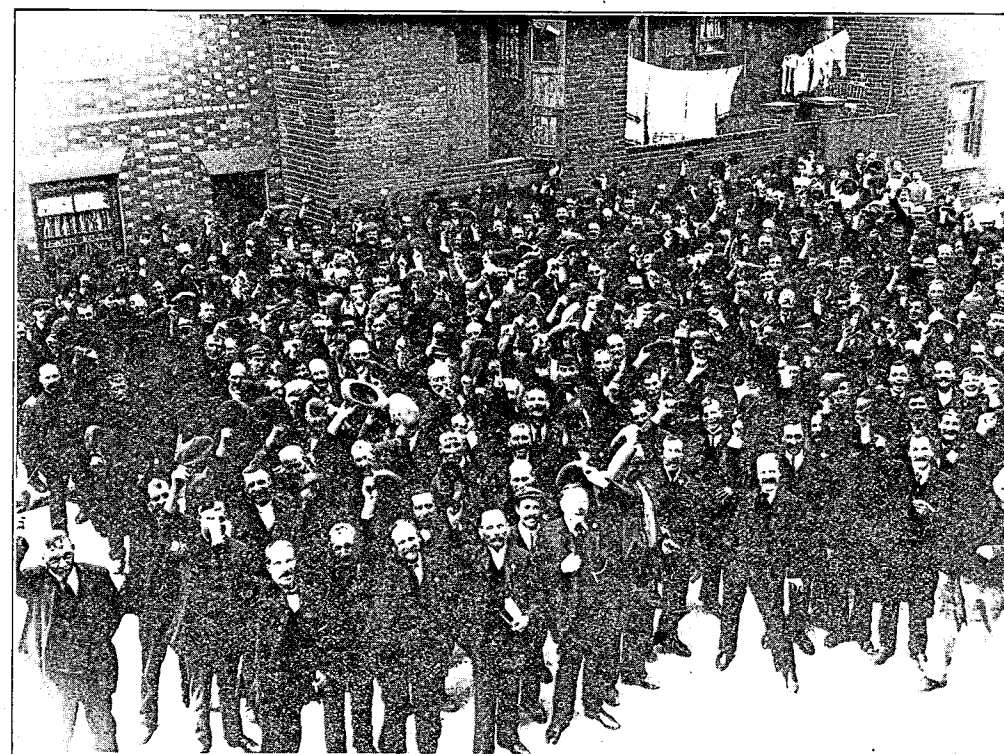


Photo by Paul Thompson.

SOUTHAMPTON STRIKERS.

THE great international strike of the seamen and dockers, which began definitely on June 13 last, was fought for the following demands:

Constitution of a conciliation board.
Minimum wage scale of \$27.50 a month.
Minimum manning scale for stokehold, decks and galley.

Abolition of medical examination by Shipping Federation's contract doctor.

Payment of portion of round trip wage at port of call.

Representation for the union at signing of men.

Fixed hours of labor with payment of overtime when this scale is exceeded.

Improved accommodations, better food.

The strike was no spasmodic outbreak of unorganized men, or of men in different unions who failed to act together. It involved during its course practically every sea-going worker on the ships, from able seamen to firemen and engineers; and with them struck the great army of dockers in the principal ports. Other workers struck at different points in sympathy.

Plans for the strike had been considered more than a year ahead. In January of this year the "Committee of the International Strike Movement" issued a statement of its activities for months back. It was reported that since June 8, 1910, some 400 meetings had been held in every port in Great Britain, and that a total of over 80,000 seamen had attended. At each meeting a resolution, declaring that a general strike was the only means of securing their demands was carried unanimously. Preparations for the strike went on in every country, and the date of the strike had been definitely fixed but was to remain a secret.

Great camping grounds had been prepared for the reception of the strikers, so that none of them, when leaving their ships, would find themselves without shelter or food. A call was, at the same time, made for every man to pay a special levy of \$5 within three months.

The total number of seagoing workers employed by the British mercantile marine is over 275,000 of all nationalities. The death rate from accidents during the last ten years varies from 6.40 to 4.11 per 1,000, while the death rate in the British coal mines per thousand, during the same period, varies from 1.30 to 1.32. The difference is therefore over 500 per cent against the sailor.

Perhaps of all workers the sailor, until this strike, was the worst off. At sea he lives under an autocracy that is far more absolute than any Romanoff can hope to realize. He is crushed beneath the weight of authority, that descends from the ship captain through every grade of officer or mate down to the lowest rank above his own. To resist or defy any order, no matter how brutal or unreasonable, is to invite imprisonment in irons and the most degrading form of corporal punishment. On landing he is handed over to the

authorities, charged with mutiny, and England's laws on this point are among the most barbarous in the world.

The first of the men's demands, for a Conciliation Board, had been made long before to the Shipping Federation, and had been treated with absolute contempt, as, indeed, had all other demands; and this is scarcely to be wondered at when it is remembered that for a quarter of a century the owners have been in a position to treat the men as they please.

A minimum wage scale of \$27.50 a month formed the second demand. Before the strike the average wage was \$22.50 a month, often being as low as \$16.00. The men work, on the average, only eight months out of the twelve, which means a "wage" of \$15.00 a month all the year round. The wage often, of course, fell far below this figure. Asked to give increased rates of pay, the Shipping Federation absolutely refused.

The third demand, for a minimum manning scale, speaks for itself. On British ships the hours are supposed to be, for the men on deck, 12; for the firemen, 8, in two shifts of 4 hours each, and for seamen in port a working day of 9 hours. Scarcely a ship leaves port with its full complement of men, with the result that these hours are almost invariably longer, frequently meaning a spell of eighteen to twenty hours without a break. Such conditions mean a speedy death or a ruined body and shattered nervous system.

The contract doctor, appointed by the Shipping Federation, for medical examination of the men, has formed one of the most hateful features in the seamen's life. The examination is such, the seamen declare, that no self-respecting man would submit to it. But, apart from its physical side, it is used as a subterfuge by the owners to weed out "undesirable" men. If the owner happens to dislike a man for any reason, he is turned down by the physician. Or if a man is known to have union tendencies he is turned down on this account whenever he is detected. The net result is that the "medical examination" is merely a means of keeping out militant workers.

The demand for the payment of a portion of the round trip wage at port of call also speaks for itself. Taken in conjunc-

tion with the next demand, for the representation of the Union at the signing on of the men, it brings up the question of some of the most iniquitous practices known.

When a seaman signs on he often does so under the kind auspices of the "crimp," whose official name is the Marine Employment Agent. This creature has always an agreement with the ship owners by which every difficulty is put in the way of a seaman getting a job save through the crimp. Under the control of the crimp are the lodging houses, in which the men are charged exorbitant prices for everything, are often doped and robbed, and in a few days find themselves destitute.

The men thus find themselves at the mercy of the crimp, who, acting apparently for the lodging house keeper, are forced to sign away practically the whole of their wages as payment for his debts. The plunder is then shared between the crimp, the owner or the ship captain, and the scoundrel who keeps the lodging house. The law does not permit the whole of the money due to be thus signed away, but what is left is negligible.

But, paltry as the remaining sum is, the seaman cannot get any of it until the end of the round trip. There are two reasons for this.

In the first place, the conditions of life aboard are so intolerable as a rule that a man is only too anxious to get ashore for a respite. Under present conditions he would naturally do this had he the means of procuring food, but this arrangement takes away that means, and he is an absolute prisoner.

On the other hand, there is a creature on the seas known as the "bunco mate." His function is to save money for the owners, and he does it by "manhandling" the men. That is, he beats them up with any weapon his fancy dictates, reducing them to a condition of shivering terror. If they retaliate they are thrashed and jailed for mutiny, and are imprisoned when they get ashore. This treatment is calculated to make the men desert just before they reach the port that finishes the round trip, and the money due to them is thus forfeited to the owner.

The demand for pay for overtime

would, with the practice of undermanning a ship, mean a very fair addition to the "wage" paid; but the overtime would be exceptional were the full number of men taken on.

The demand for improved forecastle accommodation and better food is another item that cries aloud. Many people are under the impression that life at sea is healthy. They make a mistake.

The food which the owners serve to the men is almost invariably of the lowest quality possible. It is often absolutely foul; so bad is it, indeed, that a large proportion of seamen become physical wrecks within a few years. Their teeth drop out, and they contract scurvy and beri-beri and other diseases, with the result that almost every seaman is afflicted with some form of stomach trouble.

From the foregoing, it will surprise no one that the seaman's quarters are frequently filthy, and, almost without exception, lack adequate ventilation and sanitary arrangements. The men eat and sleep and prepare their food in the fore-castle. It is always overcrowded, and intensely close and filled with bad air. The quarters are seldom cleaned or fumigated.

As a result tuberculosis finds a field to play in as fruitful as any slum, and the men are subjected to its frightful ravages.

Against such conditions as these, and to secure the demands stated, the National Sailor's and Firemen's Union of Great Britain declared a strike a few days before the coronation of George V. The date was well chosen, for every vessel, from the great liner to the little tramp, was in commission. Moreover, the enormous amount of wealth squandered at the coronation could not fail to add an edge of immediate bitterness to the fight, and it did.

The men at Liverpool, Southampton, Bristol, the Tyne and Clyde rivers, went out on June 14, the strike signal being given by the unfurling of flags or the firing of rockets. The seamen at Amsterdam and Antwerp, Holland, also went out at the same time.

The most strenuous efforts had been made to make the strike international in scope. But the German owners, as well as the Scandinavian and Danish, prompt-

ly granted some concessions to their men, who did not participate.

On this side of the water there is, up to the time of writing, still a very great uncertainty about what happened. On June 16 the Atlantic Coast Seamen's Union instructed its officers to give the Southern Pacific Steamship Company—the Morgan line—until 10 o'clock the next morning to grant their demands. After a thirty hours' delay the *Momus* of the Morgan line got away with a crew of strikebreakers, and on June 19 a general strike notice was served on all coastwise steamship lines unless the Morgan and other ship owners came to terms on the 20th.

After that something happened. The men were informed that an "agreement" had been reached; but no one yet knows the nature of the agreement. The New York Call took up the matter charging the officers with having betrayed the men. No answer was given denying the charges, other than a condemnation of the Call, and to this moment what happened is a matter that apparently concerns only the Union officers and the ship owners.

Meanwhile the strike in England proceeded apace under the direction of J. Havelock Wilson, president of the Union, and Tom Mann, vice-president. The latter was one of the leaders in the gigantic dockers strike in London some 16 years ago. Tom is a strong industrial unionist and the solidarity shown by the men is partly due to his splendid efforts for class unionism.

At Liverpool, when the owners saw that the men were in earnest, the Cunard, Booth, Holt and Elder-Demster lines agreed to receive deputations from the strikers. Up to that moment the owners had refused to recognize the existence of a seamen's organization, and had refused absolutely to discuss conditions.

The Government, at the same time, began to take alarm, lest the strike should spread. They did not want a tremendous labor war during the Coronation festivities, and they dreaded what would happen if a settlement were not speedily reached.

England is entirely dependent upon imported food stuffs for the support of her people. At any time there is only suffi-

cient food in the country to last for five weeks, and any stoppage of its entry would mean an immediate increase in prices, and would threaten the entire country with famine and perhaps financial ruin.

The Government, therefore, brought pressure to bear upon the ship owners to make concessions.

At all the great ports the seamen left the liners as soon as they reached port. The ships engaged in handling food supplies arrived in port, the men left them, and joined the strike. The White Star line's newest ship, the *Olympic*, managed to get away from Southampton, carrying 1,300 passengers, only when the owners had granted the demands of the men.

Within one week the strike was general. Every ship as it reached port lost its crew. At Hull, Liverpool, London, Bristol, Cardiff, Belfast, Dublin, Goole, Glasgow, Southampton, every ship was deserted by its crew, and lay idle.

Then the strike spread from the seamen to the shore workers. During the progress of the war the seamen received assistance by strikes from scalers, painters, dockers, coal porters, transport workers, flour millers, railroad men, and in one or two places even the laundry workers went out in sympathy.

Every shipping line was tied up. All the coasting vessels were held, and in addition the boats of the White Star, the Union Castle, Canadian Pacific, Allan, Booth, Harrison, Cunard, Royal Mail Steam Packet, Dominion, Leyland, Anchor, Donaldson, Wilson, and Pacific, as well as other equally important lines were tied up.

Liverpool and Hull were the great storm centers. At Liverpool the White Star line conceded increased pay to the men on one or two ships which they wanted to move. But the trick failed, the men demanding complete surrender on all points, which was absolutely refused. The dockers took the occasion, in sympathetic strike involving 10,000 men, to demand increased pay.

At Hull, on June 22, the day of the Coronation in London, the strikers organized a counter procession, when they marched beneath their great union banners and red flags draped with crepe. Ef-

orts were made to stop the demonstration by the Home Office acting through the mayor, but the efforts failed. Thus, while George was being crowned, England was torn asunder and threatened with starvation by one of the greatest labor wars she has ever experienced.

On June 24th the owners of boats engaged in the coasting trades refused all the men's demands, and this brought every docker out.

As usual in every strike, the organized forces of the state were put in motion against the men. At two ports—Liverpool and Goole—the crews of two ships that came out on strike were placed under arrest, charged with desertion. They were taken to the magistrate, who ordered them to be taken back to their ships. In other words, the effort was made to make the men nothing but chattel slaves, and this is possible by reason of the law regarding seamen and their contracts.

Strikebreakers, in the meanwhile, were very difficult to obtain. At Hull fifty Chinese were rushed by special train from London, taken in motor cars to the ship waiting for a crew, and made to serve. Few of them could speak English, so that this was an open breach of the law that makes it necessary to have at least 75 per cent of a ship's crew able to understand orders given.

This use of non-English speaking scabs was resorted to several times in the course of the strike, until J. Havelock Wilson took up the matter with the Board of Trade and had it raised in Parliament. By that time public opinion was dead against the owners, who thereafter found it more difficult openly to violate the law in this regard, although it continued in many instances with the connivance of the authorities.

On June 25th the Shipping Federation refused to concede any of the men's demands, and negotiations ceased. The White Star line, indeed, went so far as to declare a lockout on their ships, and proclaimed the open shop. This, however, was a bluff, which the men called.

By June 26th the harbor at Hull was filled with cargo boats. Their cargoes were untouched, and the foodstuffs were rotting in the holds. Meetings of pro-

vision dealers all over the country were called, at which the gravity of the situation was put on record, and at almost every meeting the owners were censured.

At several ports efforts were made to use clerks to move cargoes, but they made poor substitutes for men, and were often in trouble with the strikers. The Hull owners even resorted to women for this work, but the police ordered this stopped, fearing a situation would arise that they could not handle. Special police, in the meantime, had been drafted into the city from London, York, Sheffield, and Birmingham, and a day or two later were followed by regiments of infantry and cavalry.

By June 29th the Shipping Federation had come off its high horse so far as to enter into negotiations with the strikers, and a meeting was held in Hull between the men's representatives and the owners, with G. R. Askwith presiding.

At the conclusion of the conference a great meeting of 20,000 strikers assembled to hear the result, which consisted in five points:

1. Men not to be compelled to have Federation or Free Labor tickets.
2. Freedom for the men to return to their work.
3. Docker workers to have a half holiday on Saturday.
4. Sailors and firemen to have a half holiday during the week.
5. Sailors' and firemen's wages to be 32s6d per week, an advance of 2s6d.

At the conclusion of the reading of these magnificent terms a murmur of discontent arose near the platform and spread into a vast roar of anger from the entire 20,000 men.

J. R. Bell, the Seamen's organizer, said, "In your hands lies the decision." He was greeted with fierce cries of "No! no! we'll starve first!" "Go back to the employers!" O'Connor Kessack, the leader of the men at Goole, tried to bully the men into accepting the terms, but one old seaman, with body bent from years of toil and suffering, cried, "We won't take the terms!" The cry was taken up by the crowd, and not one hand was held up in favor of accepting.

The same day that this scene was enacted at Hull, Liverpool witnessed a

splendid exhibition of working class solidarity. Several of the great lines had granted the men's demands, and many crews were fully signed up. Then a movement started among the victorious men, which ended in every man again leaving the ships until the demands of the dockers who had gone out with them were conceded. This was the policy pursued at practically every port, and enormously increased the strength of the men.

Food prices, meantime, had advanced 25 per cent. The strikers were appealed to in the hope of getting them to allow sufficient food to be landed to prevent further rises. But the men unanimously refused, saying that in a time of war it was good tactics to starve out the enemy. They then went more determinedly than ever to work to tie up every cargo boat that arrived with provisions, and they succeeded.

By July 1, twenty-four of the ship own-

ers had conceded all the demands made upon them. On the following day, July 2, the owners in the Shipping Federation, beaten to a standstill, granted all the demands of the men.

How complete the victory of the men has been, and how keenly they appreciate their power, is shown by the fact that when twenty-four hours after the signing of the agreement with the Canadian Pacific line, the company broke its terms, the men went out in a body, and refused to return until the owners once again came to earth.

The lesson of the strike is obvious. In the hands of the workers lies all power, provided they act together. That the complete surrender of the owners would not have been secured had not every section of the men engaged in shipping come out there is no room for doubt. But, having come out together, they were irresistible.



IN AUGUST

BY

LEON R. WHIPPLE

AW Gawd it's hot! I'd like to take a rest,
An' see them big white rain-clouds a bubblin' in the
West;

There ain't no breeze—the street's a blindin' glare
That keeps a-pumpin' heat into the air
Until it hits you every time you move
Like as if you stuck your face into a stove.
But it's work, work, work, don't mind the heat 'r pain—
Aw Gawd, it's hot! I wish to Hell 'twould rain!

It's hot an' hot an' hot this afternoon,
An' six o'clock can't hustle roun' too soon.
I wonder when I croak will I be cool,
An' at that wind-up quittin' time—aw, cut it out, y' fool!
I guess I'm gettin' crazy—good excuse,
Say, tell me straight—no mission talk—now what'n Hell the
use?

An' ain't that river peaceful down on Main?
Aw Gawd, it's hot! I wish to Hell 'twould rain!

This sleepin' on the sidewalk makes me sore,
Just pantin' dead without no healthy snore—
An' rollin' through the night that's worse'n day
Until the sun shines up, a red-hot grey,
Alightin' all the gutters filled with kids;
An' sewers stinkin' if they lift their lids.
Gee, Christ, and' ain't my old man's bones all plain?
Aw Gawd, it's hot! I wish to Hell 'twould rain!

Out 'mong the swells they're livin' easy now;
Where their coin comes from, they don't know, nor how.
They're dressin' thin or sportin' in the cool,
A-leavin' me to work, a sweatin' fool.
We do the work, why don't they ever say,
Come down to Sixt' street on an August day?
I ain't no Anarchist, but can you explain—
Aw Gawd, it's hot! I wish to Hell 'twould rain!

THE CLASS WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE GROWTH AND OUTCOME OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

BY

ARCHIBALD CRAWFORD



STREET SCENE—JOHANNESBURG.

NO country has, for the past thirty years, been more subject to Capitalist domination than South Africa, nor has a single country been so free from strikes.

About four years ago the miners on the Rand gold mining area were the victims of South Africa's first strike. About two years later the workers employed on the Government owned railroads of Natal conducted a short but futile struggle against their tyrant masters—the people's government! Six months ago the Street Car men in South Africa's greatest city scored the first victory for the working class and but a few weeks ago, Capital avenged itself most ruthlessly on the vic-

tors. The story of these strikes is the story of Industrial Unionism in South Africa, its growth and outcome.

There are two chief characters running through this tale and both are Irish. It is surprising that this should be so, for the forceful membership and officialdom of revolutionary working class activity in South Africa is composed for the most part of Scotch and to a lesser extent of Germans and Jews. Chance has however brought these two—a son and daughter of the Emerald isle—before the limelight.

Mary Fitzgerald was born twenty-eight years ago, came to South Africa at the age of sixteen and married two years

later. A rebel from birth, she refused to sacrifice her economic independence, so she has continued to play on the keyboard of a typewriter. About eight years ago the Transvaal Miners' Association decided to employ a typist and stenographer and Mrs. Fitzgerald secured the position. It was quite an open secret that a woman's was the most powerful influence on the conduct of the Miner's Union. She, more than the membership, determined the appointment of officers and organizers, a fact which led a clever schemer and candidate for the general secretaryship of the Union to offer her a large bribe for her support and connivance to secure his election to office. The exposé saved organized labor from a designing scoundrel, and earned for Mrs. Fitzgerald the thanks in tangible form, of the Union. Throughout the strike period Mrs. Fitzgerald served the Union and after seven years' service, resigned to assume business control of the "Voice of Labor," South Africa's national working class paper and organ of the S. A. Socialist Party and the I. W. W.

Comrade and Fellow-worker T. Glynn is quite a recent addition to our ranks. About two years ago, a tall slim fellow of modest and retiring disposition, wearing a motorman's uniform, would sit in some obscure corner of the Socialist Hall listening eagerly to the speeches and debates. Only when some "faker" would propound a fallacy calculated to miseducate and mislead the working class would he stir. Then, a small red spot would show itself on his otherwise pale face. As the lying talk of the politician proceeded the red spot would grow larger until it overspread his whole features and seemed to dye the roots of his hair. A logical outcome would appear to be a belching outburst of flame, a sort of human volcano. Suddenly as if a bomb were exploded underneath his seat, the quiet obscure motorman would straighten up his towering frame, forcibly and with lightning rapidity express himself, astonish everyone, transform the complexion of the falsifier to a ghastly pallor, and having had his say, as suddenly sit down. Here, thought I, is a true rebel if ever there was one. I sought his company, harnessed his modest but able pen to the cause and left him a chief pillar and sup-



MARY FITZGERALD.

port of the "Voice" during my absence. But to return to my story.

THE MINERS' STRIKE.

Great capital came to South Africa thirty years ago for the purpose of robbing the prospectors and individual miners of their titles to gold mining claims on an area known as the "Witwatersrand," situated in the Transvaal, in the heart of British South Africa. The prodigious value of these claims may be gathered from the fact that right now almost one half of all the gold produced in the whole world, comes out of an area of fifty or sixty square miles within the "Rand." To provide the most economical means of production the Capitalists in 1895, through Dr. (now Sir Leander Starr) Jamieson attempted by bloody revolution to overthrow constitutional authority as manifest in Boer rule. This proving futile, the Boer war was carefully planned. In the interests of Capitalism the veldt was strewn with the corpses of luckless innocents between whom no real quarrel existed, and for three years the rivers of South Africa ran crimson with their hearts' blood. The war over, the fashionable clubs of London, Paris and Berlin poured out a gang of financiers and feather-bed fighters who stepped in to rule the country for which they had neither fought nor sacrificed and the soldiers returned to their homes to starve. Hordes of yellow laborers were imported from



A MACHINE DRILL AT WORK.

China to work for one-tenth the white man's wage and an attack upon the wages of such white man as were employed in the hazardous occupation of mining was planned.

Originally one white man manipulated one rock drill and was provided with a Kaffir or Chinese helper, or one white man supervised the work of sixteen hammer boys (i. e. Kaffirs who did hand drilling). Of the total labor employed underground the proportion of colored to white was originally about nine to one. Of the six or seven thousand miners employed about two-thirds undertook contracts to break so much ground at a certain price per fathom, from which was deducted the cost of dynamite, candles, colored labor, etc., supplied by the mine management.

First, a machineman was asked to take an extra rock-drill and an extra hammer-boy was added to the gang of hand drillers. The white contractors were pleased. With increased colored labor to exploit, their monthly checks grew in size. More machines were handed them and sometimes asked for until — Well, let's print a few extracts from the report of the "Mining Industry Commission" which was sitting about this time.

Paragraph 238. Mr. Hoffman, Consulting Engineer to Messrs. A. Goertz & Co. said:

"My idea is to cut down the number of white miners, and there won't be the need for as many miners for one thing."

Paragraph 243. Mr. Thos. Mathews, Secretary Miners' Union, said:

"One white man should only run one machine . . . and two unskilled colored laborers" (to assist).

Paragraph 268. Sub-Committee No. 2 of the Chamber of Mines, General Committee in their evidence, say:

"In some cases where mechanical appliances have been introduced we find them erected and run entirely by natives, and so satisfactorily as to obviate the extended employment of white labor on economic grounds."

Paragraph 269. Mr. Way, Consulting Engineer to the E. R. P. Mines, said:

"The trouble with the mines is that underground the white labor so-called is not labor at all, it is merely supervision."

Paragraph 270. Mr. Peterson, Mine Manager, said:

"We have some Kaffirs who are better machine men than many of the white men."

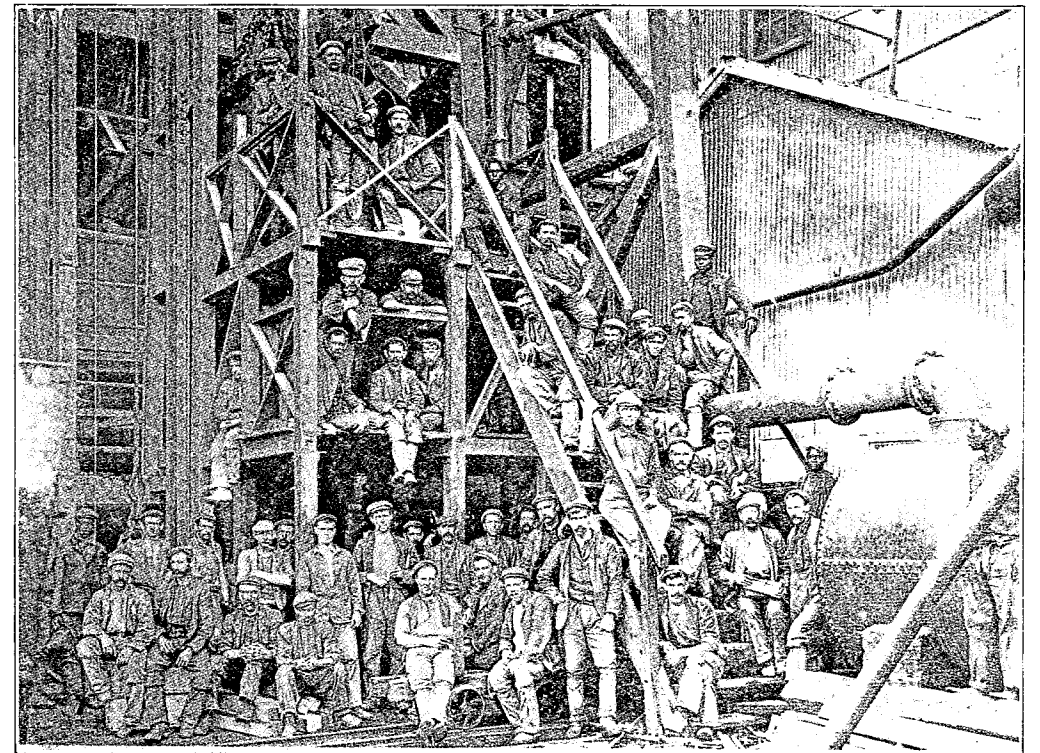
But what's the use of going on? The newspapers at the time were full of it. In their greed to make a few extra dollars the miners had "cut their own throats" by teaching the colored man how to do the work and himself became a mere supervisor—a *parasite!*



NATIVES HAND DRILLING.



MINE BOYS.



MINERS GOING ON SHIFT.

And when the aim of the Capitalist was discovered these workingmen who were not *really* workingmen demanded a return to old times. "One man—one machine!" was their slogan. By this time from six to eight machines per white man was common and the refusal of a miner on the "Knight's Deep" to take another still, started the strike.

Out of the mines poured the miners—no, not the miners, merely the supervisors. The black and yellow men were the real miners but the superior white men did not recognize anything human that was not white. So the co-operation of the colored worker was never sought. To suggest such a thing, if such a strange idea should occur to anyone, would have caused the listeners to shove the suggestion back and down the throat of the suggester.

And so the mines worked merrily on as usual!

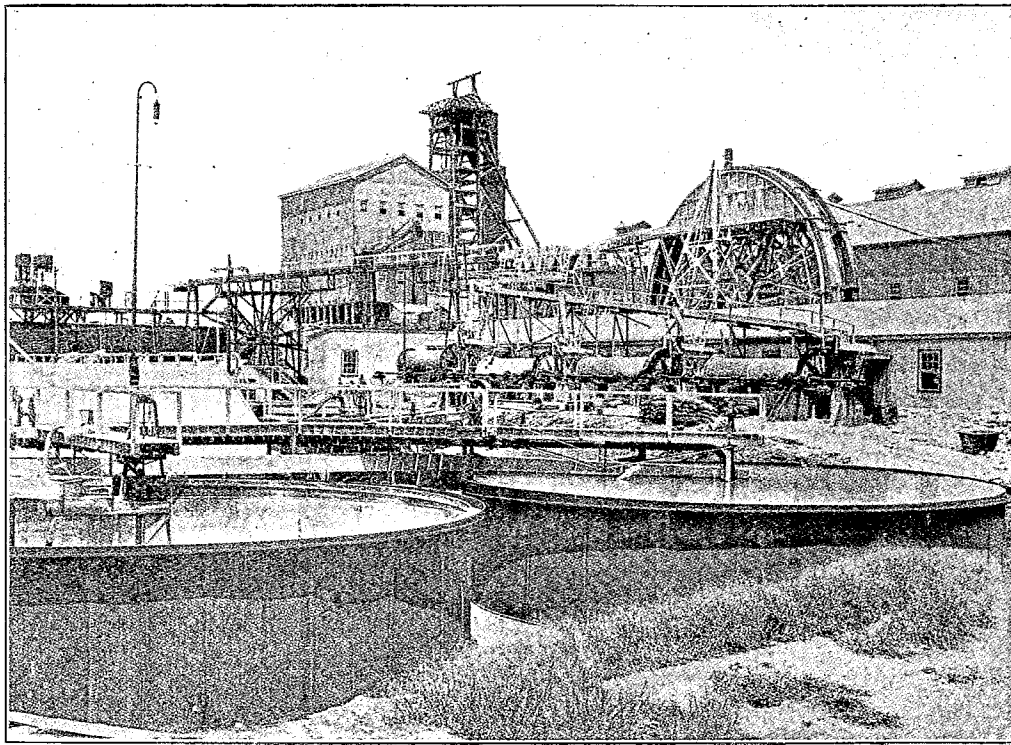
But there existed a gleam of hope in another direction. The hoisting engineers had the strongest union on the Rand. Almost every man who handled

a throttle valve was a member. Besides, a law of the land provided that only certain certificated men could hoist a mine cage or skip. To their fellow unionist the miners turned—in vain! With their union cards in their pockets, their hands on the levers and eyes on the indicators of their engines, the engineers stuck loyally by their bosses—the oppressors and humiliators of their fellow union miners.

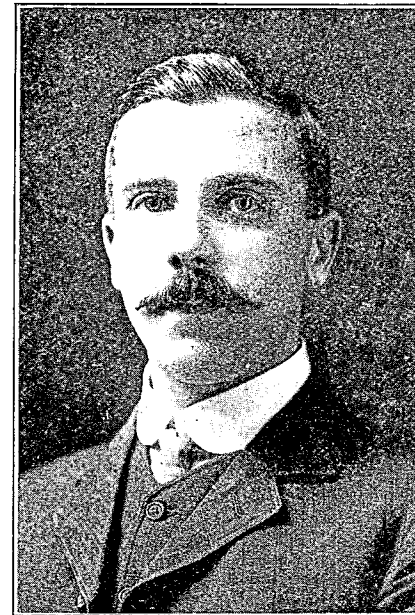
And after three months of starvation and suffering on the part of men, women and children, the miners who were permitted, crawled back to work humiliated, defeated and disgraced.

THE STREET CAR STRIKE.

The lesson of the miners' strike was appreciated by intelligent workingmen. The inauguration of an Industrial Union movement in America turned enquiring and anxious minds in that direction. The idea and tactics of Industrial Unionism became slightly understood. First, I founded the "General Workers' Union" with the Johannesburg Street Car men as its earliest members, but the antagonism of the Trade's Hall and the strangeness of



VILLAGE MAIN REEF GOLD MINE.



J. DAVIDSON,
First General Secretary, I. W. W., South Africa.

the idea resulted in its flickering life giving out. Tom Mann, imbued with the Industrial Union sentiment drawn chiefly from the "Int. Soc. Review" but perverted to gain the support of existing craft unions, visited the Rand under Trades Council auspices. The latter formed an "Industrial Workers Union" composed of unorganized workers for whom no union already existed. The Trades Council hoped to exploit this economic organization at the impending Union Parliamentary Elections. Glynn, however, Jim Davidson, Dunbar, (leader Natal Railway strike) and a number of other industrialists captured the organization and put it on a proper basis. The Trades Council would now have destroyed it but a few strong men—than whom no stronger are known to the world movement—stuck to the new Union. An opportunity was soon to come to prove the mettle of these men and the value of their tactics.

Twice the street men had organized and twice had the Municipal Council broken up their organization. The men were generally regarded as a weak-kneed lot and Peach, an inspector, played the very devil amongst them, making a veritable hell of their lives. The temporary removal of Peach to another department

permitted the Street Car men to gain a measure of joy in their toil but an indication of his early return to his old job cast a gloom over the service and suggested the idea of revolt.

Glynn became transformed into a fiery volcano with contagious effect. He convened a meeting of the men and a letter was forwarded to the Municipal Street Car Committee protesting against the return to the service of the obnoxious Peach.

"Ha! Ha! Ha!" "Hot air." "Ain't we got a law to fix 'em?" and such like were the ejaculations of the committee, which in its simpleness believed that the Industrial Disputes Act, which made striking illegal, also unmade men, transformed them into jellyfish. "Turn the letter down" was the unanimous chorus.

At 1 a. m. one Saturday morning, the Street Car men met to consider their grievance. Labor politicians, members of parliament and prospective M. P.'s, with ambitious gleams in their eyes and votes in their hearts, crowded round with advice. A petit-bourgeois, Mr. F. H. P. Cresswell, M. P., rose to speak. "Peace, legality and compromise" was immediately manifest as his text. Suddenly all eyes became turned on Glynn as they might



ARCHIBALD CRAWFORD,
Editor "Voice of Labor," South Africa.

turn to a sudden glare on a dark night. In his characteristic manner he had jumped up. Said he: "If there are to be any Trades Hall scabs in this business I'm out of it. Choose between them and me." The significance of the words "Trades Hall scabs" was scarcely understood by the Street Car men, but true to their class instinct they choose Glynn.

A peculiar quiet pervaded the whole town that Saturday morning. Thousands of suburbans waiting at distant places for their accustomed car quickly learned the reason. They also learned—as they trudged in the sweltering heat towards town—to swear. Shop assistants and clerks, etc., arriving late at work, affected the pocket and thence the brain of business men. At 10 a. m., the Chamber of Commerce met and drew up recommendations for the settlement of the strike. The men should return to work and enquiry should be held. "We want no enquiry" said the men "we want the unqualified removal of Peach from the Street Car service and for all time."

On the scene poured the city fathers, "We will have you arrested" said they. "We have anticipated that" said Glynn. "You can start with me and my place will be filled in regular order until we are all in jail and who will then run your cars?" And the perplexed city councillors finding threats unavailing, were dumb-founded. Here was a new and strange set of conditions to which they were unaccustomed.

At 11 a. m., in order to accelerate the end, Glynn and a small committee approached the workers in the Electric Light & Power Dept. "Fellow Workers," said they, "we are in trouble and it is your concern, as your trouble is, and will always be, ours. Help us today in our need. Tomorrow we will help you."

And the boiler firemen answered, "Unless the strike is settled in your favor by 1 p. m., we will draw the boiler fires."

"We will shut the engines down," added the locomotive engineers.

"We will turn the switches off," said the switchmen. And the city fathers were notified accordingly.

And being mostly drapers and merchants, possessed of spacious warehouses in town and palatial dwellings in the fash-

ionable suburb of Parktown, they, thus, in pain, soliloquized.

"Without lights we can do no business tonight. From 6 p. m. to 9 p. m. it is dark. On Saturdays between these hours we do all our trade, for then, the miners and their wives pour into town from distant parts of the reef. Our homes, too, are in a distant and lonely suburb and it is we, and not the common herd, who attract the burglar. Our costly embellishments and valuable ware and jewels may be stolen from us. To submit to those vile recalcitrant working fools is very painful, but to lose our property and valuables would be even more excruciating. Damn this new tactic! It has found us unprepared. We can only submit meantime, prepare ourselves for similar contingencies in the future and inflict a heavy punishment. We will avenge this—our humiliation.

And at eight minutes to one, after a series of unavailing threats and appeals, a complete capitulation was made and the working class in South Africa won its first victory. The long procession of cars was met in town by a cheering and sympathetic populace. A day before, Glynn was the solitary street car man in the I. W. W. As quick as they could, three hundred motormen and conductors joined the I. W. W. and the remaining one was given five days to make his mind up.

REPRISALS.

The street car strike proved a great stimulus to the I. W. W. Within a few short weeks its membership on the Rand alone exceeded that of any other working class organization in South Africa. It was a live organization. Wherever men gathered together, there was the I. W. W. orator. The Capitalists became alarmed and hurried on their plans to destroy the organization. When brought to their knees they had promised to remove Peach from the service forever and ever, but Capitalists have no sense of honor or shame and a "Peach Enquiry Board" was constituted. Street car men were summoned to appear before the board. At the appointed hour the members of the board with wrinkled brows, funereal countenances and solemn demeanor, waited for their prey—the simple uneducated workingman. Oh, how their practiced tongues would pulverize the un-

wary members of the lower order! The very thought caused their fingers to curl and clinch and their teeth to grind.

But the working ass didn't come and next morning the country pealed with laughter. One scab set out for the place but by mistake arrived at the hospital or somewhere. Two I. W. W. pickets who were said to have misled the loyal and submissive wage slave were taken to the police station but afterwards liberated. Obviously only drastic means could hope to succeed.

Glynn and a fellow worker named Glendon were summoned to appear before the Street Car Committee. This time the notice was not headed "Peach Enquiry Committee" so they decided to attend. Two hours before Glynn and Glendon appeared in front of the committee, the "Voice of Labor" was authentically informed that Glynn and Glendon would be discharged and that rifles and ammunition had been handed out to the police, hundreds of whom were concentrating in Johannesburg from outside towns and districts.

A strike was again declared, but not before battalions of police had surrounded the Light & Power station and lined the streets. On the first day of the strike eight cars and sixteen scabs turned out protected by the armed police and jeered at by the crowd. Then took place one of the most thrilling incidents in the history of the class war in South Africa.

Mrs. Fitzgerald was one of the first members to join the I. W. W. and before it, the G. W. U. At a still earlier period the Trades Council had shown their appreciation of her work in a tangible and lasting form. She had played her part in every strike, as an official in the office of the Miners' Union and in the later strikes, as a member of the I. W. W.

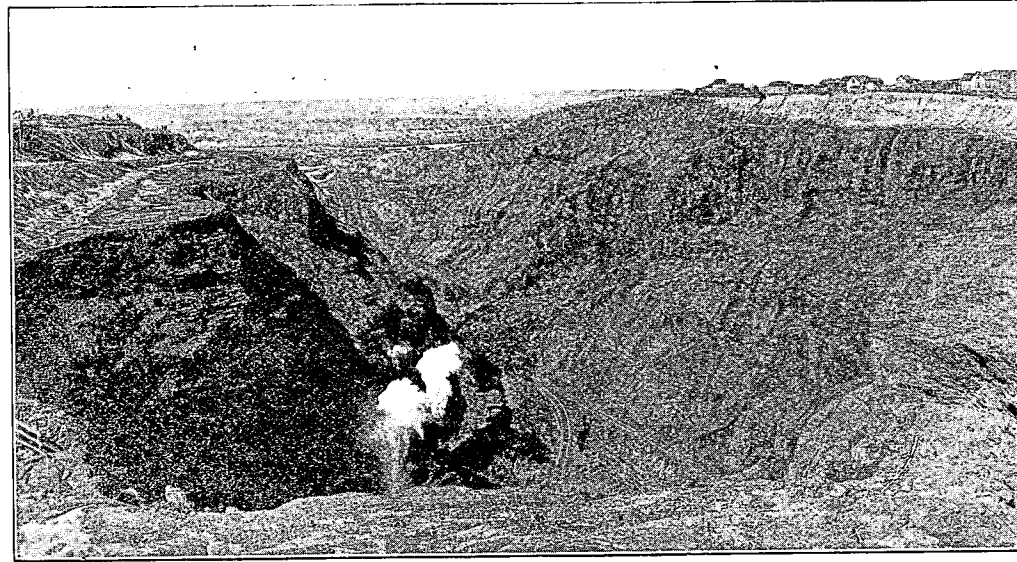
On the afternoon of the first day of this last strike, armed with a red flag, supported by Mrs. Davidson and other women also carrying red banners, and by an admiring and inspired crowd, she charged the police and their guns, stopped a car, pulled off the scabs, and ran the car back to the shed!

Glynn and Glendon had meantime been arrested in terms of the Industrial Disputes Act. That night barricades were erected on the Market Square, the foot police were supplemented by all available mounted police, and, too terrified to turn rifle ball upon brave women, pick handles superseded guns. Fresh attacks were made by the women upon the barriers, but they were mercilessly trampled upon by the mounted assassins. A demonstration was held, but speakers were arrested as they mounted the platform. On the second day of the strike a proclamation was issued, signed by the mayor and the police, prohibiting all public meetings. *The Act resuscitated by the Capitalists for this purpose was an act passed by Kruger to repress the Uitlander* and was held by the same Capitalists to be the direct incentive which brought on the Boer war!*

On the third day, despite the proclamation, a free speech fight was held in the Market Square. Glynn who had been liberated on \$500 bail appeared on the platform but was immediately rearrested and incarcerated. To the charge of infringing the Industrial Disputes Act was added two of a similar character and another for "wrongfully participating in a prohibited assembly in defiance of a proclamation, etc., etc."

The contest was short, sharp and bloody. This time the workers have to temporarily accept defeat. Glynn is serving a term of three months imprisonment with hard labor. From the ranks of the workers the slogan has gone forth "Close up the ranks." And the response is inspiring to us rebels and bodes ill for Capitalism in the near future. This experience is only a foretaste of what is to come. There are bigger armies of labor to fight and be fought. Keep your eyes on South Africa, comrades and fellow-workers of the world. There Capitalism is seen in its most naked and unashamed, its most cruel and inexorable, form. And facing it is as brave a little band of workingmen and working women rebels as the world has ever known.

*Meaning "Alien" or at that time Englishman.



A DEATH PIT.

“REASONABLE” CRIME

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

HERE is a bit of recent history connected with the Steel Trust that the government committee now investigating the octopus will not inquire into.

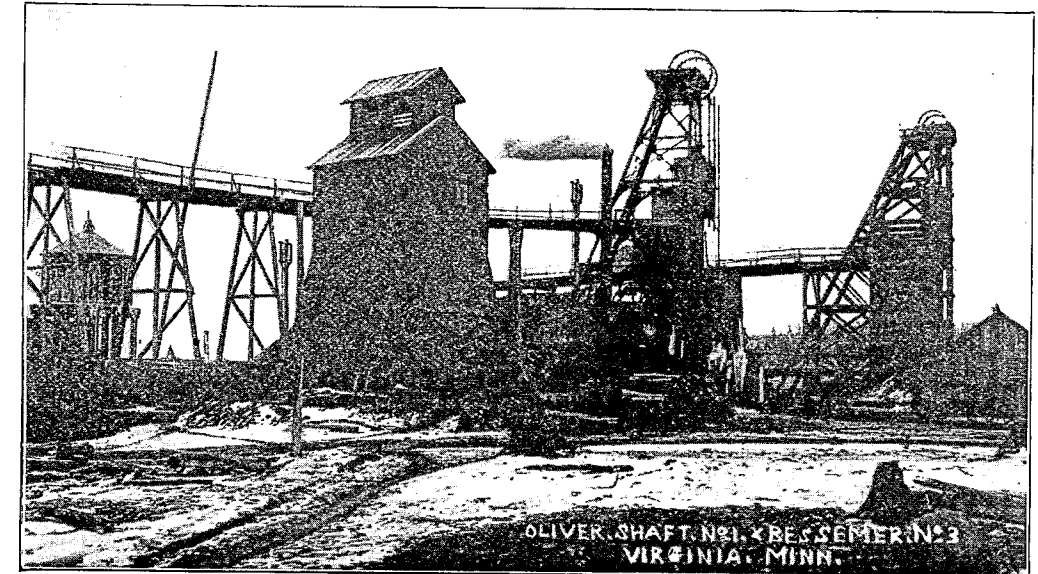
On the eleventh day of last March a cave-in occurred in the Norman mine. Thirty men were caught in the death trap; four escaped with injuries; 26 are said to have been killed. At this writing all of the bodies have not been recovered. Though three months have elapsed since the slaughter, no effort is being made to remove the remains of the dead men. They are covered with thousands of tons of rock and iron ore and will probably stay there until the bones are scooped up with a steam shovel to be transported with the ore to a fiery furnace.

The Norman property is operated by the Oliver Mining Company, a subsidiary of the Steel Trust. This branch of the industry is represented in the United States Smelter by the Pittsburg millionaire after whom the mining company is

named, and also the Oliver Steel works, near Pittsburg, Pa.

The Norman mine is one of hundreds being operated by the Steel Trust on the Missabe range. It is located at Virginia, Minnesota. Here the trust is absolutely in control. The private police of the Oliver Mining Company are a conscienceless lot of wretches. Like the cosacks of Pennsylvania, recruited from the dregs of society, they are vigilant in the interest of the company. No one is allowed to trespass on the domain. I was informed that arrangements were made for my arrest if I attempted to investigate the cave-in.

I secured the only picture taken. At the bottom of the terrible chasm can be seen the great pile of rock as it fell from the precipitous wall covering the tracks. Under this are bodies of human beings. Many are the pathetic stories told in connection with this disaster. In a family of four motherless children, the oldest a little girl who was acting the character of



OLIVER SHAFT NO. 1, KESSEMER NO. 2
VIRGINIA, MINN.

“Little Meg” to the rest, became worried because her father did not come home. She was prepared to ask the boss to allow her papa to come home to his supper. It was many days before she learned that daddy would never come home again.

This catastrophe and its results have been hushed up. No information can be had as to what provision has been made for the widows and orphans. It is one of the many Steel Trust cases that will not be investigated.

In philanthropic endeavor the Steel Trust has nothing on its little brother of the plutes—the Lumber Trust. The time check, here reproduced, tells its own story, showing how men are compelled to work for this benevolent outfit for fifty cents a day. During one of the bitterest storms last winter a crew of men were employed to shovel snow from the tracks during the night. Next day the storm abated. The men were discharged. The usual deductions, as shown on the card, were made. As these men were working for \$1.80 per day they got but 30 cents for the night's labor.

It is unnecessary to say there are no labor organizations here. The helpless will-o'-the-wisp trade unions are as chaff in the grip of these mighty trusts. The Socialist movement among the Finns causes the companies some worry, because our Finnish comrades do not con-

Form No. 10

The Virginia & Rainy Lake Company
Virginia, Minn. 3/11/1911
Edward H. H. No. 3439
has worked for The Virginia & Rainy Lake Company as follows:

Working at: Handing
During Month of: March 7 Days
Total Days employed for the Company: 7

WAGES TO BE PAID:
Days at \$ 2.00 2.00
Days at \$ 1.80 1.26
Days at \$ 1.50 1.05
Days at \$ 1.00 .70
Days at \$.50 .35
Total amount due: 50 cents

Deduct as follows:
For Hospital: 1.00
For Aid: .50
For Other 1.50
Net amount due: 50 cents

Only 30 cents
PAYABLE THROUGH FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF VIRGINIA
SUSCEPTIBLE TO CHANGES AND CORRECTIONS AT VIRGINIA OFFICE.
Not valid unless countersigned by A. D. HERRICK
Countersigned: A. D. Herrick 20262

fine their efforts to any one line of action. They believe the working-class should be organized and to this end are spending time and money to carry the propaganda to the sovereign American citizen.

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE TRUSTS?

BY

ROBERT J. WHEELER



ROBERT J. WHEELER.

NEARLY every one knows what a TRUST is. These great business organizations which have gained control of the FOOD we eat, the CLOTHES we wear, the material out of which our houses are built, the TELEGRAPH and TELEPHONE service by means of which we communicate with people at a distance, the OIL and COAL we burn, the RAILROADS over which we travel and by means of which goods are sent from place to place, in fact, almost everything we use in life is in the control of some TRUST. And when we die they hand us over to the COFFIN TRUST. We fear the power of the TRUSTS; we are beginning to hate the TRUSTS and, most important, we are about decided that WE MUST DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE TRUST QUESTION. What shall we do?

They have become so powerful. They have become so cruel. They care nothing for the people of this land. Their only thought and aim and purpose is to get more wealth and more power. Today the wealth of the TRUST OWNERS amounts to THOUSANDS OF MIL-

LIONS. All their sons and daughters cannot begin to spend the interest on all this wealth. So they spend their time in going up and down the land wasting the wealth which is wrung out of the very lives of the working people. One TRUST OWNER'S daughter spends \$200,000 yearly on dress alone, while thousands of working people who helped produce that wealth go without sufficient clothing in winter. The wife of another TRUST magnate gives a ball that costs \$150,000, while down in the slums of the same city, more than 5,000 little babies die every summer because they cannot be provided with pure milk and countless other thousands grow up without ever seeing a green field or a wild flower in bloom. Last week, the widow of a TRUST OWNER spent \$1,000,000 on entertainments for the King and Queen of England and a host of other USELESS PEOPLE, and in mills, mines and factories in America where the husband of this woman gathered the great wealth she wastes, men are toiling twelve hours a day, seven days a week, for just enough wages to keep them alive and in condi-

tion to work. Women are bending over frame and loom and machine for less than living wages and are being forced into the streets to lead lives of shame in order to make ends meet. Little children are being hurried to the mills almost before their lives are begun, there to be coined into dollars for an idle woman to throw away.

And not satisfied with the untold wealth now in their possession, these great robbers, the TRUST OWNERS continue to exploit us. They have the power to do so. They control the goods we must have in order to live. They know not the meaning of pity or mercy or compassion. They are not human beings, they are TRUST OWNERS, and they squeeze us because they have the power. They can make us work harder. They can shade wages to a bare living.

But we can stand it no longer. We have suffered so much that it has driven us to look about for a way to throw off the power of the TRUSTS. And as we go about seeking a remedy for our trouble, we hear men on every hand calling to us to come and listen to the remedy they have to propose. Some men have been calling out to us for a long time that the best plan is to REGULATE THE TRUSTS. Ex-President Roosevelt was one of those men. While he was President he made that remedy popular, but he did not use it. When President Taft came into office, he put forth strong efforts to do what Roosevelt talked so much about—REGULATE the TRUSTS. At last the Supreme Court, which is composed of CORPORATION LAWYERS, who formerly were HIGHLY PAID SERVANTS of the TRUSTS, rendered a decision on two cases which had been carried up to them by their old masters the TRUST OWNERS. These cases were the STANDARD OIL and TOBACCO CASES. The Supreme Court said: there are good and bad TRUSTS. A bad TRUST is one that is unreasonable. A GOOD TRUST IS one that is reasonable. They further said that these two TRUSTS must dissolve and reorganize again into good TRUSTS. Of course you can not understand this. But do not worry about that. No one else can either. It is wisdom as we get it from the SUPREME COURT and was

not meant to be understood by any one but the TRUST OWNERS, who knew weeks in advance what the SUPREME COURT would say and were all ready for it. The next day Standard Oil and Tobacco stock jumped up in price on the market. You see it is a good thing for the TRUSTS that they OWN the SUPREME COURT along with other things. The TRUSTS ARE NOT LETTING ANY VALUABLE THING RUN AROUND LOOSE. A SUPREME COURT is very valuable to the TRUSTS. You have been taught to fear, respect and love the SUPREME COURT. As long as the TRUSTS can count on you not losing your fear, respect and love for this institution, it makes no difference who or what the men are who sit on the supreme bench as judges. So the TRUSTS OWNERS have packed the Court with their HIRED MEN and expect you to reverence them as of old for therein is the TRUST OWNERS' defense. But we shall see what we shall see.

Then there is another kind of a man who has a remedy to propose. This man says:

"These TRUSTS are wicked things." Let us break them up. Let us destroy them, root and branch. Let us put the TRUST OWNERS in jail and make them break stone on the rock pile. Let us TAKE AWAY THE WEALTH WHICH THEY HAVE STOLEN FROM THE PEOPLE." This kind of man is a DEMOCRAT OR A PROGRESSIVE REPUBLICAN. He represents the LITTLE BUSINESS MEN, whose business is being destroyed by the TRUSTS. These little fellows want to go back to the "good old days of COMPETITION," the time when all industry was carried on by small concerns. Because these little business men have possession of the Government they think they can turn progress backward. They fail to see that the outcome of Competition must always be MONOPOLY. The working people are being thrown out of work by the introduction of labor saving machinery. Just suppose we went about trying to break up the machines. Every one would say we were crazy anarchists. Yet we would be just as reasonable as are the little business men who want to break

up the TRUSTS. The trust is the machine which is taking the job away from the little business man. In their proposal to destroy the TRUST, the little business men are just where we were about 100 years ago. We, the workers, have made some progress in thought. We no longer want to destroy the machines.

In Washington today, the Democrats are investigating the TRUSTS. When Mr. Gary, of the STEEL TRUST was called to tell the Committee about his trust, Mr. Gary calmly told the Committee that the STEEL TRUST controlled the steel and iron business. Furthermore he showed the Committee that it would be utterly impossible to break up the TRUSTS, as such a proceeding would wreck the Nation. He proposed that the Government take charge of the STEEL TRUST. The Committee were stunned. They expected that the Wicked Steel Trust would be defiant and arrogant. Then the Committee would undertake to punish Mr. Gary for Contempt. They expected to make much good campaign material out of the investigation. But when Mr. Gary smilingly told the Committee everything they wanted to know, they were stumped. The next day the papers printed big headlines, declaring that Mr. Gary had offered to turn the Steel Trust over to the Government. Mr. Gary is a very clever gentleman. Like all the managers of trusts, he is a good thinker. He understands that COMPETITION leads always to MONOPOLY. He knows that the TRUSTS, having gotten control of the wealth producing machinery of the Nation, are more powerful than the Government. But Mr. Gary also understands that there is a Revolution brewing in America. He knows that unless there is something done to placate the workers, the crisis will come soon. So he proposes that the Government manage the Steel Trust. Clever gentleman that he is, he knows that once the Government undertakes such a task, the next step will be National Ownership. This will mean that the Government will buy out the Trusts, watered stock and all, and the present TRUST OWNERS will be relieved from all responsibilities and become BOND HOLDERS, like Andrew Carnegie, while the workers will be

compelled to work just as hard and receive no more pay than before.

This would not solve the problem for the working people. It would only give them a change of MASTERS. Instead of PRIVATE CAPITALISM, we would have NATIONAL CAPITALISM. Then the Army and the POLICE could be used legally to break up our unions and compel us to work for whatever the Government chose to pay us. The wise ones among the Capitalists have been preparing for just this step. That is why they had the DICK MILITARY BILL passed. Under this law, every man in the Nation, is a member of the Militia of his state. Thus under NATIONAL CAPITALISM, *we could be called into the Army at any time* and our strikes broken as they broke the FRENCH RAILROAD WORKERS' STRIKE, last year.

But there is a way to solve this TRUST problem which will give the Workers every thing they desire. The Socialists propose that the workers organize in every MILL and MINE and FACTORY and every other department of industry in the land. Also to organize with the Socialist Party on the political field. Then the Socialists propose that the workers take possession of the TRUSTS and all other industries and that the WORKERS in each industry manage the production of wealth. Then instead of politicians being sent to legislatures or to Congress, the workers shall send experts whom the workers shall choose. These experts shall represent the industries in Legislatures and in Congress. The duties of such a body of representatives would then consist of planning the distribution of the wealth which the workers in the industries produce and in regulating the rate of production, so that enough would always be produced for all the people. This would be Socialism.

Your part, Mr. Worker, will be to organize a Union in your own industry; a Union which shall finally take in every worker in your industry from the laborer to the paid manager. Thus you will train the workers in each industry and give them practice in Democracy, or the rule of the Worker. Your Union can help you get better wages and shorter hours—even today while the change is taking place.

Then every worker must join the So-

cialist Party. This will organize your power on the political field and give you possession of Government. You will thus be able to defend the workers against the capitalist courts, army and police while the change is being made. The purpose

of the industrial Union and the Socialist Party will be to destroy the power of capitalists and place the workers in supreme control. Then the Producers of Wealth shall be the owners thereof and the problem will be finally *solved*.

RACE OR CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS: WHICH?

BY

JOHN P. BURKE

IN organizing the working class of the United States into a class-conscious industrial and political organization, the Socialist movement has one obstacle to contend with that no other country has to such an extent. In this country, the vast working-class population is composed of nearly every race under the sun.

Thousands of these working men and women come from subject countries that have been ruled for hundreds of years by depotic powers. In their countries they have been treated as inferior races; and every opportunity for mental, social or material advancement has been rigidly denied them. It is not surprising, then, that certain races have developed a very strong race-consciousness. The persecutions they have had to endure have cemented them together and taught them the necessity of race solidarity.

Race solidarity is admirable when used in fighting for liberty or in resisting oppression; but above race-consciousness and race solidarity should be placed class-consciousness and class solidarity.

In the United States the capitalist class rely upon the race-consciousness of the working class to keep them divided upon both the industrial and the political field. Both of the capitalist political parties, the Republican and the Democratic, have a corps of politicians to deliver the vote of their respective races.

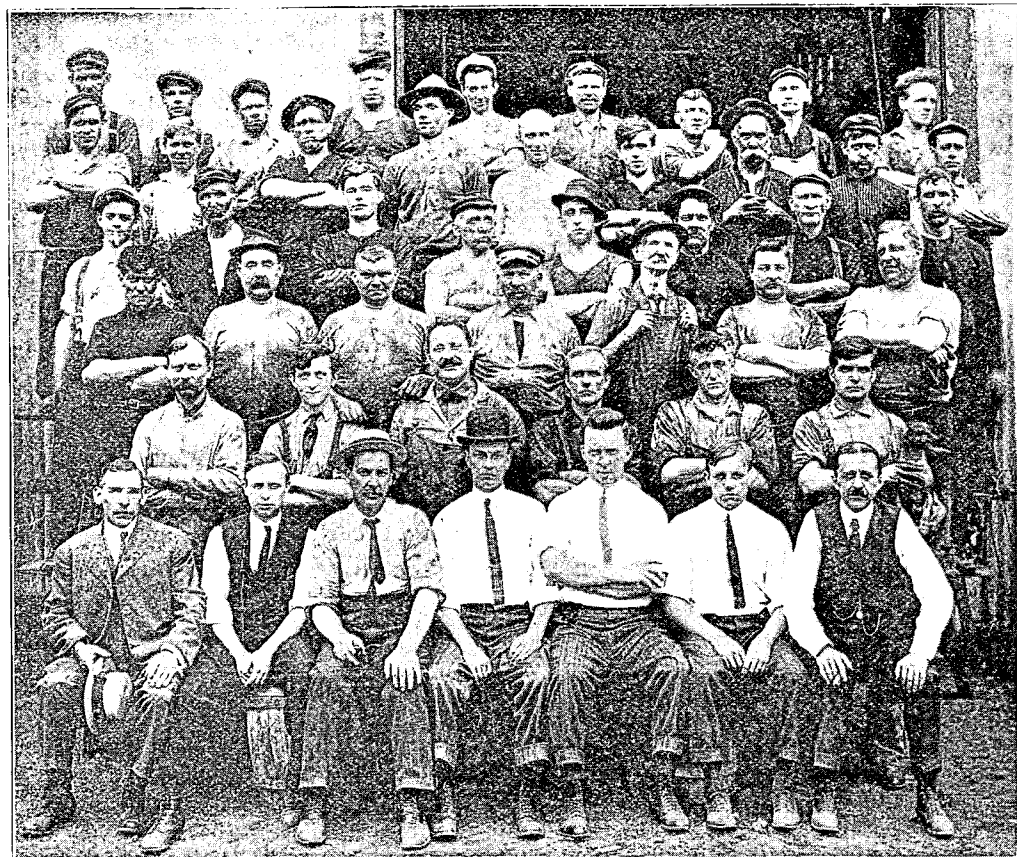
In strong Irish communities a certain number of Irishmen receive nomination

on both the Republican and the Democratic tickets, and they are supposed to deliver the vote of the Irish race. How? By appealing to the race-consciousness of the Irish workers. By waving the green flag, and shouting "Home Rule for Ireland!" Congressman O'Connell, in a recent issue of the *Boston Post*, charged that the notorious Fitzgerald, mayor of Boston, almost incited race and religious riots to insure his election.

In the French strongholds of New England, the election cry of the French politician is: "French vote for the French!" The Italian and the German politician sound the same note, and decoy the workers of their race into voting the tickets of the capitalist masters.

The lesson that the working class of the United States must learn is, substitute class action for race action. Class action includes race action; class-consciousness includes race-consciousness; class solidarity includes race solidarity. By standing shoulder to shoulder with our fellow workmen of every race, creed or color, we not only assist the workers of our own race, but we assist the workers of every race.

The capitalist class is united, irrespective of race, creed or color; the working class must be united irrespective of race, creed or color. United, as workmen, into one great all-embracing industrial union; and united at the ballot box, under the banner of political Socialism, we will be invincible in our attacks upon the capitalist system.



A GROUP OF STRIKERS.

THE STRIKE AT BALDWIN'S

BY

ED. MOORE

A TEST of strength to decide whether all the men who build locomotives shall continue to be employed, or whether some of them shall be thrown out to starve when orders fall off was the cause of the general strike of 12,000 men against the management of the Baldwin Locomotive Works in its plants in Philadelphia and Eddystone. Eddystone is just outside of Chester, Pa.

Thirteen different craft unions, federated in the Allied Council of Locomotive Builders, all its members employed in

the Baldwin plants, laid down their tools and walked out on strike for the purpose of forcing the general superintendent to order the re-employment of 1,200 men who had been laid off. Most of the men had been picked out, as the general superintendent admitted, because they were openly and boldly active in pushing the work of organizing the locomotive builders and teaching them that profits come out of that part of the work in building locomotives for which the employes receive no money.

"The Hell Hole of Philadelphia," is

what the Baldwin Locomotive works is called in the City of Brotherly Love. For years every effort to get the men employed in it to form or join a union failed. From ten to twenty thousand accidents occur there every year and in hundreds of cases the victims die from their injuries. Apparently this state of affairs made no impression on the fortunate ones who recovered and who were permitted to return to work, nor did the deaths from the fatal accidents seem to be a warning to all the employes of what was likely to be their fate at any moment. But expanding industry—business growing larger—works in mysterious ways its educational mission to perform.

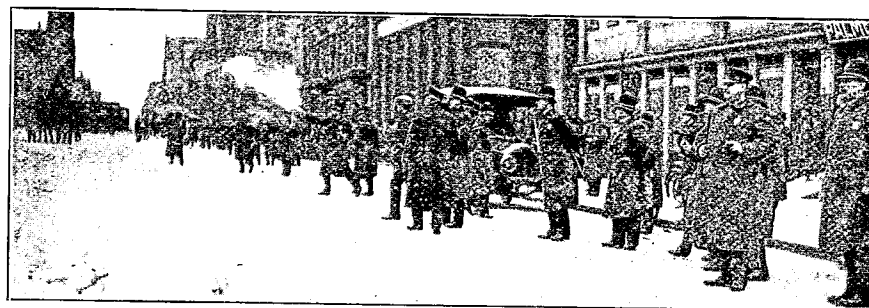
In February, 1910, the motormen and conductors of the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company, which operate all of the street railways of the city, struck in retaliation for the laying off of several hundred union carmen without a moment's notice by the company.

Using the sentiment created by the Socialist party for unity of action by the workers, a clique of trade union politicians, in a spirit of bravado, and to make a bluff to frighten the businessmen, who give the capitalists' orders to the politicians of the old and reform parties, to make them place union labor leaders as candidates on the capitalists' tickets, declared they would call a general strike of all the workers in the city if the Rapid Transit Company did not make a settlement with its striking employes.

Unions not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and shop associations, some of them formed on the spur of the moment, forced the hands of the bluffing trade union politicians, and, in the wave of class-conscious enthusiasm

which swept the city from its conservative moorings, the workers in the Baldwin shops became the smashing shoulder that shivered the bulwarks of the traction company.

Taught their own power by standing shoulder to shoulder to help the trolley-men, the Baldwin workers agreed, while still out fighting for the trolley-men, that they would organize for their own benefit. While in this state of mind, business agents and organizers of the craft unions prejudiced their minds against the Industrial Workers of the World by insinuating that it is the same kind of a union as the Keystone Union, an association of scab trolley-men that the Rapid Transit Company has organized. To keep the ranks of the strikers unbroken, the Industrial Workers of the World, while denying the lying accusations of the craft union officials encouraged the Baldwin men to organize, preferring to see them united in some kind of a union rather than to let them remain unorganized, with each individual at the mercy of the spiteful little bosses. By boasting of the large membership of the A. F. of L., and its financial resources to aid its members in their strikes, the Baldwin men were induced to go into thirteen craft unions. But the idea of one big union had taken such firm root in their minds that it forced the international craft unions to grant to their locals a dispensation to let their members form a locomotive builders' council. In all matters affecting the Baldwin shops the Allied Council of Locomotive Builders has jurisdiction. It set its face against paid business agents, and it does its work through unpaid committees.



POLICE FIRING AT WORKERS IN BALDWIN LOCOMOTIVE WORKS DURING THE STREET CAR STRIKE.

During the year of its existence, the Council has done remarkably good work by shortening the hours of labor—securing Saturday half-holiday—and in getting an increase in wages. It was preparing a new wage scale, and to make sure of its acceptance by the Baldwin Locomotive Works, the several unions in the Council vigorously pushed the work of getting those not members to join them. At the noon hour, the committees went from one department to another exerting moral pressure, sometimes with physical force, on the non-unionists.

A workingman in one of the departments committed suicide, and the charge was made and posted in conspicuous places in the works, that he was driven to it by the insistent demands of the union men that he should become a member. This charge made the union men indignant, and as several of their number had been fatally burned in a preventable accident only a few days before the non-unionist took his own life, they compared the hushing up of the details of the killing of their fellow-unionists with the loud outcry about the death of a man who took his life with his own hands.

Indignation ran high. The boldest among the men wanted to lay down their tools at once and remain idle until the insulting notice was removed. Advised by those who thought it best not to be too radical, the insult was swallowed. Before the smart from the sting of the insult had ceased to hurt, committeemen and active unionists were laid off. A falling off of orders was the reason given for laying off 1,200 men. That the company was lying was evident to the men when they were told that they would have to take off their union buttons. Unionism and not slack work was the reason the men were laid off.

The Machinist Union in the plant was hit the hardest. At a meeting, it instructed its president, who was one of its delegates to the Council, to insist that a demand should be made that the victimized men should be re-employed. One of the discharged active union men had been a trusted employe of the company continuously for thirty years.

Remembering the big promises of the international unions, and anxious to get the financial assistance they promised to

give any of their members who should be forced to strike, the Council called in the presidents of the international unions. These officials, while very generous with words of sympathy for the victimized men, said that in view of the business conditions they would not sanction a strike, and they succeeded in persuading the Council to take no action.

Because he had disobeyed its orders, and because it believed that it was mainly through his influence that the Council accepted the suggestion of the international officials not to order a strike, the Machinist Union deposed its president.

Feeling assured that it had the men beaten at every point, the Baldwin Locomotive works took advantage of the refused support of the international unions. There came a sudden change of front in the manner of General Superintendent Vauclain from sympathetic consideration to a proud and insulting manner. His taunt was that if the men struck hunger would bring them back to the shops. Baldwin's thought they could slip over a knock-out blow. They aimed in the stay bolt shop. This shop is in the boiler-making department, in which the most aggressive union men work. A foreman was discharged because he would not take off his union button. A number of his men went out with him. This started the stampede which, for all practical purposes, closed the plants in Philadelphia and Eddystone.

A factor, which may have been the predominating one in getting the men to stand together, was the police interference with Elizabeth Gurley Flinn. They had orders to interfere when she attempted to speak at the noon hour in front of the Baldwin Philadelphia plant. It showed the men on whose side the city government is, and they grasped the idea of One Big Union to get the best of the bosses.

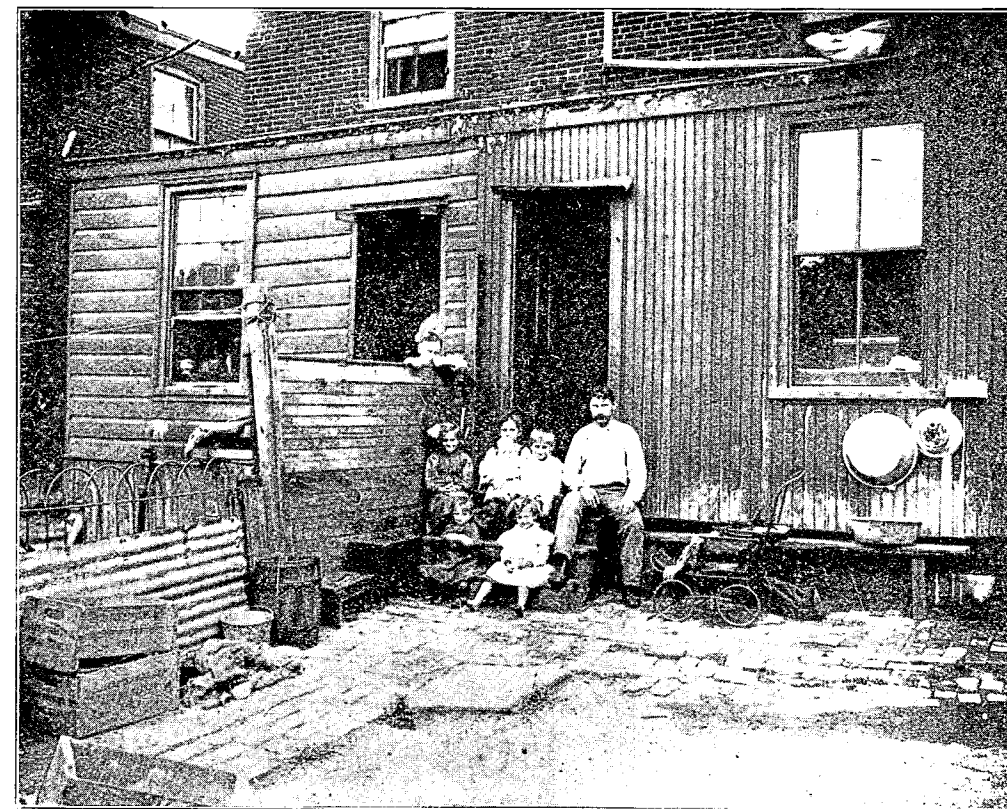
One of the first acts of the men after coming out on strike was to take authority out of the hands of the Allied Council of Locomotive Builders and vest it in a strike committee composed of delegates from the unions. The members of the strike committee are the most radical men in the unions. By this act notice was served that the strikers were going to attend to their own business in their own way.

What was the most remarkable thing about the strike was its democratic management, and in a most intelligent manner, by men, who until they came out were unknown in the labor movement, and regarded by themselves and their fellow-workmen as incapable of doing big things. But they handled a situation that would drive a trained tactician from West Point insane, and a Kuraupotkin would have fallen back on suicide to get out of it.

As soon as a relief committee was appointed on the first day of the strike, urgent demands for immediate relief were made. Look at the picture of the striker and his family. His own statement is that he had not made a full week's time since the first of the year. He pays ten dollars a month for two small rooms and a little outside kitchen in a dilapidated house. It takes a large quantity of food to feed thirteen mouths, and this striker, employed only when the Baldwin works wanted him, owed two months rent, and

the grocer had a bill of twenty-seven dollars charged against him. General Superintendent Vauclain told a committee while in conference on the proposition of taking back the men laid off, that if a strike was ordered the company would wait until hunger made the employes beg to get back. Mr. Vauclain is reputed to be a Christian gentleman. Humility is a Christian virtue. Poverty is its mother. Vauclain keeps his workers poor, and that, he thought, would keep them so low spirited that they would never strike.

To keep roofs over their heads, and to get food to put into the mouths of several hundred hungry families of strikers was what the relief committee had to do at once. Official sanction of the strike was refused by the international officers. The international president of the Iron Molders' Union told striking molders at Eddystone to tear up their union cards, if ordered to do so by the Baldwin Company, and go back to work. In a situation as desperate as this, what would trained



A STRIKER'S HOME.



RESIDENCE OF A BALDWIN "BOSS."

military experts have done? Would they have done as well as the relief committee of the Baldwin strikers? And what was it this committee did? On a suggestion from the local I. W. W., endorsed by Local Philadelphia of the Socialist party, collections to aid the strikers were taken up from door to door. Members of the Socialist party and of the I. W. W. acted as guides for the strikers who collected money, as the cards they gave out stated, to keep Morgan from starving them. At last the army of the working class has learned how to live by foraging in the enemy's country. From the indications in the seamen's strike, it will next starve the enemy in its own country, by a general strike.

A far extended picket line was thrown around the plants. So vigilant were the

pickets that the workers in other industries in the war zone were often held up and made to prove that they were not strikebreakers. Every four hours the pickets were relieved, and a bicycle corps was on continuous duty, bringing in reports to headquarters, keeping all parts of the line in touch with what went on.

An ambitious politician, who wishes to be the next mayor, and his backers in the Department of Public Safety, did not dare to be too brutal, and as the strikers had friends in the neighborhoods where strikebreakers lived, and as these friends took good care of the "Heroes," no open clash between the city government, the ally of the Baldwin Locomotive works, and the forces of the strikers took place. One striker, a Pole, was seriously wounded by strikebreakers. Charles



WHERE THE WORKERS LIVE.

Schorr, who said he was a special policeman for Baldwin's, was killed in a quarrel that he started on a street car.

J. P. Morgan has put his fingers into the Baldwin Locomotive works' pie, and the drawing of the plums from it is the probable cause of the trouble. Organized workers resist when the screws are turned too fast and the pressure becomes too hard in squeezing out their blood.

Under the Morgan scheme of reorganizing the Baldwin Locomotive works, at least \$20,000,000 of water was added. As Morgan never takes less than fifty per cent of the spoils, he will probably get \$10,000,000 of real money out of the deal. At five per cent per annum, this will give him \$500,000 a year income from the labor of the locomotive builders in the Baldwin plants. A weekly tribute to him of \$9,-

615.38, paid out of the wealth put into the locomotives built by the wage-slaves in a great American industry, all in the city where it was proclaimed "all men are born free and equal." Look at the pictures of where the wage-slaves live, then look at the one of the home of the chief slave driver for Morgan in the Baldwin plants, and show us the equality and freedom that is the boast of our masters.

But we are on our way to freedom, marching on the road of industrial unity under the banner of One Big Union. We are banding together for revolutionary political action. We are calling the working class to revolt by the slogan: "Workmen of the world unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain."

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Editorial from the Maoriland Worker, New Zealand

BRIEFLY and plainly, then, Industrial Unionism is organization by industry rather than trade, in acceptance of the Class Struggle and bent upon the abolition of the wages system. In its aim it is Socialism, as it is in its philosophy; in its method it is industrial, affirming the industrial field to be paramount in importance as it is in actuality. It does not underrate Political Action.

All social institutions and relationships, it says, grow out of the economic foundation.

Economics (the manner of our wealth-making) is fundamental. All else follows.

Now let it be grasped that with the coming of Capitalism there came the proletariat, which is the working-class made by Capitalism, and thus slightly differing from the workers of before Capitalism.

The proletariat is the working-class exploited by Production for Profit or the command of capital. The workers before Capitalism were serfs tied to the baron's land and not hunters for work to make

profits for bosses. As Capitalism matured and the proletariat grew, there resulted immense aggregation and concentration of wealth, industrial development, wondrous economic consolidation and trustification. All on Capitalism's side.

Trades Unionism, able for decades to cope to some extent with the changing order—splendid organization for the day of single and small tool production—great factor when craft held sway—came to be well-nigh impotent as opponent of its knitted oppressor. Its oppressor was marshalled and organized in harmony with events and evolution: IT remained foe of What Once Was, did not harmonize with development, stayed sectional and is routed.

Industrial Unionism stands for the Trustification of Unionism.

Capitalism is trustified (its apparent sectionalism in instances is superficial only; back of the small concern is ever the financier, the bank, the powerful gold-controller, who could smash but yet permit existence to their creatures).

The point is well made that however

useful Trades Unionism was, its logical extension is Industrial Unionism. The line of conflict has ceased to be Trade: it is Industry. We are in the era of Industrial Capitalism.

Craft lines, too, are sundered. Trades Unionism is still for the dead thing, the Craft. Industrial Unionism is for the live thing, the Class.

In class organization alone is there hope and strength and unity.

For Trades Unionists we have nothing but admiration. But our mission is to make them Industrial Unionists. To make them such inasmuch as our salvation as theirs depends upon it. The workers rise or fall as a class. Class Unionism, trustified unionism, "an injury to one the concern of all" unionism is imperatively the need.

Industrial Unionism!

Let us link up our unions industry by industry, each industry joined with its neighbor, and New Zealand and the world will be ours.

Here is the road to Solidarity.

And Solidarity is something substantial, something with business in it and freedom.

With Trades Unionism must go the indirect means it has been decoyed into supporting. Conciliation and arbitration, with all its beating-down dicta, and its isolating agreements, must go. How can the workers successfully operate and fight in this piecemeal fashion?

Swing all the unionists of the world into One Big Union—into a Trust if you

like—and behold a Unionism as defiant and mighty as the rock of Gibraltar. What could not such a Unionism do?

For such a unionism the New Zealand Federation of Labor speaks. The Federation already is the (significant symptom!) organization feared by the enemy. What might it not be and do with its strength doubled, trebled, quadrupled?

Into the Federation of Labor, men bowed down with toil, hungry for the bread of life which is of your making, but not of your owning.

We have said that Industrial Unionism is greater than arbitration, protection, taxation, labor legislation and accompaniments. Why? These measures are anywhere or everywhere—and have availed nothing to the worker, since with them remain social sores terrifying and economic evils devastating. Wealth and want, prostitution and celibacy, out-of-workness and riotous luxury, these are separate pairs whose antipodes is cause and effect as much as fruit of blossom.

Put that time and talent into Industrial Unionism which the workers put into "red-herrings," and New Zealand will be of a certainty a land flowing with milk and honey, a working-man's paradise!

But if you doubt the aim—the potentialities—you may not doubt the gain—the practicalities—of Closer Organization. Unity must mean superior fighting machinery. Industrial Unionism, per Industrial Unionists, in France, in Italy, and in America is teaching the world "the way to win."



STEVE FLANAGAN,
Editor The Free Press.

THE NEW CASTLE FREE PRESS FIGHT

BY
JACK BRITT GEARITY

CHECKMATED at every turn by the Free Press, District Attorney Thomas W. Dickey at the June term of court offered to quash the seditious libel indictments against Frank Hartman, Charles McCarty, Charles A. McKeever and William J. White, the four New Castle (Pa.) Socialists, if they would pay the costs of the case which has been hanging fire since March, 1910. The seditious libel case was listed to come up at the March term of court this year, the jury at the first trial in June, 1910, having failed to reach a verdict satisfactory to Judge Porter. But the comment of the Free Press on the way the case was being conducted was too hot for the enemy.

Dickey appeared in court on March 13th with a petition signed by Chief of Police Gilmore praying that S. L. Flanagan, Frank Hartman and Charles A. McKeever, whose names appeared on the editorial page of the paper at that time, be held for the Grand Jury for contempt of court. Porter granted Gilmore's prayer despite the fact that such action was clearly a violation of the law.

District Attorney Dickey and City Solicitor Gardner, got the contempt case on the calendar for the June term of court

in advance of the Seditious Libel case, though the latter case has been dragging along for fifteen months, and the law says the defendants have a right to trial and settlement of the case within three terms of court after indictment is found. Dickey and Gardner clearly hoped that, if the defendants wouldn't pay the bill of costs for their blundering and persecution, a verdict of guilty could be got in the contempt case, thereby prejudicing the public mind and the prospective jurymen thus assuring a verdict of guilty in the Seditious Libel case.

The Seditious Libel is both unique and revolutionary, as there has not been a sedition case tried in this country in more than a hundred years, and if a verdict of guilty could be obtained under the old English common law in this case a precedent would be established by which the editors of any Socialist periodical could be haled into court on a trumped up charge of sedition and jailed, thus stifling freedom of the press.

When the local Socialists realized what the game Dickey and Gardner were playing meant to them and to the movement at large, they surrendered themselves to Sheriff Whaley on June 12th, and were locked up in jail. Then Mrs. Catherine

Flanagan went down to Pittsburg, accompanied by Mrs. McKeever, and John Marron, attorney for the Free Press, drew up a petition for a writ of habeas corpus, which he took before Justice John B. Head at Greensburg. When the contempt case was called in court on the morning of June 13th, Attorneys Gardner and Mehard, local counsel for the Free Press, informed Judge Porter that Attorney Marron had telegraphed them that he was on his way to New Castle with an order from Justice Head that would carry the case into the Superior Court of Pennsylvania.

That announcement was like an exploding bomb to Judge Porter and the prosecution.

Attorney Marron argued that, in compliance with the order of the Superior Court, Flanagan, Hartman and McKeever be released and each placed under a bond of five hundred dollars for appearance in court at such time as the Superior Court might name. Judge Porter declined to grant that motion.

Refusing to release the three defendants under bail upon the order of Justice Head of the Superior Court, Judge Porter laid himself open to a charge of contempt of the higher court. If he had stood by his position for twenty-four hours he would have had to face that charge and also suits for false imprisonment. Marron, however, appeared before him again shortly after five o'clock that afternoon and renewed his motion in writing. Either Judge Porter talked with a real lawyer during lunch hour or else decided of his own volition that it would be wiser to grant the motion of attorneys for the defense and release them.

That decision was not handed down until twenty minutes of six in the evening, but both the local capitalist daily newspapers were on the street at three o'clock containing reports of Judge Porter's decision.

Where did they get those reports?

Who was in a position, except Judge Porter himself, to tell what was in Judge Porter's mind?

Seeing that their move to try the contempt fiasco first was checked, and the defendants having refused to pay the costs in the Seditious Libel case, Dickey presented a motion to Judge asking that

the latter case be laid over until September term of court.

Granny Gardner, as the City Solicitor is popularly called, supported Dickey's motion by reading a number of strong articles from the columns of the Free Press. For a half hour, in fact, while Gardner read scorching criticism of the judge and the prosecution the courtroom was the scene of a fine propaganda meeting, with City Solicitor Gardner on the box.

Attorney Mehard, counsel for the defendants, argued that the defendants were ready and demanded immediate trial.

Attorney John Marron, of Pittsburg, riddled Dickey's motion, pointing out that it did not contain a solitary legal reason justifying the court in granting it.

A dramatic incident occurred when Marron charged that some person behind the scenes was responsible for the persecution of the Free Press, and declared that the defendants considered that they were acting well within their legal rights in criticizing court and prosecution, and if Dickey insisted on coming into court and pleading for postponement of the case from time to time because the Free Press criticized him or the judge, or both, the case would never come to trial at all, because the Free Press is not going to change its policy.

"Take him down!" Take him down!" exclaimed Granny Gardner.

"Yes, take me down," retorted Marron, who went on to riddle the whole proceeding from the indictment of the four Socialists for Seditious Libel down to the indictment for constructive contempt of court.

During Marron's argument Judge Porter, who is usually as placid and serene as a shallow pond, fidgeted in his chair. Despite the fact that all the law was on Marron's side, Judge Porter could not maintain his dignity and grant the demand of Attorney Marron.

Therefore, at the close of Marron's argument, Judge Porter granted Dickey's motion to lay the Seditious Libel case over until the September term of court. And Flanagan, Hartman and McKeever were released under five hundred dollar bonds.

Whether or not the Seditious Libel case will be heard at the September term of court and finally disposed of now depends on the action taken by the Superior Court at Philadelphia. Arguments are being heard before that court as this is written, and the probabilities are that the Superior Court will lay the case over until regular term of that court in October, in which case the Seditious Libel trial will not come up in September.

This Seditious Libel case is the most important legal battle ever fought in this country in behalf of the working class. It is more important than the Haywood case. Far more important than the question of government by injunction. It strikes at the very roots of the right of free speech and free press. The prosecution is acting under an English common law of the seventeenth century, and a conviction in this case will mean a long and costly fight all over this country to maintain a measure of freedom to the working-class press.

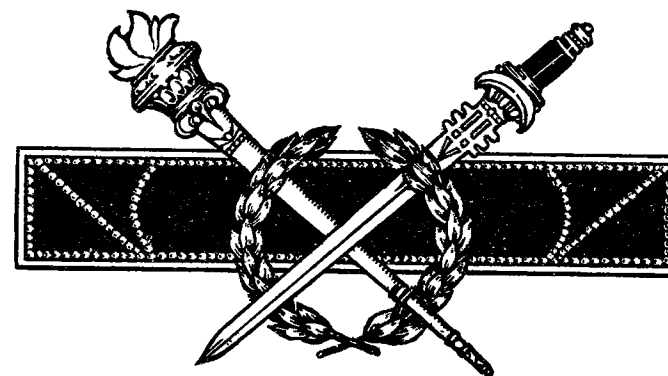
The case was first tried before Judge Porter in June, 1910, and the jury agreed to acquit the four defendants, but brought in a verdict dividing the costs of the case between the defendants and the prosecution. Under the rotten laws of Pennsylvania, if you are accused of a crime, tried and acquitted, the jury may saddle you with the costs of the case just

the same. On June 19, 1910, the jury brought in its verdict, but Judge Porter said:

No matter whether the Seditious Libel case ever comes up or not. No matter whether the four comrades are found guilty or acquitted. No matter whether the contempt case is ever tried or not. No matter whether the three contempt defendants are acquitted or found guilty. The workers of New Castle will win, for this fight has taught them a badly needed lesson—the lesson of class solidarity.

Unless all signs fail the campaign slogan, New Castle for the Workers, will ascend to heaven election night as a shout of triumph. Without compromise of any sort, without playing any petty peanut politics, but with colors flying and defiant utterance the party is going to carry on a hot campaign of propaganda. Already the enemy fears the outcome of a battle of ballots. The Republican County Committee has men out visiting the voters asking them to line up and help defeat the Socialists.

Victory will crown the efforts of the workers here, no matter what the enemy may do. If a fusion ticket is put in the field there will be a strong minority of revolutionary Socialists elected to City Councils on a ringing platform. The workers of New Castle will thus have made their first step towards freedom.



THE EIGHT HOUR WORK DAY

BY

EUGENE V. DEBS

SINCE the early years of the last century when the average work day was at least twelve hours for artisans in New York and other eastern states, efforts have been made by the workers through strikes and otherwise to reduce the length of the working day.

The federal report of the Bureau of Labor, quoted by Sidney Webb in "The Eight Hours Day," shows that "as early as 1825 the building trades and the ship carpenters and caulkers of New York and other places along the Atlantic coast were striking for a Ten Hours Day," and that "this movement was thenceforth carried on continuously by them and other trades with frequent strikes."

From that time to this the struggle has been carried on by the workers, now in one form and now in another, to shorten the working day, and as Dr. Ely points out in his "Labor Movement in America," "the length of the working day has formed a topic of absorbing interest to the wage-earners of the United States from the very beginning of its industrial history."

The eight hour day was probably first proposed in England by Robert Owen as early as 1817, "when even children were kept at work in the textile mills for fifteen or sixteen hours a day." However, this may be there has been almost a century of agitation among modern workers for a shorter day, the hours being gradually reduced until now eight hours constitute a day's work in quite a number of skilled and partially skilled trades.

And eight hours is long enough, and even too long, for a day in modern industry, and there is no earthly reason why the work day should be longer. On the contrary, there is every reason why it should be reduced to that in every trade and occupation, and if the right effort is made on the part of the workers within the next year or two the eight hour day

can be conquered for every industrial worker in America.

Upon that issue I believe the workers could all be united and brought into harmonious co-operation, not for the eight hour work day alone, but in the wider activities that are required to emancipate them from wage-slavery.

There is something in the shorter work day that appeals to every workingman whether he belongs to a union or not, or whether he is class conscious or not, and it is this something which gives vitality to that issue and power to the movement that stands for it and fights to realize it for the workers.

Everything that is of interest to the workers in their struggle to better their condition should appeal to the revolutionary movement. Indeed, the only way to make the movement truly revolutionary is to make the daily struggle of the workers its own struggle and so thoroughly incarnate and breathe that struggle as to make it not only a necessary and inseparable part of the workers but the very workers themselves in organized and conscious action to throw off the burdens that oppress them and walk the earth free men.

In the past a number of strikes have been precipitated to enforce the eight hour day, notably that as far back as 1886 which resulted in the Haymarket tragedy, but not one of them could bring to bear the power latent in the labor movement of this day and which requires only the right issue to call forth its triumphant demonstration.

The eight hour movement has failed to a considerable extent in the past, for reasons not necessary to discuss at this time. It is sufficient to say for our present purpose that failure to secure the eight hour day has but served to intensify the demand for it, and it appears quite certain that a nation-wide campaign,

vitalized by the spirit of the revolutionary movement, would develop amazing proportions and spontaneous power, bring millions of workers into closer touch and better understanding, awaken them to the identity of their interests, and promote their industrial and political unification.

Of course, it is to be understood that the eight hour work day is to be established without any decrease of wages. That this can be done is so self-evident that it need not be argued here. All the

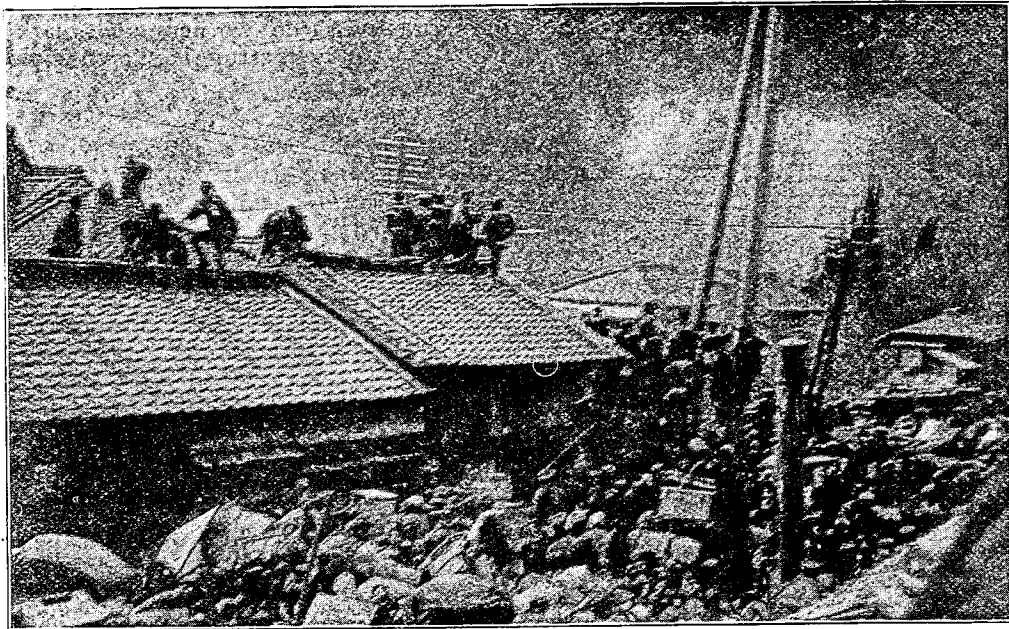
workers are in favor of this step, all organized labor can be readily committed to it, and if the movement is rightly organized and the campaign properly directed and energetically pressed all over the country the eight hour work day can be uniformly established in American industry and its triumphant inauguration will add great impetus to the industrial movement of the workers and mark a new era in their struggle for emancipation.



COMRADES DEBS AND BREWER.

LETTER FROM JAPAN

THE BIG FIRE AT YOSHIWARA



SCENE OF FIRE.

PERHAPS you have already heard of the terrible fire at Yoshiwara, a place of world-wide fame, known as the Region of Ill-Repute in Tokyo. It is a historic spot where the bodies of women have been let for centuries, to the men who had the necessary price. It was walled off and fenced in with a big ditch about it, 3,000 legal prostitutes were kept in this small, secluded, especially set-apart spot.

When the most renowned brothels in the world caught fire the flames swept the district clean and spread to the neighboring quarters where 6,000 houses of the poor, the working class population were also destroyed. Great suffering has followed.

Our fire-fighters were a part of the prefect of police and possessed few steam pumps and little hose.

Tokyo is divided into six fire districts with 170 fire-fighters and 3,000 assisting citizens called out by the fire alarms. We have a city water system, but the pressure failed at Yoshiwara on the night of the fire. The houses of the working class were mostly built of wood or bamboo and they burned like paper. The photographs I enclose give you something of an idea of the devastating work of the flames.

Our Salvation Army has been preaching Reform in Yoshiwara, but since the fire all their talk is about the EVIL RESULTS of Prostitution and they are advocating the abolition of prostitution. I expect they will have their hands full.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

Japan has a property qualification for the election of members of the Imperial

Diet. There are at present some one and a half—less than one and three quarter millions of voters here out of 50,000,000 people. All local elections are limited by a Prussian three class system and even this is limited by direct national taxes, so that the working class is excluded not only from the national but from the local elections as well.

We have had a universal suffrage association for fifteen years and for the past eight years have managed to introduce the universal suffrage bill to the Imperial Diet. In order to introduce a private bill, it is necessary to get at least thirty members of the Lower House. We have always got this number and those favoring universal suffrage have been increasing in the Lower House and at the last Diet the bill passed.

This was a great gain for us. The bill was duly sent to the Peers, or the Upper House, where it was unanimously turned down with the announcement that such a bill would never be allowed to pass the gate. This was the answer of the House of Lords, but nevertheless they advertised our movement extensively.

Universal suffrage is here regarded as

a part of the Socialist program and is strenuously opposed by the Japanese government. Lately the police have tried to interfere with the propaganda of universal suffrage. Only today the police inspector of the district where I live commanded me to appear at the station. In due course I appeared and the inspector advised me to reorganize our propaganda club into a political association, in order to keep within the law, which will give you an idea of how closely we are watched in Japan.

FACTORY LAWS.

At the last Imperial Diet a Factory Law was passed in Japan for the first time. It was three times drafted by the Government in an attempt to please the employers of labor, who fought every inch of the way. The proposals are so hedged about by regulations and exceptions to every rule that capitalists will be able to slip through all of them. So that our women and children may expect to continue to toil over cotton spinning machines at night just as they have in the past. Nearly all work fourteen hours a day with but two rest days a month.



JAPANESE FIREMEN.

RECOLLECTIONS OF SOCIALIST BEGINNINGS IN MONTANA

BY

M. P. HAGGARTY

An Old Member of the Butte Mill & Smelters' Union, No. 74, W. F. M.

THE progress of the revolutionary labor movement in Montana, an incident of which is the victory of the Socialist party in Butte, brings to mind recollections of work done in that state years ago. If the workers elsewhere surmise that the labor movement in Montana, which is the most effective and progressive in the land, grew out of the soil without careful nurture, they are mistaken. Agreed, the soil was rich with the elements demanded for revolutionary growth, but intelligent cultivation was now wanted. About twelve years ago, a group of revolutionists in Butte, most of whom were members of the Mill & Smelters' Union, set themselves to the task. A brief retrospect may be interesting to the readers of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

It should be understood that the character of the work in which the men were engaged required strong, vigorous manhood. Our union was composed of the best working class elements of anywhere in the world. Even the agricultural portions of the United States could not furnish men bolder nor of more independent mind. These men had been brought together by reason of great provocation. The smelters were operated twenty-four hours a day seven days a week. Men worked thirteen hours on the night shift and eleven hours on the day shift. The work was very arduous. Strong as were the men, they could not endure labor throughout the year. Great numbers of them sickened and died.

The growth of the Western Federation of Miners, that classic example of what an industrial union can accomplish, is too well known to need describing here. It is our opinion that its temporary annexation by the A. F. of L. will not ruin the organization. Its principles of organ-

ization are too sound, and its membership far too intelligent, to permit disruption by craft unionism. I am sure that it will soon be found again in the van of the American labor movement.

It was Local No. 74 which made it possible to organize the old labor party in the state of Montana. The purpose of that organization was to secure the enactment of a law making eight hours the legal working day for all men engaged in and about the mines, mills and smelters. Such a law was enacted by the legislature in January, 1901. It is now a part of the State Constitution, having been made such by popular referendum.

It cannot be denied that good came from the labor party movement of 1900. It helped give to the state the best labor conditions in America. The moral effect of the law is certainly greater than any direct results. Those who did not receive the benefit of the Act demanded that their hours of labor be shortened so it had nearly the same ultimate effect as though enforced throughout the state. The only objection which can be made to the labor party is that some workers are likely to be satisfied, now that they have secured the eight-hour day. These fears are not based upon facts. Reports coming from Montana surely prove that the workers are not satisfied. They are proceeding from victory to victory. More power to their industrial and political organizations. But the labor party eleven years ago was justified both by its causes and its results.

The record shows that our union was organized in November, 1896. From the beginning the members assiduously applied themselves to the work of education. What we understood by education is seen upon reading Art. 6, Sec. 3 of the By-laws of the Union:

"Five per cent of the revenue of this Union shall be placed in an educational fund. This fund shall be placed in the hands of a Press Committee at the end of each month. This committee shall purchase such literature and secure such educational speakers as they may deem advisable and report to the Union with an itemized account of the expenses incurred to secure same, the money received and the amount on hand, whenever so requested by the Union."

At the convention of the Montana Trade and Labor Council held at the City of Helena, Sept. 21-3, 1899, No. 74 had a resolution introduced asking that body to formulate a plan for the carrying on of active propaganda work among members of the Union, as well as the unorganized workers throughout the state. The convention adopted the resolution and elected a committee to carry out its provision. Ten per cent of the income of the organization was to be applied to the work. The committee was further authorized to solicit contributions to the educational fund. During the first year \$400 were expended and 16,000 pieces of literature were distributed. Local No. 74 took special interest in the work. It created an Educational Committee of the Local to work in Butte and vicinity. At first it set aside three per cent of the funds of the Union and later five per cent for this purpose. This gave us a fund of about \$1,800 per year. No. 74 still continues to distribute from 500 to 600 pieces of reading matter per week. The Committee sends much literature to mining camps and logging camps throughout the state.

At the seventh annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners, held at Denver, May, 1900, Delegate W. W. Whiteley introduced a resolution pledging the Federation to make an effort to unify the labor movement of America. At the time this was not fully endorsed by a majority of the delegates and so failed to pass. But Time, the great unfolder of all things, has thrown some light on what Comrade Whiteley had in mind. In a few words, Comrade Whiteley's resolution sought to bring about in the labor world one union of all the workers. It may be hoped that this purpose may some day be realized. Such a movement is

needed not only on national lines, but international as well. It must be organized along the lines upon which the capitalist class is organized.

At the same convention of the W. F. of M., there were introduced two other resolutions of great interest. One was that the W. F. of M. take up the work of distributing literature over the whole territory covered by the Federation. This work was to be supported by setting aside a per cent of the income of the W. F. of M. The other resolution purposed to call the attention of the delegates and of the membership of the W. F. of M. to the advisability of establishing a college wherein the sons and daughters of the miners could be educated so as to be able to instruct the members of their own class. The Rand School of Social Science, located in New York City, is the best illustration of what can be thus accomplished by the working class. The workers should be found, in various parts of the country, institutions similar to the one referred to, where sound knowledge upon the social movement might be imparted.

The old form of labor organization is passing away. With it goes the old organizer with his obsolete methods. "Get together" was his rallying cry. But his organization lacked the cement of intelligence which is necessary to make the parts adhere.

Our plans were to have a State Educational Conference composed of delegates from the local unions throughout the state. This conference was to confine itself wholly to educational work. Each union was to have a separate educational committee to select such reading matter and speakers as might be desired by the Local. There were, also, to be county organizations. Finally, the state organizations were to be united in a great National Educational Bureau.

Long experience in the labor movement has made me cognizant of the fact that we must specialize the work. There are organizers who are gifted with peculiar ability to assemble the workers and perfect an organization. But the best organizer I have ever met cannot instruct the workers in the profound matters which need understanding before the movement will yield its largest results.

Of course, not all cities in America are like Butte. That great mining town contains ten thousand men connected with the mining industry. The workers come and go, hence it is an excellent place to propagate industrial unionism and Socialism. Through the smeltermen going from Butte and Anaconda the seeds of revolutionary working class Socialism have been carried as upon the four winds of the heavens. They have established in remote mining camps and logging camps movements such as they have left behind them in Butte and Anaconda.

A word must be said concerning the Laborers' Union and the Miners' Union at Butte. Their work on the educational field has been similar to that of No. 74. The former local has long been active in this way. The latter has more lately come to its period of sound development. Miners' Union No. 1, of Butte, has a larger membership than any other local union in the country. It is in a position

to accomplish much good for the working class.

One man deserves to be remembered particularly in connection with this movement of ten and fifteen years ago. The name of the late Martin Elliott is the one that will be remembered longest and with deepest gratitude by the workers of Montana. He was in the great A. R. U. strike with Eugene Debs in 1894. Coming to Montana he took up the work of circulating literature. This was a hazardous and disagreeable task at that time. But Martin Elliott was a true revolutionist. Woodstock jail had no terrors for him. He was the pioneer in the educational work which has been described.

Reflection upon our early labors in Montana and the thought that it was not in vain recalls to mind a line from "Onward," by Florence Glendenning:

"From the peaks of lofty mountains,
Where sets the western sun,
Come a unison of voices
In praise of work well done."

ARE YOU A SOCIALIST?

BY

MARY E. MARCY

IF YOU working men and women understood what Socialism really is and means you would flock into the Socialist movement like a policeman going out to get his share in a graft divide. You would scheme just as hard for the advancement of the Socialist movement as any capitalist ever schemed and sweat and fought for profits. You would cling to Socialism like a starving dog hangs to a bone, BECAUSE SOCIALISM IS THE ONLY HOPE IN THE WORLD FOR THE WORKING CLASS.

But you are an intelligent workingman. You have been fooled too long to be satisfied with WORDS. You want proofs. You want to know now what Socialism proposes to do. You want to be SHOWN.

Socialism is the international movement of the working class to abolish the

wage system. It is a revolutionary movement OF THE WORKERS, BY the workers and FOR the workers. And these workers are not to be side-tracked by anything under the heavens.

They propose that every working man and every working woman shall get the full value of the things they make. They do not intend to leave any rake-off or profits or velvet for those who do not work.

You know that you work for a boss because he owns the factory or the mine or the mill in which you work. If he were a penniless workingman and your father had died leaving you the owner of the mill or the factory HE WOULD HAVE COME TO YOU FOR A JOB. You would be his master. He would have to work for you or for some other boss in order to get wages to LIVE.

The man who works for wages is a slave. He is worse than a slave, for a slave can always look to his master to feed, clothe and house him. The wage-worker is forced to get a job—to sell his working strength to a boss or beg, starve or steal.

Men and women can never be free or independent as long as they have to beg the idlers for a chance to work. The man who owns your job owns you. Generally he will pay you barely enough to live on, while he keeps for himself all the things you make.

And we workers make everything in the world. There is nothing fine, valuable, beautiful, or useful that is used by men and women, no matter who they are, that is not made by the hands and the brains of workingmen or women.

But we are not permitted to enjoy these things. The bosses claim them all. They only give to us (in wages) enough to eke out a poor existence.

The whole secret of our slavery lies in the fact that a few people OWN THE FACTORIES, the MINES, the MILLS, the LANDS and the RAILROADS.

Socialism proposes that the workers who operate the industries shall OWN

them collectively—that men and women shall *work for themselves* and shall own the things they make without DIVIDING UP with any idle property owners. Socialism proposes that the workers themselves shall be the collective owners of the factories, mines, mills, lands and railroads.

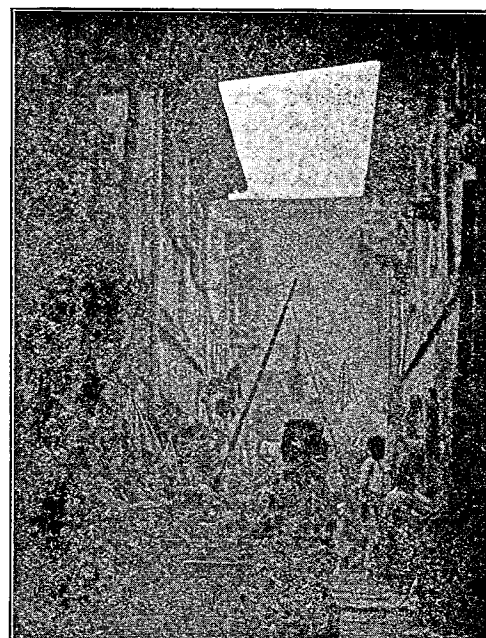
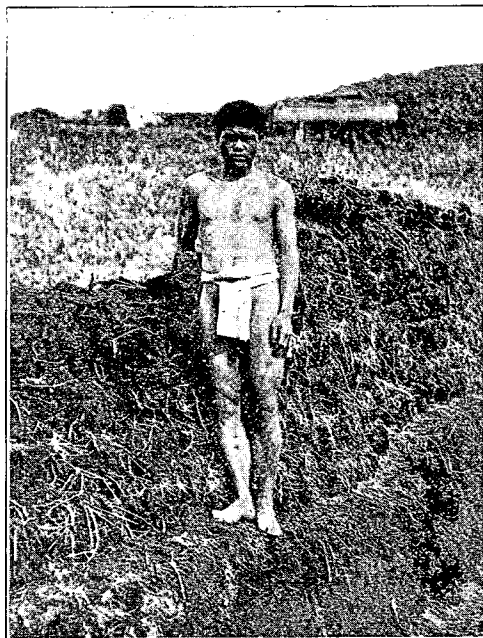
When you are joint owner of a mine, you will always have a job in that mine. And the coal or gold you dig will be your own property and not the property of any BOSS.

This is Socialism in a nutshell. If you are a miserable workman living from hand to mouth and in constant fear of losing your job, it ought to sound good to you.

Socialism will give every worker a job and every idler a chance to do some useful, honest work, if he wants to share in the good things workingmen and women produce.

Study Socialism. Send for our book catalogue. Read up on this subject. Socialism is the movement of *your* class, the WORKING CLASS. Join it and help yourself and every other workingman and woman to free themselves from wage-slavery.





MANILA'S SHAME

BY

HENRY FLURY

"PEARL OF THE ORIENT," is the name by which Manila is designated by enterprising merchants and those who profit by the growth of the city; and Manila is a fair city—in part. Its hospitality is signal—in places, and its progress, commercially, and its healthfulness are increasing. But let the traveler turn aside from the beaten ruts of a Cook's Tourist itinerary and he will find the same old disease eating at the most vital part of the city—the masses—that he finds in western "civilization." I put the word civilization in quotation because it is the only way that I can express a sneer through the many miles between us.

Why should we boast of this thing we call "civilization?" Is it because it spells progress—intellectual and moral? Is it because we have invented a lot of cunning mechanical devices called machinery to do the work of many men, though incidentally

leading them into slavery? Is it because we have succeeded in getting poor, frail humanity to herd in droves, under conditions that a wild beast would not tolerate? Civilization tames men. It makes them docile. Go with me up into the wild man's country, into Bontoc among the uncivilized hill tribes of northern Luzon. Do you find anything so depressing or squalid as depicted by these photographs I have taken in the heart of Manila? No!

What then, or who then, is responsible? What is the matter? It is a bad system, that is all—the capitalist system which says that humanity means nothing if it does not stand for profits and dividends. Where is the heart, where is the social conscience of Manila? Can the beautiful suburbs of the Ermita or Malate districts where the elite live compensate for the canker in the bosom of this society?

I have been reproved by a clergyman

friend of mine for idealizing the savage. I have lived with the Igorots and with the "civilized" folks—both elite and "submerged" and I can only say that the savage is freer and better off than his city

brother. What then is a remedy for civilization? A return to savagery? No; but a saner understanding of what constitutes life and intelligent revolt against the crimes of "civilization."

HOW TO AGITATE IN THE OPEN AIR

BY

SOL FIELDMAN

MANY told how. Few took notice. Let it be told again.

MEETING PLACE.

Avoid: Cobblestoned streets; elevated railroads; railroad and street car crossings; hospitals; schools when in session; hotels; dark streets; unfrequented streets.

Don't expect the speaker to speak against the wind. It dries the speaker's throat, and makes him hoarse. The audience does not hear in front. Crowd collects in rear, annoying and disconcerting the speaker.

Find: a centrally located but quiet place that makes speaking easy, and helps conserve the speaker's strength. A wall 50 or 100 feet in front of the speaker is the best help for the voice.

THE CROWD.

Don't expect the chairman to shout up a crowd. Don't expect the speaker to shout up one either. Don't expect a crowd to come without asking.

Advertise your meeting place.

Make it permanent, and make it well known. See that at least 10% of the local members attend, and let them be there on time. See that comrades don't start half a dozen little discussion meetings around the speaker while the meeting is on.

Don't put too much in an advertisement. You cannot write a pamphlet in a two-inch space. Keep on advertising your headquarters.

THE PLATFORM.

Don't put the speaker on a rickety box. Don't put him on a tiny, frail platform. Don't put him on a tumble-down wagon.

Don't let the meeting look like a Salvation Army turn-out.

Get a carpenter to build a large, solid platform, that can be detached or folded up. Get a banner with the words SOCIALIST PARTY in big letters. Have it behind the speaker; it acts as a sounding-board, as well as calling attention to the nature of the meeting.

THE LITERATURE.

Don't have a meeting without literature.

Have a half a dozen literature sellers, preferably women.

Don't sell punk. Don't try to push 20 books at one meeting. Don't distract a crowd by selling or distributing literature during the speech. Have three or at most four good books from \$1 down. *Have real Socialist books on sale.* Have a chairman who knows the contents of the books, and can talk about them interestingly and with enthusiasm. Sell literature *after* the speech. Make a special effort to secure subs. for dailies, weeklies and monthlies, and have the necessary blanks.

Remember we are an *educational* Party.

THE SPEAKER.

Don't have more than one speech at a meeting. Don't have a bad speaker on the platform. Don't have a meeting if you cannot get a good speaker. Don't have a speaker who antagonizes the crowd, or talks a lot about himself.

Have a good speaker, who knows his subject and knows how to handle it. Get

a speaker who makes the crowd feel he has got the goods.

Don't have a speaker whose message is a series of funny stories. Don't have a clown for a speaker. The message of Socialism is serious.

THE CHAIRMAN.

Don't have a chairman who mistakes himself for the principal speaker. Don't have a chairman who antagonizes the crowd at the outset. Don't have a chairman who answers or comments on questions addressed to the speaker. Don't have a chairman who can't talk about the literature.

Have a chairman who knows his business. Have a chairman who co-operates with the speaker and the comrades. Have a chairman who appeals for new members.

THE SPEECH.

Don't overload the speech with facts and figures. They cannot be digested. Don't say state ownership is "Socialistic"; don't talk rot. Don't try to explain the whole Socialist philosophy in a single lecture. Don't be funny at the expense of your audience. Don't be rude to a man

who asks a question. Witty retorts may cause audiences to laugh, but they seldom answer a question. Don't make a lot of jokes and call it a speech. Don't weary your audiences by speaking too long.

Speak clearly and to the point. Don't eat a heavy meal before speaking. It interferes with clear thinking and enthusiasm. It causes anxiety, nervousness and hoarseness. Don't drink water while speaking or immediately after speaking. It congeals the vocal organs. Eat milk chocolate before and after speaking. Always have a piece ready for use in your pocket. It forms a coating over the vocal organs that soothes them, and imparts a sweetness to the voice. Don't allow comrades to talk to you or entertain you into sickness or inefficiency. Better be a live agitator than a dead hero. Don't discuss Party squabbles in an agitation speech. Don't spend more time on indicting Capitalism than you do on expounding Socialism. Try to remember the difficulties you had in becoming a Socialist, so that you may the better know how to make Socialists of others. Don't think yourself superior to those you are speaking to.



MEMBER OF LOCAL, WILLISTON, NORTH DAKOTA, AND COMRADE WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD.

EDITORIAL

Our Unconscious Allies.—Some of us were Populists twenty years ago, and we had a curious superstition. We thought the Plutocrats were a compact, disciplined body of men with a baleful and relentless purpose to crush out the liberties of the American people (we thought the people had liberties), and to establish a despotism. Of course, we had never heard of determinism, and industrial evolution was to us a meaningless term if we had heard it, so our superstition seemed necessary to explain the facts. Most of us have outgrown it, but here and there it crops out in the mind of some one otherwise intelligent, and destroys his peace of mind when he examines current happenings which are really full of bright promise for the future of the working class. It is not in the least true that the capitalist class as a whole is animated by an aggressive spirit of conquest, impelling it to crush out the working class. On the contrary, its members are mainly animated by a desire for greater individual profits, regardless of who else may lose. And in their search for these greater profits they are helping on the revolution, each in his own way.

Our Friends the Magnates.—The magnates are the successful capitalists; those who are intelligently applying modern industrial processes to large-scale production, or, to speak more accurately, who are, by their ownership of land, railroads and machinery, utilizing the hands and brains of the people who are actually doing this great work. These magnates and their servants are quickly doing away with the wastes of competition; they are rapidly making individual enterprise impossible in all important fields of production; they are perfecting and applying vast machines which crush out the craft unions and tend more and more to put all workers on one common level. And not content with this, they are today, with an almost incredible short-sightedness, waging a fierce war against the remnants of the craft unions, which, if they only knew it, have been and might still be their strongest bulwark against the rising tide of revolution. Thus the magnates have

accomplished more for the Socialist movement than a hundred thousand Socialist agitators could have done. They have themselves convinced the rank and file of the craft unions that their old theory of the community of interest between capitalist and labor is a lie, that the class war is on in earnest, and that new tactics must be found to meet a new situation.

Our Friends the Reformers.—The reformers are for the most part little capitalists, whose resources are too slender or whose energies are too weak to compete with the magnates at their own game. Twenty years ago they were staunch individualists, holding that competition was the life of trade, and asking only to be let alone by the government, except in such trifling matters as keeping out foreign competitors by high tariffs and providing policemen to club strikers. But taught by defeat, these little capitalists have learned that their best chance of survival is in using the powers of government, municipal, state and national, to help them fight the magnates on something like equal terms. Twenty years ago government ownership of the industries was thought to be a baseless dream of crack-brained Socialists; now it looks like an inevitable development of the near future. But all this does not mean that the work of the Socialist movement has been accomplished, on the contrary it means that the supreme struggle is ahead of us, and that the issue is at last becoming clear.

Government Ownership Is Not Socialism.—It is not necessarily even a step toward Socialism. Socialism means that the workers shall own and control the machinery of production, and dispose of the product as they like. Government ownership may mean, and if administered by the Republican or the Democratic party it will mean, that the workers in the government industries will get the value of their labor power and no more, and that the immense surplus produced by their labor will be controlled by the capitalist class.

What Socialists Must Do.—We have

said enough of the wastes of competition. The capitalists understand these wastes better than we do and they will remedy them. We shall need to say but little more about public ownership of industry. It is coming; nothing can stop it. We need to put all our strength into helping every wage-worker to understand that he receives in wages a small fraction of his product, and that he can get it ALL if he will ORGANIZE. Let us help them see that their own individual interests are bound up with the interests of the whole working class; that to get what they produce the whole working class must unite, must take control of the government, must take control of INDUSTRY, that this is the revolution for which we are struggling, and that nothing less than revolution will bring any permanent benefit to the workers. Our unconscious allies are doing the rest of our work for us; these things we must do for ourselves or they will remain undone.

Defeat Referendum B.—The *Rebel*, a bright little Socialist weekly just started by Comrade T. A. Hickey, at Hallettsville, Texas, contains an able editorial

argument against "Referendum B," which we would gladly reprint in full but for the pressure on our space. He calls attention to a remarkable thing that has happened in the Socialist party this year. A little Texas local initiated a national referendum that carried triumphantly. It provides that all national party officers shall be elected *annually* and *shall not serve more than two terms*. The party officials and their friends fought it bitterly but failed to defeat it. Now, although no election has yet been held under its provisions, they have started a new referendum to reverse it. On this action *The Rebel* comments:

It is a piece of unparalleled impudence on the part of these officials who started this latest referendum. They should realize that the motion when it carried should have been given a fair trial. Why plunge the party into turmoil now? We are on the eve of the most important campaign in the party's history. Shall we go into it with new officers and unbroken ranks and a spirit of growing solidarity, or shall we be torn with dissension by those who have refused to bow to the party's will? Vote NO on Referendum B. Get out a full vote and let our grand party take advanced ground on the way to a Social Democracy.



LITERATURE

Readers of the Review will please observe that Charles H. Kerr & Company sell only their own publications, and can not undertake to supply books of other publishers nor to answer questions about them.

Capitalism's Conspiracy in California. Parallel of the Kidnaping of Labor Leaders, Colorado-California. By Frank E. Wolfe. Published by the Author, Colegrove, Calif. Paper, 10c.

In a pamphlet entitled "Capitalism's Conspiracy in California," the second edition of which is just off the press, Frank E. Wolfe shows in striking fashion the parallel of the attempts of the Mine Owners' Association to hang Haywood and his comrades in Idaho and the Steel Trust to effect the judicial murder of the McNamara brothers in California. It is a painstaking work, covering the ground thoroughly and presenting many interesting comparisons which heretofore have been overlooked. Comrade Wolfe was especially well fitted, both by his long service in the labor movement and his newspaper experience, to prepare such a work most effectively.—From *Revolt*.

The Fasting Cure. By Upton Sinclair. Published by Mitchell Kennerley, New York, N. Y. Price \$1.00.

While many of us may strongly disagree with Mr. Sinclair's views upon the virtue of fasting, we will read his book. Doubtless the Leisure Classes may find food for sensible thought in the *Fasting Cure*, but our friends proletarian are more than likely to take it with a grain of salt. Advocacy of the *Fasting Cure* among man and women who are struggling in a tragic effort to keep up the mad pace set by employers of labor will never be popular. Wage-workers are too busy trying to secure steady jobs and regular room and board to be troubled by the ills and pains caused from having too much. The *Fasting Cure* should have a wide circulation among the rich, but it has no place in the literature of the working class. Most of us would like to experiment with a *FEASTING CURE*.

Le Socialisme Ouvrier, par Hubert Lagardelle. Paris, V. Giard & E. Briere, 16, Rue Soufflot. Price 4 francs 50 centimes.

A literal translation of the title of this book would be misleading. It really

means what Comrade Haywood calls "Socialism with its working clothes on," that is, industrial unionism, or syndicalism as it is called in Europe. Hubert Lagardelle is the editor of the *Mouvement Socialiste*, a Paris magazine, and this book of 424 pages is for the most part made up of articles which appeared in that magazine at various times from 1898 to 1910. It also contains addresses delivered by Lagardelle at various Socialist conventions and other gatherings. Scattered through the volume are many passages of immense interest and value which explain the fundamentals of industrial unionism and discuss Socialist party tactics from the viewpoint of the proletariat.

An Address to the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, by James H. Maurer, Representative from Berks County, in Opposition to the State Constabulary.

This is one of the finest pieces of propaganda literature we have ever read. Nothing else so clearly and simply explains the class character of the Army and the Courts. Comrade Maurer says in part: "The real object of this institution (the department of state police) is not to protect life and property, but is organized solely for the purpose of intimidating the workmen of Pennsylvania, at such times as the masters of our industries make living conditions unbearable."

Comrade Maurer set future Socialists who may be elected to office a shining example of what to do or try to do for the working class. The police and the army are the forces with which Capital holds wage-workers in subjection, and no man who has ever been on strike will fail to understand the attitude of the Socialist who advocates the abolition of these two institutions that form such terrible clubs in the hands of the owners of the factories, the mines and the mills.

The price of the pamphlet is not stated, but we think it safe to say that a copy can be obtained by sending 10 cents in stamps to James H. Maurer, House of Representatives, Harrisburg, Pa.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

Statistics of the World's Labor Movement.—The International Labor Secretariat has published its report for the year 1909. This report is not as inclusive as might be desired. Asia, Africa, and South America are not at all represented in it, while the United States is the only country of North America for which figures are given. The Russian movement is just now struggling against such tremendous difficulties that it was found impossible to gather statistics with regard to it. Moreover the figures given for various countries are not sufficiently inclusive. For the United States, for example, only unions connected with the American Federation of Labor are represented. Nevertheless this report, covering as it does twenty countries, gives the best general view of the world's labor movement which is obtainable. On that account it seems worth while to set down for REVIEW readers the general summary of the statistics which it brings together. The following table gives the numbers reported as belonging to the labor unions of the various countries in 1909, excepting in the case of England, where the figure for 1908 was the latest obtainable: Germany, 2,447,578; England, 2,406,746; United States, 1,710,433; France, 977,350; Italy, 783,538; Austria, 455,401; Sweden, 148,649; Netherlands, 145,000; Belgium, 138,928; Denmark, 121,295; Switzerland, 112,613; Hungary, 85,266; Norway, 44,223; Spain, 40,984; Finland, 24,928; Bulgaria, 18,753; Roumania, 8,515; Bosnia-Herzegovina, 4,470; Servia, 4,462; Croatia, 4,361. These sums total 9,583,493 as against 8,669,843 reported the previous year. Of course, the great apparent gain is partly due to greater completeness in the report. If Australia, with 239,293 members, and Argentine, with 22,437, had been included the number would have been brought up to nearly ten millions. The actual number of unionized workers is much beyond this figure. In the amount expended on strikes and lock-outs Germany heads the list with Sweden, Eng-

land, and Austria next, in the order given. **Austria. Parliamentary Election.**—It was a great day for the Austrian empire when the new male suffrage law was passed. Austrian patriots, if there are any real patriots in Austria, had high hopes of building a united nation with the new parliament at the center of it. And the Austrian working-class thought that at last it was coming into its own. That was in 1907. Since then the new parliament has had a stormy session. Finally, two years before its regular term was out, a new election was ordered by imperial decree. This new election was held during the middle of June, and the results of it indicate in a very interesting manner the condition of affairs in the great polyglot empire.

An election was necessary because the parliament on which such high hopes had been built was an absolute failure. And the parliament was a failure because it was designed to represent, and did actually represent, the race differences of the empire rather than the class differences. The new electoral law, which has come to be known as the Bienert law, on account of Herr Bienert's large share in the responsibility for it, divides the electorate according to nations. Each of the numerous nations composing the empire is divided into parties according to its particular make-up or its economic condition. Thus it happens that, according to one Austrian statistician, there took part in the recent election about 5,000 candidates representing 51 parties. It is easy to understand how the representatives of so many different parties, speaking various languages, and representing opposing interests, might find it difficult to do any sort of consistent legislative work.

For one thing, this parliament has failed absolutely to make any stand against the imperial government in the matter of the annexation of foreign provinces or increase of military expenses. In fact the grant of a budget largely devoted to military purposes was about all

that was accomplished. A workingman's insurance law was what the people of Austria had hoped for. But even if the session had not been adjourned, neither this law nor any other measure of real importance would have been passed. The people of Austria are beginning to have a taste of Democracy. They see by this time that voting does not cure all the ills of life.

The new electoral law was designed to emphasize and perpetuate national differences. The Austrian government has well learned the lesson embodied in the old proverb, "Divide and rule." The thing which the June election shows most clearly is that economic progress is slowly but surely defeating the purposes of the government. In spite of all the provisions made against them class lines showed very distinctly in the results of the polling. The strongest parties in the former parliament were the Christian Social (not Christian Socialist) and the German Liberals (Deutsch Freiheitlich). The first of these is the clerical party and the second the German national party. The second is, of course, the most direct representative of big business. The Socialist group numbered 87. These 87 Socialists represented various national Socialist parties, but they formed a united group, so the Socialists could boast the only real imperial party. The size of this group was partly due to temporary conditions. It was largely through Socialist agitation that the new electoral law was passed. This naturally gave the party prestige. More than this, since class lines had not yet been emphasized on the political field, when it came to the second elections many non-Socialist votes were thrown to the Socialist candidates.

But now all this has come to an end. Premier Bienert long ago gave the word, "Anything to destroy the Socialists!" For in the late deceased parliament the Socialists fought hard and consistently against militarism and in favor of working-class legislation. This fight has forced the government to draw class lines and fight in the open. So in the election just held the campaign was a struggle between the Socialist parties and all the field. Our comrades had to meet a campaign of slander and misrepresentation.

No personalities were too mean or too false to be used as arguments. And, strangest of all as an anti-Socialist argument, the great cooperative bakery at Vienna was described to show that Socialists favor trusts and therefore must be opposed to the interests of the poor. This representation is said to have been supported by large capitalist bread concerns.

When all these circumstances are taken into account the results of the election are very satisfactory. The Socialist parties gained about 50,000 votes but the number of their seats was reduced from 87 to 80. Our Austrian comrades have the satisfaction of knowing that all their representatives were elected by Socialist votes. For in the second elections all the other parties combined against them.

The most striking feature of the election was the defeat of the Christian Social party. Its group was reduced from 96 to 76, and in Vienna it was practically annihilated. Vienna has 33 representatives. Of these this party controlled 20; it controlled, also, the city government. So firm was its grip that no one even hoped to defeat it. But the seemingly impossible was accomplished. The number of "Christian" representatives was reduced to three. The Socialists gained a large part of what the "Christians" lost.

Italy. The Ideals of the Italian Labor Movement.—Italy is the world's best laboratory of social and economic life. In Italy, even more than in France, social forces play against one another undisguised. The varying interests of priests, capitalists, small business men, and working people are represented by parties and societies which wage bitter and relentless warfare. More than this, an extraordinary number of people seem to understand the conflict, to appreciate the importance of it and the nature of its possible results. Nobody in Italy imagines, as so many in this country seem to do, that society is organized to stay. The majority seem imbued with the consciousness that out of the struggles of the present something new is to be born. And the Italian working-class is very much alive; it appreciates the part it has to play. Its members, however, are not at all agreed as to the right tactics and form of organization. On this account a Socialist or labor con-

vention held in Italy is commonly more enlightened than any other gathering of the kind. The Italian workers always give one the impression that they are getting down to the roots of the whole matter of the class war.

The second convention of the Italian Federation of Labor was no exception to the rule. This gathering met at Padua on May 24. The first thing about its make-up to strike an American is the fact that the largest group of workers represented were the agrarians. There were 121,792 of these. All the industrial workers together numbered only 180,608. The unions of southern Italy, with some 60,000 members, were not represented. It is to be understood that no individual or union can belong to the federation unless it is connected with the central organization of its industry.

As far as the various wings of the labor movement are concerned, they were all represented. For the first time the so-called "intransigent" Socialists sent a delegation. In addition the republicans were there, and for the first time the syn-

dicalists did not refrain from voting. The relative strength of these various groups can be judged from the vote taken on resolutions relative to the report of the executive committee. Of course delegates voted the official strength of the unions which they represented. The resolution of the reformists was supported by 117,344 votes, the syndicalists by 53,091, the intransigent by 10,017, the republican by 2,517. The present executive committee is reformist in its tendency, therefore these numbers indicate that it practically received a vote of confidence.

The syndicalists, however, exercised far more influence over the convention than the figures quoted above would lead one to think. There were two chief matters up for decision: these were the federation's attitude toward the cooperative movement and the peculiar agrarian problem of the Romagna region. There were, in the main, three points of view represented in the treatment of these problems. The republicans represent the interests of small business men, and, at any rate, their number is so small that they

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may safely be left out of the account. The three really important points of view were those of the reformists, the intransigents, and the syndicalists. The reformists are in favor of improvement of the condition of labor through the activity of the government; and the government, according to their belief, must be captured by means of the formation of a moderate, reforming labor party. The ideals of this faction are not clear; their notion seems to be merely to improve the physical condition of the working-class. The intransigent Socialists believe to the limit in a revolutionary Socialist party. They want the working-class to control the government and the government to control all the various industries of the nation. The syndicalists believe that the workers of each industry should control that industry, and that among the various industries there should be free play, competition, with no higher social control.

A resolution approving in rather general terms of the cooperative movement and directing the executive committee of the federation to establish definite official relations with it was supported by the reformists and intransigents but opposed by the syndicalists. The "Romagna question" was rather more complicated. In the Romagna some 35,000 hectares of land are worked by men who take them "on shares." Only 12,000 are worked by day laborers. Those working on shares developed a system of exchanging labor, which left many of the day laborers out of employment. Finally the share workers purchased threshing machines, and thereby the miserable laborers were made more miserable than ever. Then, through their organizations, they demanded that the machines be sold to them. Many of the laborers working on shares refused to grant this demand. They were boycotted by the labor organization.

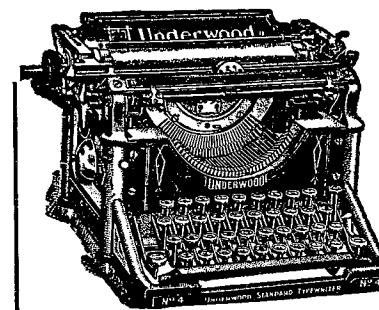
For the most part the reformists and intransigent Socialists were opposed to the ownership of the machines by the unions. According to their view the workers on shares are, after all, merely workers on a yearly contract getting their wages in the form of products, and, therefore, to turn the machines over to the

unions would be to give one set of workers a chance to exploit another set. The syndicalists, on the other hand, were strongly in favor of this arrangement. In fact, this represents to them an ideal condition. "Give each set of workers control of their machines," say they; "then we shall have a free play of industrial forces, competition of industrial groups, and this is the condition which makes for social evolution." The problem was finally turned over to the executive committee for decision.

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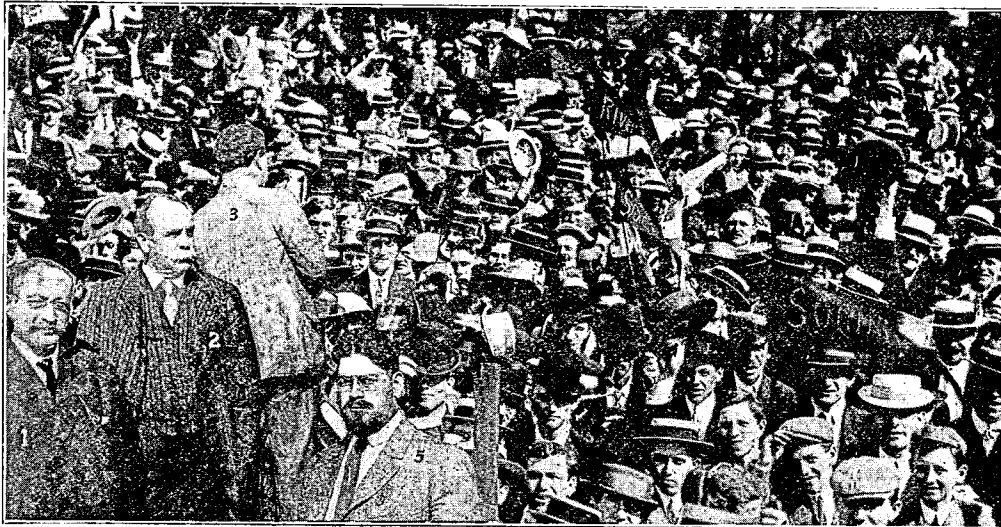
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NEWS AND VIEWS



PART OF THE 50,000 PEOPLE WHO ATTENDED THE SOCIALIST PICNIC AT RIVERVIEW PARK, CHICAGO.

Grand Junction Socialists All Right. We are glad to announce that when the so-called Socialist mayor of Grand Junction issued his mandate ordering all unemployed men out of that city the members of the S. P. local took up a big collection and invited our friends to a glorious banquet. Of such is the grand old Army of the Revolution and the rank and file of Grand Junction know whom to throw in their lot with. But the mayor remained obdurate and insisted that every "hobo" depart from his domain after the big S. P. feed. All of which goes to show that there is not much in a NAME. You may know a Red by his deeds. The rank and file are all right, always have been right and always will be. It is high time the Grand Junction Socialists showed their so-called mayor that he has not delivered the goods to the working class and shoved him back into the oblivion where he belongs.

Death of an Old Fighter. From a resolution passed by Local San Francisco: Whereas in the recent death of Aaron Goldman, a socialist in active service for twenty years, this city has lost one of its valiant soldiers. We desire to express our fraternal sympathy with the bereaved friends and relatives of comrade Goldman. Therefore be it resolved that Local San Francisco of the Socialist Party hereby expresses its recognition of the loyal services of Comrade Goldman to the cause of Socialism. And further be it resolved that this resolution be encribed in the minutes of this

organization and a copy thereof be sent to the Socialist press. Local S. F. S. P., Wm. McDevitt, Selig Schulberg and Chris Solomonson, Committee.

Coming to America. H. Scott Bennett has the reputation of being the greatest orator in Australia. For over a year he has been lecturing for the Auckland local of the New Zealand Socialist Party, the increasing audiences forcing the party to engage larger halls until the largest theater in the city had to be engaged to hold his audience. From 1,700 to 2,000 people have at times attended Comrade Bennett's meetings—an undoubted tribute to his oratorical ability.

Comrade Bennett has been associated for years with Tom Mann. He represented Ballarat in the Victorian Legislative Assembly, but labor politics were not to his liking and he resigned for the purpose of giving exclusive service to revolutionary Socialism on the lecture platform.

Our comrade is coming to America next February on a lecturing tour. His view of New Zealand and Australian politics and economics is one which should be better known in America. We hope that every comrade will have an opportunity of listening to our prospective visitor. From what we can learn from comrades who have heard Bennett talk, he is one of the most capable exponents of Socialism and Industrial Unionism known to the International movement.

Flint Flashes. The Socialists in Flint are doing big things. They have started a weekly paper devoted to the interests of the working class; purchased a printing press; increased their local membership to 200 members; are putting in a full line of revolutionary socialist literature, besides electing Jack Menton as mayor and putting in three councilmen who are keeping the nine capitalists councilmen so busy turning down proposals to benefit the wage-workers that they have become generally known as the "automatic nine." When asked for a statement of principles Comrade Hackett, who was made Police Commissioner at the last election, says, in part:

"Our program gives no quarter, asks none; our revolution means the change of ownership of industries from private to public. The worker by his ballot to control the government and take the full product of labor.

Male and female to be rewarded alike for equal service.

There will be no white slaves then.

There will be no child slaves then.

There will be no wage slaves then.

Perhaps the irony of fate took a hand to appoint me police commissioner.

Me to lay plans to capture the poor victims of a corrupt social chaos.

I would send the petty criminal to school instead of to jail, and then after educating our criminals, let them have a job with the full product of their labor.

Make useful labor be the only thing that will purchase the product of useful labor.

That is it; that is all.

Our money was not made to be used by honest people. It was made so that thieves could have something to steal and live without work.

I want to change the court room to a school room; the prison to a hospital.

That is the revolution I stand for.

And only as a revolutionary, uncompromising socialist, will I accept office, either elective or appointive.

No politics for mine.

The industrial government I shall help to establish will be a government that gives the job to the man and not the child.

Our message of hope to the worker: "The earth is yours; take it and be men."

Isn't that great?

The Soap-Boxes' number of Hope is the best yet. It is full to the brim with snappy epigrams, stories and pointed paragraphs that would make a cigar store indian sit up and think. We want to congratulate our comrades upon the get up of this little magazine that is breaking so much new ground and starting so many new people on the road to Socialism.

From San Francisco. The following motions were carried at a regular meeting of Local San Francisco, July 3rd. Moved by Schulberg that Local San Francisco censure



YOUNG PEOPLES SOCIALIST LEAGUE, CHICAGO, ON THE WAY TO THE PICNIC.

State Secretary and State Executive Board for failing to submit state platform and matter pertaining to Haywood dates to a referendum vote of the membership of the state. Furthermore I stand instructed to have this motion published in the following papers: Revolt, Peoples' Paper, World, Vorwaerts and the International Socialist Review. (Signed) John Keller, Organizer Local S. F.

No Insurance for Moving Picture Operators. Comrade A. J. Lukachie, Business Agent of Local 160 I. A. T. S. E. writes us of the efforts of his organization to force the City of Cleveland administration to take some action for protecting the moving picture operators. Comrade Lukachie says the operating booths are worse than prison cells and that the boys intend to keep after the theater owners until conditions have been improved. It is becoming impossible for moving picture operators to secure insurance as the following letter to the General Agent of a Cleveland branch office goes to prove:

"E. W. Snyder, Gen. Agt., Cleveland, O.

The application of Otto C. Hauber is before us and I am sorry to advise you the same has been declined.

Operators of moving picture machines we have never considered such risks as our company would be justified in assuming. We class such occupations as extra hazardous, owing to the liability of explosion and fire and the probable inability of the operator to escape injury, owing to the close quarters in which he works.

(Signed) G. S. Stebbins, Medical Director."

We hope all the comrades of Cleveland and other points will co-operate with the boys in Cleveland. We can refuse to attend moving picture shows where the machine operators are not protected and the managers will soon bring pressure to bear on the theater owners.

Literature for the Blind. Local Rochester sends in a request for books on Socialism for the blind. Comrade Fertig, of Rochester, points out the need of such literature and we are using this method to get in touch with those who are particularly interested. We shall be glad to know of any socialist publications now being issued that fill this need.

From the Mormon Town. Comrade Cerny writes from Salt Lake City that "We sold ninety copies of the July Review at two street meetings here. J. H. Walsh, former organizer of the I. W. W. is here and we are certainly hustling things in this Mormon town."

Our Literature Agent is now selling the International Socialist Review every month and the comrades are all pleased with the revolutionary tone of your magazine. Keep up the good work.—John P. Burke, New Hampshire.

The Children Like to Help. Why not order a bundle of Reviews each month and show the boys and girls how to sell them? We will send you a small bundle of free copies to start them and will send later bundles at



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The Maoriland Worker, published in New Zealand is a welcome addition to our reading table. It is the best thing we know of to hand to people who believe that the trade

unions and the "labor government" of New Zealand have done anything for the working class or the revolutionary movement there, because it is full of facts and splendid revolutionary propoganda. Besides advocating revolutionary politics the Maoriland Worker is doing a wonderful work for Industrial Unionism. The support the editors and contributors receive would tend to give us all a very encouraging opinion of the real revolutionary movement in New Zealand. We have taken the liberty of cribbing from a recent editorial from the Maoriland Worker in the body of this number of the Review. It is worth pasting up in your local branch headquarters.

To Solve the Problem of the Unemployed. Steadily increasing interest is being shown in the movement launched by Local Portland for a nation-wide eight-hour day in 1912. The resolutions are as follows:

"Whereas, The master class has declared war on organized labor on the Pacific Coast;

"Whereas, The capitalist organizations known as the Citizens' Alliance, the Employers' Association, the Manufacturers' Association, and other organizations of the employing class, have declared for the open shop and 'freedom of contract' pertaining to length of workday and amount of wages between the individual workers on the one hand and organized employers on the other;

"Whereas, The employing class have the undivided support of all the powers of government in their relentless war against labor;

"Whereas, The improved method of machine production is ever multiplying the vast number of the unemployed;

"Whereas, The problem of the unemployed is the greatest question confronting the nations of the world to-day, and

"Whereas, A shortening of the work day is the most powerful factor in materially solving the unemployed problem as well as providing more time for recreation, education and organization of the toiling masses;

"Be it therefore resolved, by the members of Branch 1 of Local Portland of the Socialist Party, in business meeting assembled, that we will lend all our effort, political and economic, in declaring for a nation-wide eight-hour day, said eight-hour work day commencing on May 2, 1912; said eight-hour work day to continue in force until the industrially organized workers of this nation see fit to authorize a change.

"Be it further resolved that the individual members of this branch be instructed to take this matter up in their respective unions and with their trades journals with the purpose in view of securing the aid of all branches of organized labor for a universal eight-hour day.

"Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the International Socialist Review, the Appeal to Reason, the Chicago Daily Socialist, and all the other Socialist papers in this country, with the request that it be published and given the widest possible publicity.

"Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to the National Bulletin for publication, and that the National Executive Committee be requested to give it their immediate attention, and to instruct all national and state organizers and lecturers under their control to use their efforts in the furtherance of this proposition, namely, an eight-hour day in 1912."

Eight-Hour Day May, 1912.—The following comes from Detroit, Mich., from the I. W. W. local organization:

"Fellow Workers—The seriousness of the

Socialist Pennants

extra special in quality; crimson felt bearing the word SOCIALISM in artistic lettering; sell them at your meetings; decorate your local with them; regular price, sent by mail, without canes, 15 cents each; 2 for 25 cents. For \$2.00 we will send by prepaid express 1 dozen pennants with bamboo canes. Address R. B. Tobias, 118 West Kinzie St., Chicago, Ill., second floor.

REVOLT

THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

(Published Weekly, \$1.00 a Year, Six Months for 50 Cents)

ARTICLES by William English Walling, Frank Bohn, Ed Moore, Jack London, William D. Haywood, Eugene V. Debs, Rose Pastor Stokes, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Austin Lewis, William McDevitt, Anna Strunsky Walling, Charles Edward Russell and many other writers of note. The editorials by Cloudeley Johns already have attracted widespread attention, and should be read by every one interested in the real development of the proletarian revolution. Address all communications to

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Our new book "Fighting the Traffic in Young Girls," by Ernest A. Bell, U. S. District Attorney, Sims, and others. The most sensational indictment of the White Slave Trade ever published. It tells how thousands of our young girls are lured from their homes annually and sold into a life of shame. The Cincinnati Inquirer says: "Of all the books of the season the War on the White Slave Trade is the most helpful; it should be read by every man woman and child. Comrade A. Loeffler, N.Y., sold 15 Half Morocco copies and 3 cloth to his fellow workers in the shop. Agents are making from \$8.00 to \$17.00 a day selling this book. Over 500 pages. Many pictures. Price \$1.50. Best terms to agents. Outfit Free. Send 15 cents for forwarding charges. Book sent to any address postpaid on receipt of price, 1.50. Also Other books: **Mills of Mammon**, 500 pages, by J. H. Brower, postpaid for \$1.10; **War What For?** 320 pages, by Kirkpatrick, \$1.20; postpaid, **Barbarous Mexico**, by Turner, \$1.50, postpaid. Send for circulars. Home Book and Art Co. 3135 Logan Boulevard, Room 6 Chicago, Illinois.

unemployed problem challenges the sincerity of every organization that speaks in the name of labor. It will not be ignored; it clamors insistently for recognition; it is our problem, and its solution rests with us. We cannot avoid it.

"Behold the ever increasing thousands of our class who are the victims of the social curse, who wander shelterless and unprovided for vainly seeking some one to hire them. Consider, for it is our homes that are threatened when the bread winner is forced into involuntary idleness. It is our working class youth that are driven, under the pressure of adverse economic circumstances to lives of crime. It is our working class manhood, under its blighting influence, that is branded with the mark of beggary and pauperism. It feeds our working class womanhood into the maw of the red light wherein, gratifying the lust of the profligate and libertine, they seek to provide themselves with the things of life. Our wives, our daughters, our sisters, our sweethearts often, how often driven to choose between starvation and dishonor. And the responsibility for it we, organized workers, cannot shirk. We must endeavor to realize it. We must attempt to meet and overcome unemployment.

"The lot of the unemployed may be at any time our portion; the danger that has claimed its victims in our class threatens us and those dependent on us. The lines are not so fixed as to guarantee immunity to any. We are constantly interchanging places, now in employment, again out of a job. The length of our term of idleness determining the extent of our suffering. Panics have repeatedly spread desolation among us, and we should have learned to look to and depend only upon ourselves for relief. Any advantage that has ever accrued to the working-class has been the result of organization.

"In considering unemployment we need not be swayed entirely by sentiment. The disemployed workers constitute a menace to a realization of any demands we might make for improved conditions in our working places. They seriously threaten our ability to maintain what we already hold. The unemployed are held over us by the employers as a lash to whip us on to greater efforts. The presence of the unemployed job-seekers at the gates of the workshops tend to intimidate us, to render us more docile, industrious, and disinclined to rebel.

"Let us make an effort to lessen the pressure of the unemployed by decreasing the number of hours that constitute the working day. Let us disregard every imaginary line that divides us, and unite in demanding an eight-hour day throughout the United States after May 1, 1912.

"The worker must have a job to live, he must have a place attending the machinery of production, it is up to you, us, to provide him with it. It is your fight, our fight. It is a common cause and merits a common support. We face a crisis, let us give an earnest of our

willingness and ability to meet it. Let us prove that labor knows its duty and will do it."—Ed. DWYER, Secretary Eight-Hour committee.

Working up a Review Trade. Comrade H. Martin of Berlin, Ont., sends us a sample card advertising the Review which his small son, Garnet Martin, is using to interest the workers of that city and to increase the sale of The Fighting Magazine. Comrade Martin writes: "Garnet received the forty June Reviews Wednesday afternoon. The same evening I accompanied him up on the main thoroughfare and assisted him in breaking the ground, pointing out individuals to approach. He

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Booklets of 32 pages each, briefly explaining the principles of Socialism. Order by number.

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13. Rational Prohibition, Young.
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16. A Christian View of Socialism, Strobell.
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18. Parable of the Water Tank, Bellamy.
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37. The Issue, Eugene V. Debs.
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39. Industrial Unionism, Eugene V. Debs.
40. Industrial Union Methods, Trautmann.
41. Forces That Make for Socialism, Spargo.
42. Civic Evils, Reed.
43. Craft Unionism, Eugene V. Debs.
44. The Seab, Jack London.
45. Confessions of a Drone, Patterson.
46. Woman and Socialism, May Walden.
47. Revolution, Jack London.
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49. A Socialist View of Mr. Rockefeller, Spargo.
50. Marx on Cheapness.

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handed the prospective buyer his card and sold twenty-one copies in two hours. Before the close of the week, he had disposed of the entire forty. I believe these little cards are a splendid idea. They work well here. Make an appeal through the columns of the Review for boys and girls in every town and village to sell bundles of the Review and in a short time you can have a circulation of 200,000." He continues:

Show your boys and girls how to sell copies of the Review on the street. Help them to circulate revolutionary literature. You will be surprised to find how many copies a boy or girl can dispose of in two or three evenings. They can earn spending or vacation money and circulate the right stuff." Comrade Martin has the right idea. Spread it around and get your local interested.

A Doctor Who Wants to Govern People.—In your criticism on Prof. Fites' lecture, April number, I wish to criticize the critic. You say We, meaning the Socialists. "We seek control of these governments for the sake of abolishing them as governments, and at the same time abolishing the capitalists as capitalists. The state under working class control will not govern persons, it will enable each individual through his share of co-operative labor to provide himself with the necessities and comforts of life, and it will leave the individual free to regulate his own morals."

Now, my dear sir, I must have been studying Socialism for years with a beclouded brain. I was under the impression that we Socialists were teaching the people pure democracy, a government of, for, and by the people, but a *government*, and a government that *controls*. I can see no difference between your doctrine and the anarchistic; you both of you teach no government control. According to your criticism when each person is able to provide himself with the "necessities and comforts of life" he will then be perfectly satisfied. In other words, if a man's stomach is filled, his morals will be better. I think to the contrary. The morals of today although held in check by government laws, are better as a rule among the working man than among his brothers who have more of the comforts of life. No, my dear comrade, we can not leave the individual free to regulate himself. We must have laws to regulate, but they must be just, they must be fair to all, they must not be made for a class but for all.

You say that he speaks of "the Socialistic doctrine that the best government governs everything." Then regret that many self-styled Socialists talk and write in a way to spread just such misapprehensions. Comrade, I wish all, including yourself, would talk and write that way. We wish to keep as far away from anarchistic theories as possible. We put up the claim that under Socialism we will have the best government for the people, all of the people. Now, I will state my views on Socialism. They are very simple. I believe in the co-operative commonwealth that we have public ownership of all general

monopolies, that we abolish the capitalist but not the capital, that we have a government by the masses and not by the classes, that our motto shall be the golden rule, that our working rule shall be majority rule. That our laws govern one and all alike. I shall always oppose anarchism or any tendency towards anarchy. I think Socialism and anarchism are diametrically opposed to each other.

Yours for the welfare of the people,
Dr. A. J. Krehbiel.

(Life is too short to spend in arguing with a man who calls himself a Socialist but who clings to his capitalistic ideas of government. Fortunately, wage-workers do not yearn after judges and policemen to regulate their conduct, and fortunately wage-workers constitute by far the strongest and most important element in the Socialist Party. The one immediate danger before us is that if people like Doctor Krehbiel are allowed to moralize unchallenged in the name of the Socialist Party, the wage-workers may conclude that the party is only another set of would-be rulers and exploiters, and will prefer to stay on the outside. We can get along very well without the Doctor, but we can not get along at all without the wage-workers whom he would like to govern.)

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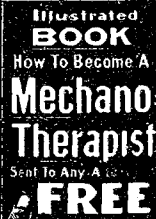
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The Fighting Magazine of the Working Class



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LABOR'S STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY

By EUGENE V. DEBS

WHAT COMES OF PLAYING THE GAME

By CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL

THE SPECTRE OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

By ARCHIBALD CRAWFORD

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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives LaMonte, William E. Bohn,
Leslie H. Marcy

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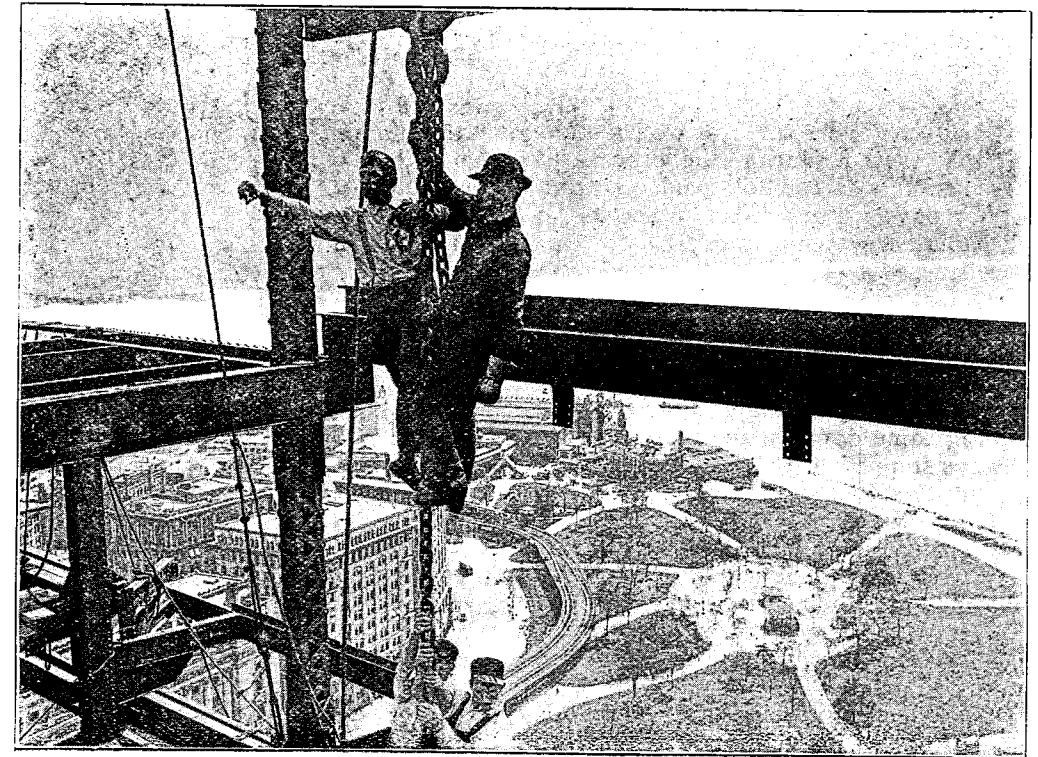
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The
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WORKING FIVE HUNDRED FEET
ABOVE GROUND

BY

THOMAS O'CONNELL

I WAS talking to Tim Saunders during his noon hour while the men at work putting up the great framework for one of the largest Chicago skyscrapers, sat about eating their lunches. "Of course the job of an iron worker is no cinch," he said, "but where can a man find one nowadays that is? My father was killed in the steel mills and my brother was lost in the Cherry Mine disaster. You're up against it everywhere."

Every day as I passed the growing skeleton of the new building I heard men talking about the rapidity with which the work progressed. Story after story leaped skyward over night and arm after arm of ponderous steel was daily flung forward. The whole gigantic structure seemed springing into life before our eyes.

It was the tiny specks of men as they crept over the huge frame knitting together enormous girders with the raucous riveting machines, that interested me most.

The life of one structural iron worker EVERY WEEK during the process of construction was the toll paid. During the hot days in July, Dan Wheeler, an old, experienced hand crumpled up over a twelfth story section and lurched over to the basement. Two other men were so overcome by the heat that they had to quit for the day.

Often I passed Madison street at about the time the men working on the Gardner building came down in the morning, and I always stopped, at the risk of being late, and "docked" myself, to see the men hoisted to their respective jobs over the steel chain pulley or the great hoists. They would slip their hands through the links and brace their feet around the chain and go whirling and swaying through space three or four, or even five, hundred feet above ground.

Dan Wheeler told me of one day when he and three of his comrades doubled up in order to finish a specified number of floors at a given time. "We had to do our own work and avoid jars from the steel beams from theirs," he said.

"It was a windy day and the small manila brace ropes flapped in our faces and beat about our feet. We had all been 'called down' that morning by the boss and told to finish up that floor if we were any good at all, before night.

"But the wind was so strong that we worked with extra precaution. At such times the structural iron worker becomes a taut bundle of nerves. He must keep every sense alert for the slightest mischance may mean his finish.

One of the boys pushed back his soft hat and mopped his forehead, we always

sweat a good deal on such jobs because of the tension and the hard work and it was hot that day, too. The wind caught up the flap of his hat and as he snatched to catch it, his foot slipped and Bill got his last time.

"When you first start on a job of this kind, you are so careful that you are almost likely to stumble over your own feet. But by and by you get used to it, like a man gets used to everything in this world. Then you get careless. I used to be proud of my own nimbleness. People would talk about the way I leaped great gaps and flung myself about. And I was so light on my feet and so strong and young that I laughed at the thought of any accident coming my way, in those days.

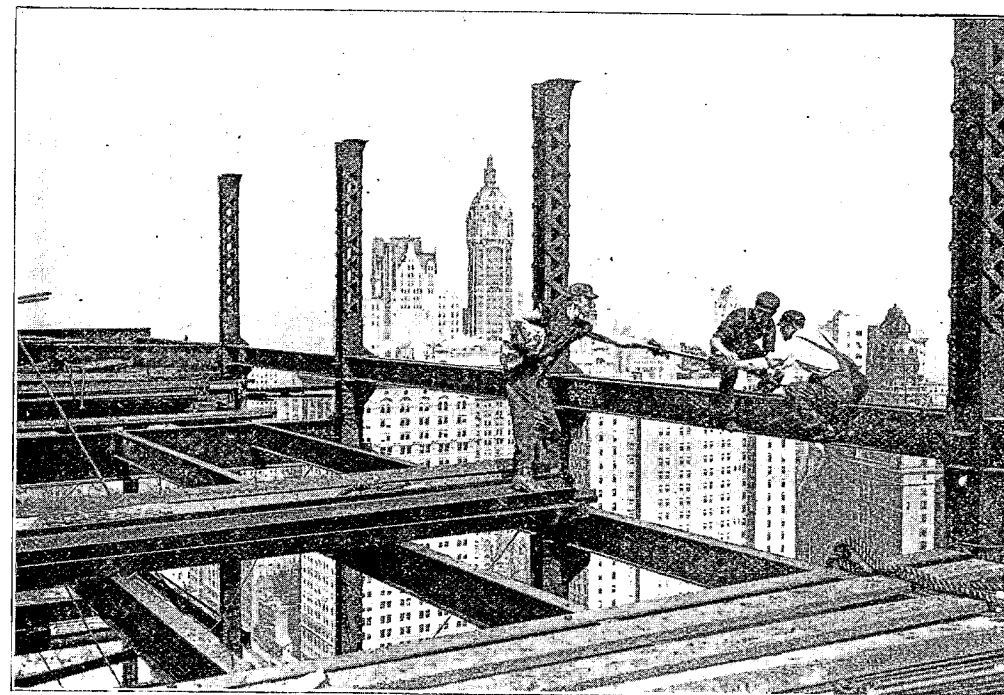
"But I learned a whole lot. And I was one of the lucky ones that learned before I fell. When a spike slipped and I saved myself from plunging into space by throwing my arms around the riveting machine, a fellow workman reached me inside a half a minute and pulled the riveter over to the girder and I found my feet again.

At another time I stepped on an untied shoe-lace, but threw myself backward in time to clutch the bars and save myself from going under. Every iron worker carries his life in his FEET every day. We could all tell you of our many close shaves.

"Now they have a new aerial ambulance for structural iron workers. But that don't come into use until we've been hurt. It's nearly always good by to the worker before the ambulance gets him. Sometimes our remains are scooped up and lowered to the ground and carted away to our bereaved families and sometimes men are gathered up still living. They may be an improvement on nothing at all, but they never prevent accidents.

The steel trust is now after the structural iron workers. It has crushed out the unions in many parts of the Pittsburg district where unionism is fast becoming a negligible quantity. And it has set its face against the organization of the iron workers.

Intelligent men and women recognize the McNamara conspiracy as a gigantic movement on the part of Morgan's gang



ACROSS THE CHASM.

to wipe out the gallant little band of air men in their last stand for their craft organization.

The union may win this particular fight, but they cannot win finally with their old weapons.

Capital is more and more concentrating into a few hands. It is armed with all the powers of government to use in its own way. Only a united working class can cope with the trusts. A small band of workers, be they ever so courageous and self-sacrificing, must go down before the better organized and better equipped capitalist class.

The day of craft organization is nearly done because the trust is become well-nigh invulnerable. It commands Supreme courts and the old-time gods of the ermine bend the submissive knee. It demands of Roosevelt, the boaster, that he become its servant and its tool and Teddy, the terrible, forthwith lays down his arms and dons the menial's attire.

It threatens to throw the nation into a panic, to close down factories and mines and to shut the mills. Unless Theodore, the terrible, became a public vassal to the steel trust, the steel trust threatened to involve the country in a panic. Then would all men know who was the king. So Teddy got down on his knees. He did not expect that the facts would be made public and that later on he (Roosevelt) would be called before a congressional investigation body where his subserviency would be proven.

Kings, princes, presidents, are all in the service of the trusts these days. A fighting craft union is like a small boy trying to stem the tide of progress when it goes up against the Steel Trust. A fighting, revolutionary industrial union, ONE BIG UNION of the working class can by its own united strength and solidarity, ride with that tide to the complete supremacy of the workers.



MARCHING STRIKERS.

THE CLEVELAND GARMENT WORKERS STRIKE

BY

C. E. RUTHENBERG

THE garment workers of Cleveland have been on strike for two months at the time this article is written.

In the face of the most bitter opposition the International Garment Workers' Union has ever met with, in the face of the brutality and violence of the worst lot of hired guards ever used in a contest of this character, in spite of the united effort of the capitalist dailies to prejudice the public against the strikers and to break their ranks by publishing lying stories about the strikers going back to work, and in spite of the arrest of hundreds of pickets, the garment workers are as firm in their demands as when the strike began, and they hold a stronger position.

The workers in this contest did not make the usual mistake of giving their employers weeks and months to prepare for a strike. They struck their blow the moment their demands were refused. On June 5th the demands of the union were presented to the employers. On June 6th a mass meeting of the workers was

called and the situation laid before them. The following morning the union officials again tried to secure consideration of workers' demands, of which the main points are, a fifty hour week; no work on Saturday afternoon nor on Sundays; not more than two hours' overtime five days per week; double time for overtime for week workers; the observance of all legal holidays; no charge for machines, power or appliances, nor for silk and cotton; no inside contracting; no time contracts with individual employes; prices for piecework to be adjusted by a joint price committee, to be elected by employes in the shops, the outside contractors and a representative of the firm. The employers absolutely refused to deal with the representatives of the unions.

The workers had begun their tasks at the tables and machines as usual the morning after the mass meeting, and probably none of the employers guessed that the strike was imminent. But when word was passed from shop to shop at 9 o'clock that the bosses had refused to

see their representatives and that they were to walk out at ten, the workers were ready. When the hands of the clock pointed to that hour they dropped their work and filed out of the factories.

On St. Clair avenue and intersecting streets, where a large number of factories are located, the streets were soon filled with strikers. In accordance with instructions received they formed in line and marched from factory to factory, augmenting their strength at each place until more than seven thousand were in line. They thus gave the first impressive demonstration of their strength. After passing through the down-town section the paraders proceeded out Superior avenue to the plant of H. Black & Co. This is one of the largest concerns in Cleveland and some difficulty was expected in getting the workers in this factory to join the strike, but when the strikers counter-marched before the plant they were joined by practically every worker employed by this concern.

The garment workers are fortunate in having an industrial form of organization and in making their demands as one organization and not as the demands of separate unions. Although there are five unions concerned in this strike they did not carry on separate negotiations and go on strike as individual organizations. Their demands were presented by the officials of the International Garment

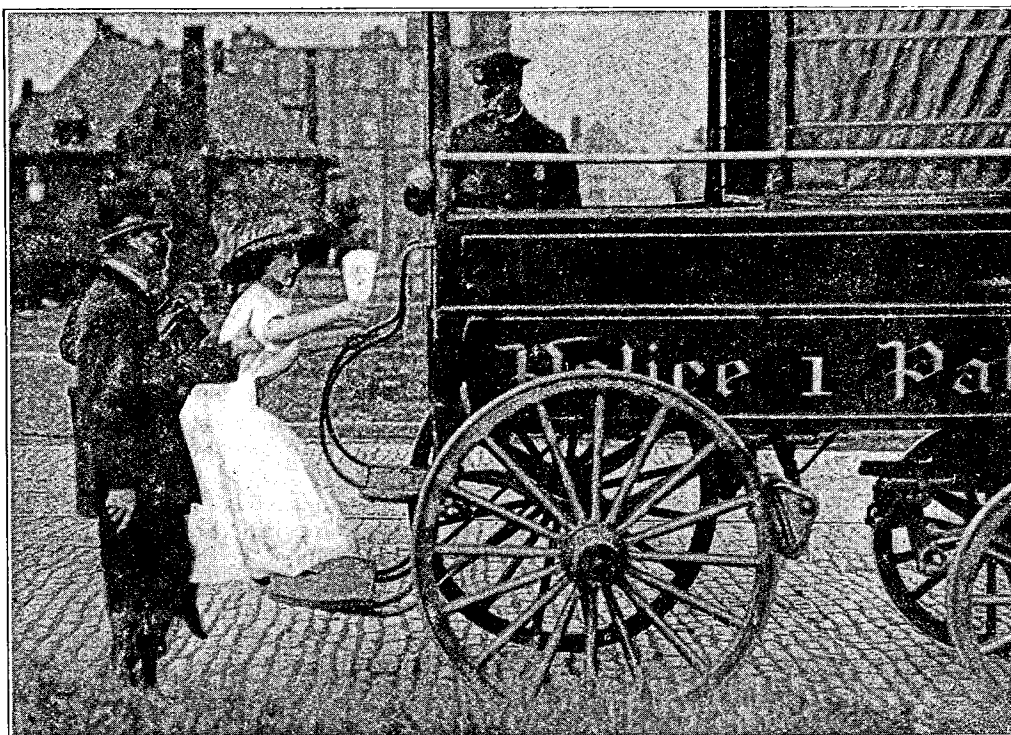
Workers' Union, and when they struck, cloak cutters, cloak makers, shirt makers, cloak and shirt pressers and finishers and outside contractors struck as one organization. And ever since they have stood together as one organization and have refused to deal with their employers in any other way than through the joint board representing all the unions.

The Employers' Association has followed the usual tactics in trying to break the strike. Blackguards, ex-criminals and ruffians of all kinds have been employed through private detective agencies, ostensibly as guards, but in reality to instigate rioting and violence, which is laid at the door of the strikers by the capitalist press. "Facts," the official organ of the Employers' Association of Cleveland, thus sums up the result:

"The Cleveland strike has resulted in one death, thirteen serious riots resulting in shooting, slugging, smashing of windows, destruction of property, severe fighting and assaults, which were only quelled by calling out the police reserves; one vitriol throwing affair; three shooting affrays of major character not counting riots; one stabbing affray; twenty-two grave assaults and many street battles; many riotous affairs in which men were beaten up, wounded, and shots were fired; several hundred cases of violence where blows have been struck and hundreds of cases of missile and egg throw-



POLICE GUARDING SCABS GOING TO WORK.



POLICE ARRESTING A PICKET.

ing and disorderly conduct. Over three hundred arrests have resulted."

Here is one instance which will serve to explain how these riots and disturbances originated:

R. J. Snyder, E. J. McCarthy, Frank Deering and Ed Elliott, all guards in the employ of the manufacturers, were driving down Payne avenue in an automobile at the rate of forty miles an hour. Being drunk or inexperienced in handling an automobile, they lost control of the machine and crashed into a telegraph post. Snyder had his skull fractured and the three other guards were injured more or less seriously. People living in the neighborhood called an ambulance in which Snyder was taken to a hospital. They were engaged in caring for the other guards when another automobile load of guards came along. Without asking or waiting for any explanation these guards drew their billies and blackjacks, rushed into the crowd and clubbed and beat every one within reach.

The facts in this case were too palpable to be concealed, and other cases of violence and destruction of property upon

investigation show the same result. A non-union shop was set on fire and strikers accused of being the incendiaries. Investigation by the fire marshal's office brought out the fact that guards in the employ of the manufacturers were the real criminals. Warrants were sworn out for the arrest of these guards, but before they could be served they had disappeared and the detective agency which had employed them disclaimed any knowledge of their whereabouts.

It is not to be supposed that these seven thousand men and women carrying on a contest for wages which will give them a decent subsistence and for working conditions which will enable them to live as human beings have been always peaceable and have always refrained from meeting violence with violence. Can it be expected of these workers, fighting for their very lives, that they turn the other cheek when attacked by ruffians brought into the city by their employers? But it can be said without fear of contradiction that nine-tenths of the violence which is laid at the door of the strikers has been the result of aggression on the part of

the so-called "guards," hired to create disturbances.

The Cleveland police department has been entirely at the service of the Manufacturers' Association. One-third of the police force is constantly on duty at the various factories. At the plant of H. Black & Co. a few days ago there were ten burly policemen guarding the factory against four girl pickets, not any of whom was much over sixteen years of age.

The police, evidently acting under instructions, have harassed the strikers in every way possible. While guards, carrying revolvers and blackjacks, have not been molested, though violating the law which forbids the carrying of concealed weapons, girl pickets have been arrested on charges brought under obsolete ordinances, which no one ever heard of until the present strike. In the disturbances resulting from attacks on strikers by guards the police have invariably taken the part of the guards and clubbed and arrested strikers and bystanders, whether guilty of any lawlessness or not.

It is only necessary to read between the lines in the following report published in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, of a charge of mounted police, for evidence of this fact:

"They (the mounted police) galloped headlong at the crowd when they first appeared and the hundreds who blocked the street fled in terror. They swung their clubs when they reached the crowd and forced their way through, driving scores before them down the streets. Some groups that ran from them were chased for blocks. . . . There was little resistance offered the horsemen."

Brave men, indeed, to ride roughshod among unarmed men and women who flee in terror and offer no resistance!

In order to keep pickets away from the factories the police established what they called "dead-lines" about the garment factory district in the down-town section of the city, through which no one was allowed to pass without explaining his business. No authority existed for forbidding the people of Cleveland from passing up and down any street of the city, but although this fact was called to the attention of the head of the police department and the mayor, the "dead-lines" were maintained until the strikers them-

selves set them at defiance. A procession of strikers, their wives and relatives was organized and ten thousand strong they marched from the union headquarters through the heart of the city to the factory district and through the "dead-lines." Since this parade the police have forgotten that "dead-lines" had been established.

There are 1,600 girls out in this strike. Under the direction of Miss Pauline Newman and Miss Josephine Casey, both organizers sent to Cleveland by the International Garment Workers' Union, these girls are doing wonders. When the strike began very few of them were in the unions. Today they are practically all organized and firmer in their demands and more ready to do picketing and other work than the men. Miss Newman, who took part in both the shirt waist makers' strike in New York and the garment workers' strike in Philadelphia, says that the spirit manifested by the girl workers in Cleveland is an inspiration to every one connected with the strike.

At one of the factories forty-five girls were arrested at one time. No sooner were they locked up than one of the girls proposed:

"I move that we elect a chairman and hold a meeting."

The chairman was duly named and a committee elected to draw up resolutions condemning the police.

Girls who maintain this fighting spirit in police cells are not going to be easily beaten.

Officers of the International Union say that the Cleveland strike is the bitterest fight they have been in. Although unable to operate their factories, the employers are maintaining a firm front. When members of the State Arbitration Board came to Cleveland to investigate the strike they refused absolutely to place their case before the board, although union officials had manifested their willingness to submit the demands of the workers to arbitration. Various firms have tried to open shops in the small towns about Cleveland, but have not succeeded in operating them successfully. At Canton, Akron, Conneaut, Ashtabula, Painesville, Sandusky, Elyria and a number of other places these shops have been closed through aggressive work of organ-

izers and pickets from Cleveland co-operating with the central bodies of the unions in these towns.

The Employers' Association has tried to bring in strikebreakers from other cities, but with little or no success. Out of thirty-five of the larger shops concerned, only eleven are making any attempt to operate at all. In these eleven factories not over five hundred strikebreakers are employed.

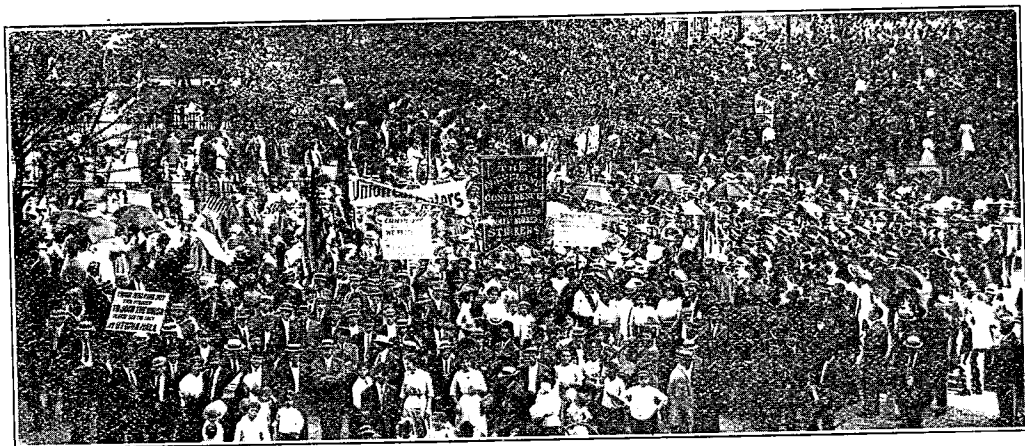
In some of these factories strikebreakers are being held in what practically amounts to peonage. Once outside of the shops they are kept there under guard, sleeping and eating their meals inside of the factories. They soon grow tired of such a life and if given an opportunity are only too anxious to leave.

The Socialist Party has not neglected the opportunity presented in this strike to show up the class character of the municipal government and the courts of Cleveland. When a judge declared that carrying concealed weapons by strikebreakers, which is absolutely forbidden by city ordinance, was not illegal, but that calling "scab" at strikebreakers justified arrest, the eyes of some of the workers were opened.

Socialist speakers have been addressing large meetings held under auspices of the union, and Socialist soap-boxers are holding meetings regularly in the strike district. Especially active has been the Jewish branch of the Socialist Party, which, through the Garment Workers' Aid Conference, took the leading part in arranging a monster protest demonstration against the city administration because of its use of the police in the inter-

est of the employers. Between 15,000 and 20,000 strikers, unionists and Socialists took part in this demonstration. Since this time the police have been a little more active in protecting strikers from the brutality of the guards. Evidently the capitalist administration fears the political effect of too open use of the police department against the strikers, especially since the Director of Public Safety, who has control of the police force, is the Republican candidate for mayor.

The strike at the time this article is written seems to be deadlocked. The workers are firm in their demands and are stronger than when the strike began. When the strike was called 3,000 out of the total of 7,000 workers who left the shops were members of the unions. Today practically every one of the seven thousand is a member. The employers' association, on the other hand, absolutely refuses to deal with the union officials, but each day that the workers remain firm adds to their strength. The busiest season of the year in the garment making industry is at hand, and every day the factories remain closed the employers are losing thousands of dollars' worth of orders. They have boasted in the past that Cleveland has the third largest garment making industry in the world, but unless they yield in this strike this prestige will soon be lost. If the workers maintain their splendid solidarity, if all the unions fight together to the end as they have been fighting during the past two months, there is hardly a doubt but that the victory will ultimately be theirs.



MASS MEETING OF SOCIALISTS, UNIONISTS AND STRIKERS.



LABOR'S STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY

BY

EUGENE V. DEBS

IN THE struggle of the working class to free itself from wage slavery it cannot be repeated too often that everything depends upon the working class itself. The simple question is, can the workers fit themselves, by education, organization, co-operation and self-imposed discipline, to take control of the productive forces and manage industry in the interest of the people and for the benefit of society? That is all there is to it.

The capitalist theory is that labor is, always has been, and always will be, "hands" merely; that it needs a "head," the head of a capitalist, to hire it, set it to work, boss it, drive it and exploit it, and that without the capitalist "head" labor would be unemployed, helpless, and starve; and, sad to say, a great majority of wage-workers, in their ignorance, still share in that opinion. They use their hands only to produce wealth for the capitalist who uses his head only, scarcely conscious that they have heads of their own and that if they only used their heads as well as their hands the capitalist would have to use his hands as well

as his head, and then there would be no "bosses" and no "hands," but men instead—free men, employing themselves co-operatively under regulations of their own, taking to themselves all the products of their labor and shortening the work day as machinery increased their productive capacity.

Such a change would be marvelously beneficial all around. The idle capitalists and brutal bosses would disappear; all would be useful workers, have steady employment, fit houses to live in, plenty to eat and wear, and leisure time enough to enjoy life.

That is the Socialist theory and what Socialists are fighting for and are ready to live and die for.

But this is not a mere fanciful theory with Socialists. It is a vital force in society that is at work like gravity, steadily, unceasingly, transforming society and at the same time preparing the workers for the change. All the workers have to do is to recognize this force, get in harmony with it, and fit themselves by self-

training and co-operative self-control for industrial mastery and social freedom.

This seems simple enough and so it is, yet simple as it is it involves the greatest struggle in history. The idle capitalists who now rule the civilized world and rob the workers of the fruit of their labor will fight to the last ditch and they have numberless hirelings, mercenaries and lickspittles in the form of lawyers, politicians, legislators, judges, office-holders, professors, priests, editors, writers, "labor leaders" (?), soldiers, detectives, etc., etc., to fight their battles for them.

All this vast army serves as retainers of and apologists for the idle capitalists by whose grace they hold their jobs, and the entire brood is set solidly against socialism.

These servile sneerers and prostituted puppets all insist that working men and women are "hands" to be worked by capitalists, that they can never be anything else and that Socialism is but the devil's lure which they must shun as they would a deadly viper, and this they are dinning into the ears of the slaves early and late through their newspapers and magazines, their pulpits and confessionals, their civic federations and charity balls, and seeking in a thousand other ways, secret and subtle, covert and treacherous, to thwart the efforts of the Socialists to open the eyes of the workers that they may see the light and find their way to freedom.

This task on the part of Socialists, who are almost wholly wage-slaves with their brains in working order, is a herculean one and Socialists are the very last to underestimate its magnitude. They realize fully what they have undertaken, and how crucially they are to be tested in the struggle, and this has been the making of them and they are today the most fearless, persistent and successful agitators and the most self-possessed and optimistic people in the world.

They are not waiting for some so-called "great man" or "good man" to do something for them, but they are preparing to do all things for themselves.

The workers are in a great majority and without them every wheel would stop, industry would drop dead, and society would be paralyzed.

All they have to do is to unite, think

together, act together, strike together, vote together, never for an instant forgetting that they are one, and then the world is theirs. They have but to stretch out their millions of brawny arms and trained co-operative hands and take possession.

But to reach this point requires education and organization—these are the essentials to emancipation.

The industrial organization of the workers is of the supremest necessity. In this vital requirement they are still far behind. The trade union is almost half a century out of date. It keeps them divided and they fall an easy prey to their masters. The industrial union, reaching out and bringing them all into active, intelligent and harmonious co-operation with each other, is the union and the only union that develops revolutionary power and leads to victory.

The trade union of the workers has lagged behind and has been distanced by the trust of the capitalists. It has not kept pace with the march of industry and is now almost obsolete and in some respects even worse than useless.

The stage coach has become a locomotive, the dugout a steamboat, but the trade union is still the trade union.

The tools of the workers have been marvelously enlarged and improved and so has their product, but their old craft unions remain in the same narrow grooves, without a change or improvement to mark their progress.

There ought to be the same improvement and enlargement, the same high modern efficiency in the labor union that there is in machinery and production.

The industrial union corresponds to the locomotive, the steamship, the railway and telegraph, and the trust which controls them.

If the workers were rightly organized their union would show the same relative degree of improvement upon the craft union of a century ago that a steam engine does upon a wheelbarrow, and also the same relative improvement in capacity and performance.

The workers must organize their emancipation to achieve it and to control its illimitable opportunities and possibilities.

They must unite in one and the same

industrial union and one and the same political party. And the union and the party must be managed and directed by themselves, *not from the top down, but from the bottom up.*

When the head of a "boss" appears it is only to disappear if the workers know their book. Brains are wanted, but not bosses. The workers do not want to be patronized any longer by intellectual "superiors." They are organized upon the basis of mutual service and the superiority of all, and all are welcome to join upon that basis, the brainier they are the better.

But no bosses! Labor has been bossed

for centuries unnumbered and from now on it is going to boss itself. Labor has had all it wants of the "great man," who condescendingly smiles upon it to have himself lifted up on its shoulders and boosted into prominence, luxury and office.

The workers and producers, the builders and delvers, the sowers and reapers, the weavers and spinners, the mechanics, artisans and laborers of every kind and sort are the creators of society and the conservators of civilization, and when they come to realize it they will conquer in the struggle for supremacy and people the earth with a race of free men.

Not craft autonomy but shop unity, is the need of the workers.

* * *

The "closed shop" means a contract with the boss. When you sign a contract you enlist for a stated time to work while your fellow workingmen strike.

* * *

Trade agreements are merely licenses to scab. The union that upholds them becomes an auxiliary of the capitalist class.

* * *

It is not only wrong for an individual workingman or a union to bargain with the capitalist class, it is wrong for the working class as a whole to make such a bargain. Its historic mission is not to bargain with but to overthrow the capitalist class and emancipate itself.

—William D. Haywood.

WHAT COMES OF PLAYING THE GAME

BY

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL



A PROLETARIAN movement can have no part, however slight, in the game of politics. The moment it takes a seat at that grimy board is the moment it dies within. After that it may for a time maintain a semblance of life and motion, but in truth it is only a corpse.

This has been proved many times. It is being proved today in Great Britain. It has been proved recently and most convinc-

ingly in the experience of Australia and New Zealand.

In Australia the proletarian movement that began eighteen years ago has achieved an absolute triumph—in politics. Under the name of the Labor Party it has won all that any political combination can possibly win anywhere. It has played the political game to the limit and taken all the stakes in sight. The whole national government is in its hands. It has attained

in fullest measure to the political success at which it aimed. It not merely influences the government; it is the government.

To make the situation clear by an American analogy, let us suppose the Socialists of America to join hands with the progressive element in the labor unions and with the different groups of advanced radicals. Let us suppose a coalition party to be formed called the Labor Party. Let us suppose this to have entered the state and national campaigns, winning at each successive election more seats in Congress, and finally after sixteen years of conflict, electing its candidate for president and a clear majority of the Senate and the House of Representatives. This would be admitted to be the summit of such a party's aims and to mean great and notable success; and it would closely parallel the situation in Australia.

Exactly such a Labor Party has administered the affairs of Australia since April, 1910. Its triumph was the political success of a proletarian movement that was steered into the political game. What has resulted?

This has resulted, that the Labor Party of Australia is now exactly like any other political party and means no more to the working class except its name. Constituted as the political party of that class, it has been swept into power by working class votes, and after almost a year and a half of control of national affairs it can show nothing more accomplished for working class interests than any other party has accomplished. The working class under the Labor Party is in essentially the same condition that it has been in under all the other administrations, nor is there the slightest prospect that its condition will be changed.

In other words, the whole machine runs on exactly as before, the vast elaborated machine by which toilers are exploited and parasites are fed. Once in power, the Labor Party proceeded to do such things as other parties had done for the purpose of keeping in power, and it is these things that maintain the machine.

On the night of the election, when the returns began to indicate the result, the gentleman that is now Attorney General of the Commonwealth was in the Labor Party

headquarters, jumping up and down with uncontrollable glee.

"We're in!" he shouted, "We're in! We're in!"

That was an excellent phrase and neatly expressed the whole situation. The Labor Party was in; it had won the offices and the places of power and honor; it had defeated the opponents that had often defeated it. It was "in." The next thing was to keep in, and this is the object that it has assiduously pursued ever since. "We are in; now let us stay in. We have the offices; let us keep the offices."

The first thing it does is to increase its strength with the bourgeoisie and the great middle class always allied with its enemies. To its opponents in the campaigns the handiest weapon and most effective was always the charge that the Labor Party was not patriotic, that it did not love the dear old flag of Great Britain with the proper degree of fervor and ecstasy; that it was wobbly on the subject of war and held strange, erratic notions in favor of universal peace instead of yelling day and night for British supremacy whether right or wrong—which is well known to be the duty of the true and pure patriot. This argument was continually used and had great effect.

Naturally, as the Labor Party was now in and determined to stay in, the wise play indicated in the game upon which it had embarked, was to disprove all these damaging allegations and to show that the Labor Party was just as patriotic as any other party could possibly be. So its first move was to adopt a system of universal military service, and the next to undertake vast schemes of national defense. The attention and admiration of the country were directed to the fact that the Labor administration was the first to build small arms factories, to revise the military establishment so as to secure the greatest efficiency and to prepare the nation for deeds of valor on the battlefield.

At the time this was done there was a crying need for new labor legislation; the system or lack of system of arbitrating labor disputes was badly in need of repairs; workmen were being imprisoned in some of the states for the crime of striking; the power of government was often used to oppress and overawe strikers, even when

they had been perfectly orderly and their cause was absolutely just. These with many other evils of the workingman's condition were pushed aside in order to perfect the defense system and get the small arms factories in good working order, for such were the plain indications of the game that the Labor Party had started out to play. "We're in; let us stay in."

The next thing to attest properly the true spirit of patriotism that burned and throbbed in the Labor Party was to send the Prime Minister and eighteen members of Parliament, at public expense, to the coronation puppet show. The Prime Minister was, in fact, one of the bright ornaments of that precious occasion, and was universally admired as he pranced around in knee pants and other regalia. He is by trade a steam engineer, and for years lived by the work of his hands. He was said greatly to enjoy the gew-gaws of the occasion. I do not know whether this is true, but certainly he presented a sad and humiliating spectacle as a representative of the working class, and one that would never have been offered to the world except for the necessity of "playing the game." It would have been bad politics for the Labor Party to have appeared in the least indifferent to the childish and silly tricks of the coronation; hence it must leave nothing undone to show its loyalty lest our enemies get ammunition to use against us and we shall not be able to stay in. Nothing more absurd and degrading can be imagined than the participation of any Labor Party in such a spectacle, but such are the conditions of this game. If you start in to play it you must play it, and you must play it in the way that will win.

Meantime there remains this awkward fact about the condition of the working class. It is no less exploited than before. It is as far, apparently, from the day of justice under the rule of the Labor Party as it was under the rule of the Liberal Party. What are you going to do about that? Why, there is nothing to be done about that as yet. The country, you see, is not ready for any radical measures on that subject. If we undertook to make any great changes in fundamental conditions we should be defeated at the next election and then we should not be in but should be out. True, the cost of living is steadily

increasing, and that means that the state of the working class is inevitably declining. True, under the present system, power is steadily accumulating in the hands of the exploiters, so that if we are afraid to offend them now we shall be still more afraid to offend them next year and the next. But the main thing is to keep in. We're in; let us stay in.

Hence, also, the Labor administration has been very careful not to offend the great money interests and powerful corporations that are growing up in the country. These influences are too powerful in elections. Nothing has been done that could in the least disturb the currents of sacred business. It was recognized as not good politics to antagonize business interests. Let the administration keep along with the solid business interests of the country, reassuring them for the sake of the general prosperity and helping them to go on in the same safe, sane and conservative way as before. It was essential that business men should feel that business was just as secure under the Labor administration as under any other. Nothing that can in the least upset business, you know. True, this sacred business consists of schemes to exploit and rob the working class, and true, the longer it is allowed to go upon its way the more powerful it becomes and the greater are its exploitations and profits. But if we do anything that upsets business or tends to disturb business confidence, that will be bad for us at the next election. Very likely we shall not be able to keep in. We are in now; let us stay in, and have the offices and the power.

Therefore, it is with the greatest pride that the Labor people point out that under the Labor administration the volume of business has not decreased but increased; the operations of the banks have shown no falling off; they are still engaged as profitably as of yore in skinning the public; the clearings are in an eminently satisfactory condition; profits have suffered no decline; all is well in our marts of trade. The old machine goes on so well you would never know there had been any change in the administration. Business men have confidence in our Party. They know that we will do the right thing by them, and when in the next campaign the wicked ora-

tors of the opposition arise and say that the Labor Party is a party of disturbers and revolutionists, we can point to these facts and overwhelm them. And that will be a good thing, because otherwise we might not be able to keep in. We're in; let us stay in.

So stands the case in Australia. But if anyone says to me that the heart of the trouble is some defect in the men that are the leaders of the Australian Labor Party, I deny it. There are no leaders of the Australian Labor Party in the sense that American politics understand leaders. Whoever comes to the front in the affairs of the Australian Labor Party is chosen by a free vote of the members of that Party and has not pushed himself to the front in the manner to which American politicians are accustomed. And as for the men that hold cabinet positions in the Labor administration and therefore may be regarded as chiefly the advocates of the policy I have here outlined if we think that these men are at fault we shall make the greatest possible error. There are no better men anywhere. Their sincerity is beyond question. They believe absolutely in working class government, they are personally above reproach, they represent a class of public men that for flawless honesty and purity of purpose is almost unknown in American public affairs; I wish we had a thousand like them in our government this day.

Nor is there any question about their ability. They are among the ablest of all executives. Every one of them, when he came into office, gave a notable example of efficiency by studying, simplifying and improving the operations of his department. The fault is not with their convictions nor with their intellectual resources. The trouble is with the game that they started out to play. That game has always these results and no others. Whosoever starts to play it must play according to the rules and these are the rules. You sit at the grimy board to win. If you win you can win in but this way, by continual compromise and by continual sacrifice of your principles.

Most of these men are Socialists. One of them, Senator George H. Pearce, now the able and efficient Minister for Defense, once delivered in my hearing the clearest and most concise exposition of the fundamental principles of Socialism that I have

ever heard anywhere. They are convinced Socialists and they will tell you that their ultimate ideal is the co-operative Commonwealth—when the people are ready for it. And yet, sincerely and truly believing in the Socialistic theory, they proceed to play the Capitalists' game, because they must play that game to keep in. We're in; let us stay in.

Meantime, how has the cause of Socialism progressed in Australia? Not at all. I would by no means disparage the efforts of the band of clear-sighted and able men and women that in Australia and New Zealand steadfastly insist upon the truth that nothing will ever be won by palliatives; but the great working population, carried away by the idea of winning political victories, is so far indifferent or hostile toward the only movement that can really accomplish anything. I know of but one other country in the civilized circuit where Socialism is so dead. The full attention of the proletariat is centered in the political success of this Labor Party. It will give no heed to anything else, and the few men that with clear vision and inspiration continue to insist that the only way to emancipate the working class is to emancipate it are like the voice of one crying in the wilderness. If the capitalists had designed the very best way in which to perpetuate their power they could not have hit upon anything better for themselves than this. It keeps the working class occupied; it diverts their minds from the real questions that pertain to their condition; it appeals to their sporting instincts; we want to win, we want to cheer our own victory, we want to stay in; this is the way to these results. And meantime the capitalists rake off the profits and are happy. We are infinitely better off in the United States. The Labor Party of Australia has killed the pure proletarian movement there. At least we have the beginnings of one here. If there had been no Labor Party there would now be in Australia a promising working class movement headed towards industrial emancipation. Having a Labor Party, there is no such movement in sight.

I said a moment ago that there is but one other country in the civilized circuit where Socialism is as dead as it is in Australia. The other country is New Zealand, where the game has been played as assidu-

ously as in Australia and with identical results.

Here is the one spot on earth where the proletarian movement ought to be the strongest and where it is, practically speaking, the weakest.

New Zealand was the first country where the workingmen recognized something of their power, the first country where the labor union was made a part of the government, the first to try to deal adequately with problems of factory conditions and hours of employment, the first to seek a peaceful solution of the problem of the strike.

Having made years ago so excellent a start it is discouraging to find that the pristine spirit died out so early; that in these days the first concern of the working class seems to be the figures of the ballot box; and that while the country has gone over wholly into the control of the capitalists, the workingman now gets nothing from his government but an elaborate confidence game and swindle.

In the face of injustice and governmental oppression as bad as anything we know in the United States and somewhat worse, there is no more revolt in the New Zealand proletariat than there is in so much putty. It has been hypnotized by the political game.

Year after year the wily gentlemen that hold the offices and rake off the good things in that country assure the workingmen that they are better off than the workingmen anywhere else in the world, and then fasten their minds on the Punch and Judy show of an election that, however it may result, can mean nothing to any toiler except the right to carry a banner in a parade and cheer in the streets on election night.

Nearly twenty years ago the working class of New Zealand went into politics as a game and won the nominal control of the country's affairs. A telegraph operator forgot all about his fellow workers when he got a cabinet office and accepted knighthood. The carpenters, masons and journalists that led the first movement lost sight of the real labor question as soon as they began to scheme and dream about getting office and keeping it. After twenty years of government by the Labor-Liberal combination, the telegraph operator, now became prime minister, slips over to Great

Britain a present of a Dreadnaught battleship, taxes every man, woman and child in the country ten dollars to pay for the gift, and then parades England in the glory of his achievement. Meantime the condition of the workingman, absolutely and relatively, is worse than it has ever been; the government placed in power and held there by workingmen's votes, gives to them such treatment as you would expect from a member of the National Manufacturers' Association; and a man that preaches the social revolution among them is looked upon as a strange, weird beast. What do we want of a social revolution? There is an election next year, and if you talk like that you may injure the chances of our candidate. People are not ready for that sort of thing, you know, and we must be practical.

Practical—that is a good word, especially in New Zealand. In that country striking has been made practically a crime; a man that engages in a strike (except under the impossible conditions laid down by the government) can be thrown into jail for that mere act alone. This is the express and practical provision of the statute and there is no protest against it from the working class.

In New Zealand the government operates a coal mine, wherein it exploits its workers and extorts from them more labor than the private mine owners get; and the working class makes no protest against that.

Men have engaged in a just and necessary strike, and to punish them their homes have been invaded and the sewing machines and little personal belongings of their wives have been seized and confiscated; and the working class accepts that.

The system of compulsory arbitration is now being worked by the capitalist class to keep down wages in a country where the cost of living rapidly increases; and the working class endures that.

For some years almost every important issue has been decided by the arbitration court against the toiler; and the working class endures that.

The government is plainly in alliance with the exploiting corporations, upholds the steamship trust, the coal trust, the bank trust, the fish trust, the oil trust, and many other trusts, and although this is perfectly

apparent to any observer, the working class submits to it.

To make any protest and to urge the pure proletarian movement would not be to the advantage of our party or our candidate. People are not ready for such things yet. If we take an advanced position we shall not be able to carry the election.

In New Zealand, as in Australia, all workingmen continue to create wealth but do not possess the wealth that they create. They continue to toil for the pleasure and aggrandizement of the masters. They continue to live under a system that enables idlers, parasites and cogging knaves to ride pleasantly upon the toilers' backs; a system that makes the poor poorer and the rich richer; that places a premium on dishonesty and penalizes virtue; a system so ingeniously contrived in deviltry that the greater the efficiency of the worker the greater the amount of which he is robbed. They continue to live under this system and to have no means of protest against and no present hope of relief from it, although they know that it condemns four men in every five to existence below a rational standard of food, shelter, comfort, leisure and opportunity. They see, or can see if they but look around them, that every year the forces that establish and maintain these evils become more powerful in their country and that the difficulty of ever dislodging them becomes greater, and against all this they have no means of revolt and no impetus thereto, because they have been bedeviled by the game of politics. They want to elect this man or defeat that, and they entirely lose sight of the only thing in the world that is of real importance to them or to any of us, and that is the destruction of the wage system and the emancipation of the working class.

You say: Surely it was something gained in New Zealand to secure limited hours of employment, to have sanitary factories, clean luncheon rooms, old age pensions, workingmen's compensation. Surely all these things represented progress and an advance toward the true ideal.

Yes. But every one of these things has been magnified, distorted and exaggerated for the purpose and with the result of keeping the workingman quiet about more vital things. How say you to that? Every pretended release from his chains has been in fact a new form of tether on his limbs. What about that? I should think meanly of

myself if I did not rejoice every time a workingman's hours are reduced or the place wherein he is condemned to toil is made more nearly tolerable. But what shall we conclude when these things are deliberately employed to distract his thoughts from fundamental conditions and when all this state of stagnation is wrought by the alluring game of politics?

I cannot help thinking that all this has or ought to have a lesson for the Socialist movement in America. If it be desired to kill that movement the most effective way would be to get it entangled in some form of practical politics. Then the real and true aim of the movement can at once be lost sight of and this party can go the way of every other proletarian party down to the pit. I should not think that was a very good way to go.

When we come to reason of it calmly what can be gained by electing any human being to any office beneath the skies? To get in and keep in does not seem any sort of an object to anyone that will contemplate the possibilities of the Co-operative Commonwealth. How shall it profit the working class to have Mr. Smith made sheriff or Mr. Jones become the coroner? Something else surely is the goal of this magnificent inspiration. In England the radicals have all gone mad on the subject of a successful parliamentary party, the winning of the government, the filling of offices and the like. I am told that the leaders of the coalition movement have already picked out their prime minister against the day when they shall carry the country and be in. In the meantime they too must play this game carefully, being constantly on their guard against doing anything that would alarm or antagonize the bourgeoisie and sacred businesses and telling the workers to wait until we get in. I do not see that all this relieves the situation in Whitechapel or that any fewer men and women live in misery because we have a prospect of getting in.

Furthermore, to speak quite frankly, I do not see where there is a particle of inspiration for Americans in any of these English speaking countries. So far as I can make out the whole of mankind that dwells under the British flag is more or less mad about political success, parliament and getting in. They say in New Zealand that the government can make a conservative of any radi-

cal, if he threatens to become dangerous, by giving him some tin-horn honor or a place in the upper chamber. In England we have seen too often that the same kind of influences can silence a radical by inviting him to the king's garden party or allowing him to shake hands with a lord. I do not believe we have anything to learn from these countries except what to avoid. And I do not know why we should not look for an American ideal in Socialism that will listen to no compromise, play no games in politics, care nothing for temporary success at the polls, seek to elect no particular individual to any office, never lower the standard, look beyond the skirmishes of the day,

and follow unhesitatingly and confidently the one ideal of the emancipation of the working class as the only object to which it will pay any attention.

Socialism or nothing. If this cause of Socialism is worth believing in it is worth following to the end without compromise. Either it is the greatest boon, incomparably, that ever was dreamed of for the human race, or we are a lot of lunatics. If it is what we believe it to be, then what shall we gain for it by compromise or coalition or turning for one moment from the ultimate goal? All the offices in the world—what are they worth compared with putting an end to wage slavery?

CAN A SOCIALIST SERVE "ALL THE PEOPLE"?

BY

MARY E. MARCY

OCCASIONALLY we hear some socialist elected to office declaring that he intends to "serve all the people." Such a man or woman should be regarded with great suspicion, because nobody can serve capitalism and the working class at the same time.

If socialists in office seek to shorten the working hours of the workers, it is at the expense of the Capitalist Class. If they aid in lengthening the workday it is at the expense of the workers. Higher wages for workers means lower profits for those who employ them. Better schools mean better education for the children of workingmen at the expense of the tax-payers who are the property owners and not of the propertyless wage slaves—that is, if the worker's children are not working in the factory.

Every benefit for one class must be made at the expense of the other class. From this antagonism existing between Capitalists and Wage-workers arises the Class Struggle which is a part of the socialist philosophy embodied in the application for membership in the Socialist Party and which every socialist is compelled to sign

before he can become a member of that organization.

The man who claims to serve Capitalists and wage-workers is either unacquainted with the aims and teachings of socialism and needs a good course in revolutionary socialism, or he is a hopeless utopian who will, if permitted, lead the party into the camp of Compromise and the Enemy.

The Socialist Party is the party of wage-earners, organized for the overthrow of the Wage System. It is OF, BY and FOR the working class alone and it ceases to be a Socialist party the very moment it pretends to represent the members of ANY OTHER CLASS.

Occasionally there arise in the Socialist Party men or women of the type of mind of old party politicians. They try to gain the support of all classes of society by promising to serve and trying to serve them all at the same time. Remember that the interests of wage-workers and capitalists are absolutely opposed. When one class is helped it is to the detriment of the other class.

You and I are not at all interested in

benefiting the capitalist class. The capitalist class has already helped itself by appropriating the product of our hands and brains. If you are a coat-maker, or a molder or carpenter you know that the man you work for **KEEPS EVERYTHING YOU MAKE**. The capitalist helped **HIMSELF**. He always does help himself, by taking everything we make for his own property. This is why we are revolutionists. We don't like it. We want to stop being the Easy Marks that the Bosses get rich on.

For this reason we will not permit avowed Socialists whom we elect to office to **SERVE US** and **OUR CLASS** to promise to serve our enemy, the Capitalist Class. We put men in office to do all in their power, by any and every means **FOR the WORKING CLASS**. Every man who refuses to so serve us is a traitor to the Cause he is supposed to represent.

When a man proves himself disloyal to the working class by promising to serve "all the people" (including our capitalist enemies) we **MUST NEVER FORGET** that he is an enemy to socialism, the revolution and the working class.

We must never trust him again. Socialists are just like other folks. Some of them stand by their friends and some of them try to make friends with the Enemy, thus delivering their friends into the hands of the Enemy. But once we begin by refusing ever to trust a man or woman who flirts with those who exploit us and by electing men among us who have proven themselves loyal to the interests of the working class, the **POLITICAL TRIMMER AND COMPROMISER WILL FIND NO PLACE IN the SOCIALIST PARTY**.

I once heard a striker speaking of another striker in terms which I would not care to reproduce here.

"Look out for him," he said, "**I SAW HIM TREATIN' a COP TO A DRINK!**"

Whenever we find a Socialist in office treating the capitalist to the promise of some benefits or service—**LOOK OUT FOR HIM** and put him down and out at your earliest opportunity.

THE GREATEST VIRTUE OF THE REVOLUTIONIST IS LOYALTY TO THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS. This above all things must all our **PUBLIC SERVANTS** possess. Without it they are the servants of the **EXPLOITERS OF OUR CLASS, THE WORKING CLASS**.

In the words of William Liebknecht:

"The enemy who comes to us with open visor we face with a smile; to set our foot upon his neck is mere play for us. The stupidly brutal acts of violence of police politicians, the outrages of anti-socialist laws, the anti-revolution laws, penitentiary bills—these only arouse feelings of pitying contempt; the enemy, however, that reaches out the hand to us for a political alliance, and intrudes himself upon us as a friend and brother,—*him and him alone have we to fear*. Our fortress can withstand every assault—it cannot be stormed nor taken from us by siege—it can only fall *when we ourselves open the doors to the enemy and take him into our ranks as a fellow comrade*. Growing out of the class struggle, our party rests upon the class struggle as a condition of its existence. Through and with that struggle the party is unconquerable; without it the party is lost, for it will have lost the source of its strength. . . .

"On the ground of the class struggle we are invincible; if we leave it we are lost, because we are no longer Socialists. The strength and power of Socialism rests in the fact that we are leading a class struggle; that the laboring class is exploited and oppressed by the capitalist class, and that within capitalist society effectual reforms, which will put an end to class government and class exploitation, are impossible."





STALLED CARS.

THE BROOKLYN CAR STRIKE

BY

ELIAS TOBENKIN

A MOST spectacular labor struggle is now simmering out in New York City. A street railroad, by itself extremely small, but backed by the unlimited resources of Wall street, is crushing the revolt of its employes with an iron heel.

The strike that is thus being smothered is that of 350 motormen and conductors of the Coney Island & Brooklyn Railroad Company, which came with lightning suddenness at 4 a. m. Saturday, August 5.

The strike of motormen and conductors is interesting in more ways than one. In the first place, it is a sincere strike, a spontaneous protest against unbearable conditions imposed by a greedy corporation at whose head stands an implacable foe of labor—the president of the Coney Island & Brooklyn Railroad, Slaughter W. Huff.

In the second place, the strike is unique

in the sympathy and support which it is getting from the public. The strike is practically out of the hands of the motormen now. It is the public that is striking. The companies are running cars manned with strikebreakers, but the public stubbornly refuses to ride in these cars. From the beginning of the strike The New York Call voiced the plea of the motormen and conductors that the public boycott the Coney Island line until the struggle is won, and the plea of the strikers has been heard. At the present writing the public is the real arbiter of the strike. If the boycott by the public of the struck lines keeps up a little longer the Coney Island line, despite its Wall street backing, might be forced to yield to the demands of the employes.

What makes the strike spectacular are the trivial dimensions of the walkout and the triviality of the demands, on the one hand, and the bitterness and vehemence

with which these trivial demands are being fought for and against.

The Coney Island & Brooklyn Railroad Company is a wee bit of a railroad, operating only four lines, or routes, and employing between 450 and 500 motormen and conductors. It is generally spoken of as an "independent" concern. As a matter of fact, the days of its independence have long since passed and its principal stockholders are powerful Wall street financiers.

Its traditions of "independence" the Coney Island line retains largely through the fact that it is the only street railway in Greater New York whose employes are organized. While the Traction Trust of New York has been successful in crushing out every vestige of organization among street car men, the employes of the Coney Island line have thus far been able to keep up their union. The 350 employes who are now on strike are members of Division 283 of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes, while the rest of the employes of the Coney Island line belong to one of the rare divisions of the Knights of Labor.

The strike came after months of negotiations with the company for an increase of 2 cents per hour. The men are now getting 23 cents an hour. They ask for 25 cents an hour. This together with the stipulation that those men not working by the hour but by the run get \$2.00 instead of \$1.75 a day for a "swing" run are all of the demands of the men and the cause of the bitterly fought strike.

The progress of the strike during the first days was remarkable. It was called at 4 o'clock in the morning. The company, which expected just such a move on the part of its employes, had a fair number of strikebreakers on hand by 7, and began moving cars. The result was that by noon Saturday there were a dozen broken heads, mostly of strikebreakers, and a similar number of shattered cars. The strikebreakers left their cars in the middle of the streets and ran from the fury not of the strikers but of the strike sympathizers, the public.

The rest of the day the strikers were in complete command of the situation. The company was tied hand and foot.

The following day, however, Sunday, the city authorities turned over to the railroad company what is known as the "Strong Arm Squad," some 35 giant police officers who are employed to do the "rough work" in the police department. These "strong arm" officers, dressed in plain clothes, boarded the cars manned by the strikebreakers in groups of three and four and when the populace attacked a car with bricks or otherwise the officers would jump into the crowd and lay open heads right and left.

Still even with the help of its strong arm men the company was getting the worst of the bargain, and had to stop running cars before nightfall.

Monday, the third day of the strike, the situation changed. Strike sympathizers ceased from molesting cars manned by strikebreakers, but the cars were running without passengers. The public would not trust itself to inexperienced men. The strikebreakers, left alone, began to demonstrate their incapacity by bumping into wagons and endangering the lives of citizens.

In the meantime the streets in the strike zone were cordoned with policemen and no one was allowed on streets or sidewalks except when he was moving at a rapid pace. The headquarters of the strikers in particular were the target of the police surveillance. Officers were stationed near the building and no one was allowed outside of it. One either had to remain in the hall or get away from the building as quickly as possible if a policeman's club was not to descend upon one's head or shoulder.

While the police were thus eagerly preserving "law and order" among strikers, law and order was a dead letter as far as strikebreakers were concerned. The strikebreaking conductors and motormen insulted people right and left, used the vilest language on women who were passing them or who perchance stepped upon a car. No strikebreaker, however, was molested by the police.

On Tuesday a committee of strikers visited Mayor Gaynor, asking him to bring about arbitration. Why this move was made, who was responsible for this sudden cringing to a city official for help at a time when the company was badly

demoralized and should have been first to ask arbitration, is not clear. It is known, however, the State Board of Mediation and Arbitration put a man on the job to "conciliate" and try to bring about "industrial peace." At any rate, the conference with Mayor Gaynor ended in nothing, as the company declared that it had "nothing to arbitrate."

After this conference with Mayor Gaynor the strike was once more allowed to

crease for its motormen and conductors.

These, in brief, are the salient facts of the strike. But there are interesting sidelights.

In the first place, the strike could have been won and won quickly if there had been unity and solidarity among the employes of the railway company, if "organization quibbles" had not been put above "class interests." When the 350 motormen and conductors of Coney Island line,



SLUGGED BY THE STRONG ARM SQUAD.

take its own course, and at the time of this writing the situation is simply this: The company is sending out cars with strikebreakers, but the public is firm in its boycott. It does not patronize the cars on the struck lines. It is not too much to say, therefore, that at present it is the public that is really conducting the strike and waging a battle with the Coney Island & Brooklyn Railroad for the trifling demand of 2 cents an hour in-

who are members of the Amalgamated Association of the Street Railway Employes, and who operate three routes of the company, went on strike they expected the 150 other men, who are members of the Knights of Labor, and who operate the fourth route, go out also. Indeed it looked as if the strikers had a promise or an understanding with their fellow employes who belong to the Knights of Labor that they would join

them in a strike for an increase of 2 cents an hour.

After several conferences, however, it was announced that the Knights of Labor men would not join the other strikers who are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor because they had an agreement with the company and they could not violate the agreement. The Knights of Labor employes of the Coney Island & Brooklyn Railroad Company are exploited just as much as their A. F. L. fellow employes. They, too, are only getting 23 cents an hour. Their class interests are identical. But their trade organizations are different and organization rivalry triumphed over their class interests and common sense and plain duty and loyalty. The same was true with the power men. They, too, were expected to join the strikers. But they, too, kept back for organization reasons. The company, seeing this division in the ranks of its employes, could well afford to say, "we have nothing to arbitrate," let alone granting demands of the strikers.

Another interesting sidelight is what might be termed the motive of the strike on the employers' side. It is plain that the Coney Island & Brooklyn Railroad Company could not afford at this time of the year, when every car to Coney Island, New York's great summer resort for the masses, is crowded to the brim, to run empty cars and pay strikebreakers five dollars a day for running these cars, all in order to not increase the wages of its men

the trifling sum of 2 cents an hour. The company, it is universally believed, is even going to pay the strikebreakers a bonus of \$100 after the strike is over.

It could not do this out of its own treasury. Who is behind the company then? Wall street. Why? To smash the last remnant of organization among street car employes in New York.

While the strikebreakers are shy to talk about it, they see and feel that they are engaged in a fight, not alone against the Coney Island & Brooklyn Railroad Company, but against the Traction Trust of New York, to whom the organization of the Coney Island Railroad Employes is a thorn in the flesh.

That Wall street has laid the proper plans for the present strike can be seen from the fact that it placed at the head of the Coney Island & Brooklyn Railroad a man whose star achievement is the breaking of strikes. President Slaughter W. Huff, of the Coney Island Railroad, came to his present position after he crushed a strike of street car men in Richmond, Va. His present job, that of president of the "independent" Coney Island & Brooklyn Railroad, was given to him as a sort of a reward for services performed and as an incentive to break up the last remnant of an organization among street car employes in New York, those qualified to speak assert.

In the meantime the strike is still simmering and the public keeps up its boycott of the struck street car lines.

SOCIETY IS COMPOSED OF THREE LAYERS:

"Deputies, detectives and strikebreakers are the dregs at the bottom.

"The working class—the great pay streak—is the center.

"And the parasites are the scum at the top."

—William D. Haywood.

THE PAY ENVELOPE

BY

J. H. FRASER

WHY do you object to this system? Don't you get good wages?" is a question often asked by workmen of Socialists.

Yes, I get good wages as wages go.

The scales run all the way from \$18 to \$35 per week, according to locality and the cost of living.

But, we don't get what we PRODUCE.

Where one of us gets \$30.00 per week, there may be a foreman who gets \$50.00 per week and his principal qualification may not be a knowledge of the work to be done. More often it is the ability to "hurry the work out," or, in other words, to drive us slaves.

Then there are the solicitors, who do not add a penny of value to the product, and who would be eliminated under any system that even bordered on a rational one, drawing \$75.00 to \$125.00 and up per week.

Next, there is a manager whose business it is to bulldoze the foremen and everybody else about the place. For this task he receives, not wages, but a SALARY, usually equal to what is paid any ten working men (producers) in the place. He is also the recipient of "secret" rebates from the establishment where he buys raw material for his shop or factory or mine or whatever it may be.

Next in line are the stockholders who take no part in the work of producing goods, who do nothing useful about the establishment, who perhaps never even see it, indeed may not know where it is located.

They may be Christians, Mohammedans, or Buddhists or followers of Confucius. They may be intelligent, they may be idiots or they may be raving maniacs. No matter who they are, what they are, or under what conditions of life they may be placed, we must produce enough so that they may have a good profit on the money invested.

Often the profits of a business exceed the amount paid out in wages.

This means that by owning the tools and

materials with which we must work, certain more or less useless persons are enabled to rob us. Yes, that's it—ROBBERY.

It doesn't matter to me what way these persons spend the money. I object to being ROBBED. They may buy Bibles or booze or found orphan asylums or build libraries. I only object to the robbery. They may establish churches or harems; that is not my affair. There is but one thing in connection with this system to which I can make a very serious objection and that is the AMOUNT of MONEY that is withheld from my PAY ENVELOPE.

Rent is another item of expense which the working class must meet. The fellow that smokes the cigars in the office or drinks booze for his health at some pleasure resort doesn't produce the VALUES that pay rent. It's us fellows who work in the shops, who produce the values which pay all expenses.

Another item, and by no means a small one, is that paid out by the capitalists in taxes, which are used to pay the police and other parasitic office holders, whose function in society is to keep US in subjection. Did you ever stop to think of the incongruity of this situation, the capitalist taking our product and paying our oppressors for oppressing us?

Let us suppose for instance, that your wages are two dollars per day and you produce goods to the extent of ten dollars per day. At the end of your day's work, try to take your full product home with you and you'll find out what the capitalist pays the police for.

An understanding of these facts gives rise to feelings of intense resentment and antagonism toward the master class, often manifesting itself in strikes and acts of violence against private property.

The master class is organized to prevent any kind of an uprising of the working class. They are ready to kidnap, rob, browbeat or throw into jail any member of the working class who dares to oppose them.

J. H. FRASER

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This unceasing warfare is called by the Socialist the class struggle.

While the class lines are being more and more clearly drawn, there are still many persons who do not recognize their position as members of a distinct class. Many working men, lured by the bait of higher wages, take the side of the capitalist class. Sometimes individuals, here and there, who rightly belong to the capitalist class, through philanthropic and other motives, lend their assistance to the working class. But, from a lack of knowledge of working conditions and working class economics in general, their efforts are often misdirected and fruitless. They attack effects and not causes.

If the emancipation of the working class is ever to be brought about, it will come chiefly through the efforts of the working class, and in something like the following manner:

A certain well-defined goal must be set.

Say, for instance, the national eight-hour day. If we can make this law, by political action, well and good, but, in the meantime let us make it a law where we work. This will have the effect of reducing the army of the unemployed. This in turn will cause wages to rise, and this will reduce profits.

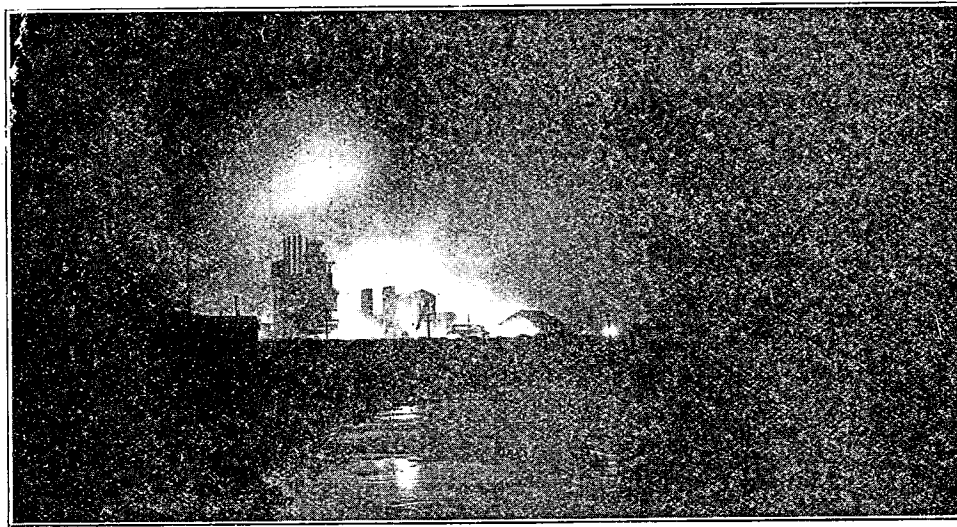
Many of the parasites will find their incomes stopped and they will be forced to take up useful work.

And this must be our program, our immediate demand, our "something now" for the working class. A reduction of the length of the working time until there are no unemployed, no tramps or millionaires, no lawyers or preachers, no pimps or prostitutes, no parasites of any kind whatsoever.

To advance our interest we must organize politically in the Socialist party and in ONE BIG UNION on the industrial field.

Read Socialist literature, organize, agitate, educate and emancipation is ours!





NIGHT SCENE IN PITTSBURG STEEL MILLS.

"JUSTICE" IN PITTSBURG

BY

FRED H. MERRICK

Editor of "Justice"

THE Pittsburgh district is destined to become the great industrial battleground of America. Literally it is already the melting-pot of the nations. Here motley hordes of various nationalities are learning the lesson of class solidarity before the fiery furnaces that melt iron into the steel necessary for the varied demands of civilization. In this industrial inferno is being evolved in a truly wonderful manner the keenest class war in the world today. The working class of every creed and all nations is forgetting its petty differences and is being amalgamated into a fighting phalanx, politically and industrially.

The truth of Socialism is being demonstrated by cause and effect. Here is the greatest industrial center of the world. While New York is the financial center of capitalism, Pittsburgh is the industrial hub, and as the capitalist class is entirely dependent upon the working class, so New York is more interested in knowing what the working people of

Pittsburg are going to do than they are even to know what the working class of Gotham may propose. There is more than one good reason for this. The steel trade is the basic industry of this country. What Pittsburg does in the steel trade determines the character of that industry. However, the capitalists of Pittsburg are having troubles of their own. They are face to face with the most militant element of the working class, gathered in a larger group here than at any other spot on the earth.

Pittsburg a Volcano.

Pittsburg is an incipient class volcano. Here the working class have dominated the community since the first blacksmith welded iron by the aid of coal picked from a creek bank. The necessities of her very existence have made the working man of Pittsburg traditionally honored and respected for a hundred years as in no other community of capitalism. Many of the nice conventionalities which prevail

in more parasitic towns are kicked into the gutter in Pittsburg. Underneath the glamor of a great metropolitan city there still persists in "Smokdom" many of the rough, brutal, direct virtues of the primitive mining camp and the blacksmith's forge. Pittsburg's smoke-scarred battlements, towering from the dirty banks of the Monongahela and the Alleghany, upon which the workers perch their houses, suggest nothing but work, and toil, and trouble. Pittsburg is the epitome of all the strength and revolt in wage slavery. Little of the weak or pitiful side of industrial serfdom is in evidence. Here come only those representatives of the working class fit to engage in the fiercest struggle for existence. The law of selection has segregated the choicest slaves for duty in this caldron. The daily danger and severity of the labor breeds a spirit of revolt and class hatred instead of one of servility and dependence as among so many other groups of workers.

Cossacks.

A man who experiences almost daily burns on his body from molten metal, without wincing, is not easily intimidated by a hickory stick in the hands of a policeman. This explains the necessity, as the capitalists see it, for the most brutal American police, christened years ago by the lone Socialist representative in the Pennsylvania legislature, James H. Maurer, as "Cossacks."

Contempt for Compromise.

This mental reflex of the way the Pittsburg workers make their living has been intensified by the accumulated impetus of the traditions of past generations who have experienced the same toil and suffering. The great battle around the Pennsylvania railroad roundhouse in the strike of '77, when the workers drove the armed militia over the hills and far away; the historic fight at Homestead, when officers of the law begged workers on bended knees to desist in their struggle instead of arresting them; and the more recent struggle at McKees Rocks—are traditions that arouse a fiery twinkle in the eye of the average wage earner around Pittsburg while any reference to the tactics employed by the A. F. of L. in their

so-called strikes usually produces a contemptuous sneer even from those who are nominally affiliated with craft unions related to the national fakirship.

Here more than anywhere else do craft unions demonstrate their absolute futility in the unequal struggle with international, trustified industry. There may be some reason why the workers, and even some Socialists, in other centers cherish the delusion that they will industrialize the American Federation of Labor. No such phantasy beclouds the vision of a Pittsburg wage earner, ignorant though he may be. If he is one of less than fifty thousand workers of a possible 350,000 who carries a craft union card he will explain to you that he carries it only for the time being to avoid any unpleasantness and that soon there will be no craft unions in this country to which he must pay dues.

The glorious defeat at Homestead sealed the fate of craft unionism, hereabouts, and from that moment they have suffered a steady decline. Had the workers realized why they were defeated at Homestead and learned a lesson which would have resulted in a class-conscious industrial and political movement able to cope with Frick's aggressive policy, unionism and Socialism might have a different history at the present time. This signal defeat evidently convinced the workers, subconsciously, even though gradually, that there was something wrong with trades unions or they would not have been whipped at Homestead. As this idea became more and more prevalent, unionism, as an organization, wilted.

Class Courts.

Just as it was necessary for the capitalists to kill the effectiveness of the labor unions so it was important that the courts be unusually responsive to the dictates of the corporate bosses. It required judges of "courage" to render the desired decisions in a working class community and these demands were met by the selection of the ablest and most brazen judicial servants of plutocracy in America until at the present time the twelve Common Pleas judges of the Allegheny county courts comprise an oligarchy of judicial corruption, brazen effrontery and arbi-

trary tyranny not matched by any other judges in the United States.

Their term of office is ten years. Their salaries have now been raised to ten thousand dollars a year. And every petty shyster in the county is boosting the practices in the local courts in the hope that he will land one of the judicial plums that the Pennsylvania legislature creates at each session to more thoroughly subsidize the "profession" which lives by selling the pull its various members have with certain judges to the highest bidder.

Parole Delusion.

The parole system is in full bloom in Allegheny county and, aside from abolishing trial by jury, vests in the judges almost unlimited power and makes them particularly useful to the politicians who want to put some individual under obligations to them. Until recently it permitted a judge, "in his discretion," to parole a convicted defendant. In this way the judge became the sole judge of a prisoner's conduct. The victim must report at regular intervals and must report that he had obeyed all the instructions of the court. If he should fall into disfavor with the "court" the judge immediately sent him to jail for the latter offense, without the formality of jury trial, for the remainder of the unexpired sentence. This was to have been the plan employed against the editor of JUSTICE, but it was exposed too soon to be effective.

By a shrewdly concocted jury system the chance for a defendant is extremely poor. The foreigners who find their unfortunate way into the judicial maws of the Pittsburg courts might as well plead guilty and throw themselves on the "mercy" of the court.

A typical case of this sort was the occasion for dragging the editor of JUSTICE into court on a charge of criminal libel. There is no question but the powers that be had been watching for a chance to use their courts for the purpose of suppressing JUSTICE.

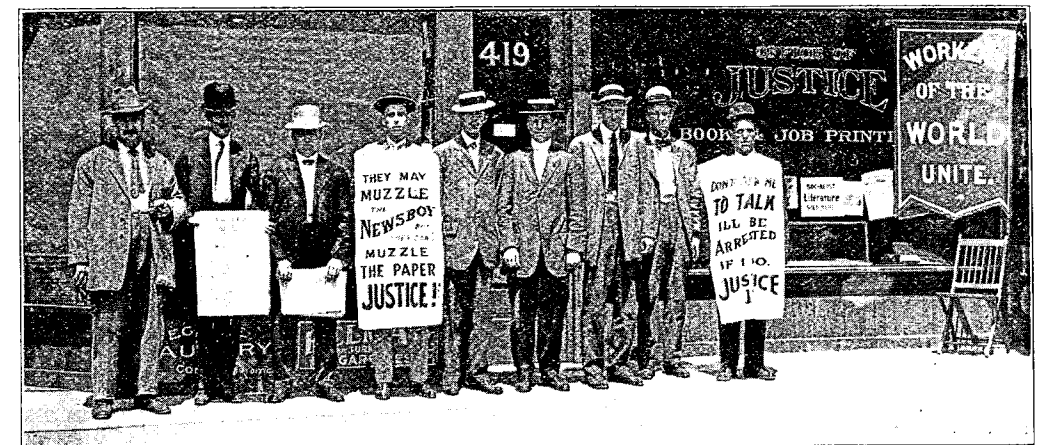
A poor, but hard working Albanian with the views of that primitive people about taking human life, yet a man of undoubted courage, who had at least been of service to the community in which he toiled, was charged with having shot

down his boarding-house mistress while intoxicated. When brought to court he wanted to enter a plea of guilty. Judge Marshall Brown, the cleanest and most humane judge of the twelve on the Common Pleas bench, presided in this case. As judges go he is above the average and he is the one used by the capitalists as an excuse for the rest. Brown would not allow this Albanian, Steve Rusic by name, to plead guilty and forced an appointed attorney upon him. Rusic resented it and seemed to instinctively recognize that it was a game of court baiting and that he had no chance.

The result was his conviction. On an appeal to a higher court the question of his sanity was raised by his attorney but not considered by the higher court. Now under the loose practice in the local courts there is no question but that Brown could have ordered an examination into the sanity of Rusic and thus saved his life. He did not do it, more because the atmosphere about him is indifferent to such things than because Brown was viciously heartless.

A few months later Brooks Buffington, a notorious character about town and a chronic drunkard for forty years, brutally murdered a man in an argument in the bar of the St. Charles Hotel. Buffington had strong political influence and as it happened, Judge Brown also sat in this trial. At a certain juncture the defense was allowed to offer evidence tending to show that Buffington was insane and had been for years, although he was drawing a salary as superintendent of one of the largest office buildings in the city at the time of the commission of his crime. After the evidence had been offered Judge Brown issued a binding instruction to the jury commanding them to return a verdict of acquittal on the basis of Buffington's insanity. This was done and then he was sent to the City Home for the insane.

The contrast in the two cases was too great for any independent news dramatist to overlook. Here was the ornament of the bench caught red-handed in unconsciously playing class rules. More than this, Brown is up for re-election this year. The educational value of making an issue of his conduct was too great to lose



SOME "LIVE ONES" WHO ARE BACKING UP "JUSTICE."

sight of. This was particularly true as Brown's personal character and high reputation would preclude any possibility of the reader confusing the issue. It was clear and plain. It is not men we must remove, but it is institutions we must change. Judge Brown is all right if we are going to leave the courts as an institution where they stand.

JUSTICE met the issue squarely. Rusic had just been hung. His death was one of the most dramatic ever witnessed here. His crude but versatile genius found expression a few days before his death in a delightful and refreshing poem of love to his Albanian sweetheart in his homeland.

The morning of his execution he chanted the Albanian battle-song for three hours continually and up to the moment the black cap silenced his defiance to death and capitalist brutality. He marched to the death trap with a step and carriage that drew remarks of praise even from the hardened attaches of the human butcher shop.

To cap the climax the sheriff made a botch of the hanging.

This expert in murder, who had three months' notice to prepare for the execution, failed to hang Rusic and he strangled to death after thirteen minutes of such terrible agony that one witness to the horrible scene, a coroner's jurymen, fainted.

"Justice" Vindicated.

We therefore drew a comparison between the two cases and Judge Brown's

conduct and charged Brown with being influenced for political reasons. The editor of JUSTICE was indicted for criminal libel and given a farcical trial lasting less than four hours before Judge Evans. This man is the most despicable and heartless of the judges, noted for his discourtesy and brutality and had been repeatedly and severely criticised in JUSTICE. Any sense of decency would have caused him to retire in such a case. His rulings on the admission of evidence and allowing counsel sufficient time to prepare the case were intensely partisan.

An immense crowd thronged the corridors of the court house and, after being denied admission to the court room, were finally permitted to enter when Evans observed the hostile feeling that was being aroused. There was a noticeable change of attitude after stock had been taken of the interest displayed in the trial by the Socialists and workers. There were significant hints dropped that indicated that part of the object of the trial was to discover the extent to which the Socialists approved of the policy of JUSTICE. The authorities were promptly satisfied that they would be inviting political suicide to further persecute JUSTICE.

The attorney, Comrade Harold W. Houston, the state secretary of the party in West Virginia, had explicit instructions to employ none of the unfair technical defenses customary to attorneys, but simply put the case up fairly to the jury and abide by the decision. This he

did under the most provoking insults from the court and his address to the jury suddenly forced upon him without a moment's preparation was an able presentation of the position of the defendant as a class-conscious Socialist and not a supplicant for mercy.

In a short time the jury returned a verdict of guilty and recommended the defendant to the mercy of the court. Following this an effort was made to dispose of this unwelcome verdict by declaring the editor insane but was finally given up as impractical. The criticism the verdict aroused has proven a boomerang to Brown and he has begun a press agent campaign in his own behalf through the daily papers, enumerating his kind virtues for public consumption. Undoubtedly if they had it to do over again Evans would not try the case and a much fairer trial covering several days would result. Now the public with almost one accord admit that "railroaded" is the proper phrase to apply to the case.

Heretofore the thousands of cases that passed through the local courts were scarcely noticed by the working people. Now they are watching the judges with much more interest. Every act is being scrutinized and the result will be most beneficial.

The two great objects in launching JUSTICE were to expose to the naked eye of the dull public the class character of the courts and the control of the newspapers. The promoters of this sheet feel that if those two things can be but accomplished in a thorough manner the strong and militant organization of the party and its army of workers can make Socialist converts much more rapidly. This idea has therefore lately determined the policy of the paper. It has not been primarily a propaganda paper but a weekly newspaper dealing with current local events of a more or less sensational character, from a Socialist standpoint, which were suppressed by the other papers. Naturally our policy has been somewhat criticised in a friendly manner by some Socialists, but we feel justified in our course.

One of the first things decided upon was that "Justice" should advocate the principles of industrialism as strongly as

we did political action. But following the rule of local news we deal with it only as current local events give rise for comment. As the local unions are extremely corrupt we felt that an explanation was due at the outset. The local typographical union had notoriously and repeatedly prostituted itself to union scabbing and if we expected to deal with this evil we would be cowardly to omit that organization because we needed their friendship to publish the paper. There was only one thing left for a militant and uncompromising sheet to do under such circumstances and that was to print the paper without the union label and tell why. We first got the assurance of the label, so the officials could not later claim we were disappointed soreheads, and then went after their treachery. The educational merit of a discussion on industrialism was greatly intensified by the omission of the label. Many good comrades who have for years been worshipping at the shrine of the label without investigating whether the label was a guarantee of its professions but who endorsed the principle of industrialism had their idol smashed much quicker because we did not carry the label. Of course there were politicians in the organization who said we were right, but that it would cost the party many votes by those who misunderstood and our reply was simply that we were out to educate first and get votes after the voters had become class-conscious, not before. JUSTICE was denounced as a union smasher, but has outlived the criticism in a remarkably short time. A sad commentary on craft unionism here is that the only protest received from those outside the party was one anonymous letter.

Disfranchisement.

Disfranchisement of working people in Allegheny county by special laws and court decisions has been carried on to an unusual degree here but, despite that, the Socialist vote of ten thousand in November, twice the democratic vote, so frightened the plutes that they began to disfranchise also from the top by making a number of formerly elective offices appointive. This is true of jury commissioners, and the fifteen school commis-

sioners who at one strike supplant the ward school boards. In both cases the appointment is to be by the Common Pleas judges.

The government of Pittsburg has been changed to a commission with partisan ballot as a compromise, but the nine commissioners have already been appointed by the governor to serve until after the election. Needless to say they are all rabid business men with a good chance for election in November.

By a change of the primary election from June to September it was hoped to move up the last date of assessment so that propertyless workingmen would fail to qualify. These and other methods too numerous to mention are being employed and have resulted in the number of possible registrars in the city to which the Socialists were entitled being reduced from 245 to 2.

JUSTICE takes the position that the various strikes in this county, particularly Homestead and McKees Rocks, have proven that even industrial unionism cannot solve the problem without revolutionary political action, for the reason that the capitalist class are able to batter an industrial union to pieces by physical force as long as they hold control of the police powers through their undisputed domination of political government, and it is absolutely necessary that we wrest from them the control of the courts and the executive department to prevent interference with industrial organization and control of legislative department, not for the purpose of saying

in which corner of the alley the ash cans are to be placed, but to prevent the impeachment and removal of fearless executives and judges.

To the direct actionist who urges the disfranchisement of the worker as evidence of the futility of the ballot we answer that the frantic efforts and laws to disfranchise are proof the capitalist realizes the imperative value of the ballot to the worker else he would ignore any political tendencies of the working class. JUSTICE is directing a vigorous campaign toward political action and is using the tricks and schemes of disfranchisement as the text and the result is extremely gratifying. Thousands of workingmen who didn't see the situation have been awakened to the fact of the power of the ballot by learning of the efforts made to disfranchise them.

The day of revolutionary political and industrial action in the great Pittsburg district is at hand. The slogan of the party is becoming more clarion in its tone. If the political organization has not attracted the proper quota of people to its standard in the past it is not, as some fear, because they think we are anarchists, but because they think we are following some kind of a utopian, Sunday school program. Let it become clear to the Pittsburg worker that the party wants political power to protect the worker while he organizes in a militant manner for the death grapple with his robbers and is not seeking to advance another group of politicians and, as Clyde Fitch reported to the Pittsburg Survey, "the Socialists will not enjoy a landslide, it will be an avalanche."



The Cossack's Club



STOP WORKING TEN HOURS A DAY

BY

FRANK BOHN

NOW is the time to start the biggest propaganda that the labor movement of America has ever witnessed.

The universal eight-hour day can be secured just as soon as the working class present even a semblance of unity upon the matter and make their wants heard.

We shall go to work at eight in the morning instead of seven and stop working in the afternoon at five instead of six. No scientific theories are needed in order to understand just what this means. No introductory volumes must be first read in order to grasp the meaning.

The old-fashioned strike of a few isolated workers is a thing of the past. It belongs to the period of the small shop and the individual capitalist. The eight-hour movement must be a mass movement of the whole working class. The whole mind of the working class must be concentrated upon this one subject. Talk about it wherever two or three are gathered together. Distribute leaflets dealing with the subject everywhere. Describe the capitalists who work their slaves ten hours a day as inhuman slave drivers. In the shop get the whole bunch to prepare for the mass movement. Practice loafing on the job from seven to eight in the morning and from five to six in the evening. If you have to stay in the shop ten hours a day, work only

eight. Then the shop committee can prove to the capitalist that eight hours' work will turn out as much product as ten. Let the single immorality of the workers be ten hours' steady plugging a day.

Let the worker who works ten hours a day willingly be known as immoral, a traitor, a scoundrel. Let there be but one virtue required of the worker—to fight the enemy. Refuse to talk to any one who refuses to take part in this movement.

AN OUTRAGEOUS LIE.

Whenever the workers fight for lower hours, the capitalists say, "We cannot afford to grant the demands. We would have to shut up shop and go out of business. Our profits do not equal the time and money you insist on having."

Capitalists, in defending their profits, are the most consistent liars on earth. A millionaire will lie every day in the year in order to squeeze five cents a day more each out of his slaves.

THE TRUSTS AND THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

The Steel Trust, for every worker it employs, divides a thousand dollars each year in dividends among its stockholders and bondholders. To this must be added the vast sums fleeced from the workers and invested as new capital. A government re-

port shows that one-third of the employees of the Steel Trust work seven days a week and one-fourth work twelve hours a day seven days a week. One-half of the employees of the Steel Trust receive less than 16c an hour. The eight-hour fight should be pushed hardest in the great trustified industries. With the fight won there, the small middle class capitalists will have to follow suit or go to the wall.

The U. S. government has passed a 16-hour day law for railroad workers. Let the workers on the railroads pass a 48-hour week labor law for themselves. Do it by spoiling the railroad business for a while. That will get results. Eight hours a day for everybody. Let the unemployed go to work. They need the money and the sixteen-hour slaves need the rest.

DIVIDE THE ENEMY.

Against the working class movement we find a united capitalist class. That class is flanked by every hungry intellectual lackey to whom it grudgingly doles out a salary.

A universal eight-hour movement will send consternation through the ranks of the capitalist lackeys. Let the workers go to every newspaper and demand that it contain editorials in favor of the eight-hour day. Otherwise boycott the paper. Boycott the stands selling the paper.

Go to the preachers. Demand that they preach sermons favoring the eight-hour day. If one refuses, blacken his fame and name by proving him to be a cowardly enemy of the working class. Picket his church and keep workers from sitting at the feet of one who dares not favor the eight-hour day. Paste placards condemning him on the door of his church. Make life miserable for him.

Post eight-hour day stickers and placards everywhere—on the sidewalks—in the street cars—in the shops.

Next year there is to be a ferocious political campaign. Pack the political meetings of the Republicans and Democrats, the stand-patters and insurgents, the Anti-Saloon league and the Suffragettes. Make them talk about the eight-hour day or "bawl them out" and break up the meeting. Strikes for the eight-hour day by the score will be on. There will be trouble everywhere. Make the capitalist politician's life

a hell on earth unless he everywhere advocates the eight-hour day.

DON'T BE FOOLS.

Don't be fools enough to make use of the old, worn-out methods of striking. Don't starve yourselves to death and give the jobs to scabs. Work eight hours and quit. Go in to the shop at eight o'clock the next morning and start to work again. If the boss locks you out, pretend to surrender and then do the same thing over. Do anything except work ten hours a day.

But before this process begins, we need preparation. The movement must be made general. It will take continuous and enthusiastic propaganda from now until next spring to prepare the working class.

UNITE ALL THE WORKERS.

Arguing and squabbling over small differences is now a thing of the past. Everybody favors the eight-hour day for himself. To get it he must unite with everybody else who wants it. Socialist party locals, I. W. W. locals, A. F. of L. locals, unorganized workers—men, women and children—let no one talk division. You don't need a host of paid officials to tell you what to do. Get together and plug hard for what you want and every thing needed to get it will come in due time. Fight for the eight-hour day and you will perfect your organization. Fight for the universal eight-hour day and you will find the message of Socialism. Let no one direct your minds away from this important matter. When people talk to you about petty political reforms which our courts sweep into the waste basket, don't wrangle with them. Talk the eight-hour day. If they won't listen, go to some one who will.

CAPITALISM WILL SURRENDER.

The capitalists will grant the eight-hour day. If ten thousand workers will start this fight now and "never say die," it will be won hands down in two years' time. If the ten-hour day could be won in many trades eighty years ago and made nearly universal forty years ago, we can win the eight-hour day now.

The time has come. Conditions are ripe. Capitalism is scared. The progressive working people of America have developed

the brains, the nerve and the stamina to turn the track.

The universal eight-hour day will be a step toward Socialism. It will be a step in the right direction—straight toward the goal. It will be the beginning of working class government of the shop. Raise wages if you can, of course. But the time will come when the capitalists will lower them again. The eight-hour day, once secured, will never be lost. For the workers it will mean more rest, more reading, more strength, more hope, more life. The uni-

versal eight-hour law, passed by the universal acclaim of the workers and enforced in the shops, will be the greatest piece of working class legislation ever written into the constitution of the nation's social life. It will take time, the stuff life is made of, away from the capitalists and give it to the workers. It will place the feet of the whole working class upon higher ground. It will be the beginning of the end of slavery. With its attainment the complete freedom of the workers will loom up ahead, clear and near.

PATRIOTS AND PARASITES

BY

W. G. HENRY

THE working class is also the great producing class. The capitalist retains the commodities your labor has produced, not for his own use, but for sale. The capitalist class cannot begin to use up a fraction of those commodities. They cannot with all their regal extravagance, their beautifully arrayed women, their expensive wines, their gambling, their steam yachts and palace cars, their monkey dinners and poodle-dog suppers and debutante cat entertainments; not with all these and a thousand other luxuries and idiocies can they begin to consume the wealth the patriotic workers so cheerfully hand over to them. They must depend upon selling the surplus commodities back to the workers.

Now here is a likely state of affairs. You produce all the commodities and you are supposed to buy nearly all of them back for your own use.

Let us not forget that capitalism stands for wages and wages mean only a portion of the wealth you produce. And just here arises an opportunity for some genius to explain how a great producing class can buy back its product with wages that equal only about one-fifth the value of that product. Upon this point the defenders of "the best system the world has ever known" are as silent as their prototype, the fossil clam buried beneath the sedimentary deposit of centuries.

Thus it is that the wage system is responsible for panics. Then we have an exhibition of millions of idle men and women in the midst of plenty. The warehouses and granaries and shelves bursting with the weight of the products of our labor which we are unable to get because they have not the necessary purchase price. And we have not the necessary purchase price because we have been producing those commodities for wages which were equal to something like one-fifth the value of what we produced.

Did you ever notice that right on the heels of every industrial crisis, the capitalists, through their official lackeys, the preacher-editors, magazine writers and politicians, begin calling the attention of the workers to some foreign nation across the seas or some other imaginary boundary line whose inhabitants are taller or shorter, or thicker or thinner, or darker or lighter, or fatter or leaner than you patriotic citizens of America? and who, when they kneel down to pray, look cock-eyed instead of hypocritical as you do? And these boosters for the master class begin talking like this: "Now, do you see those fellows over there? They are miserable foreigners. They're the cause of all your troubles. Listen. You're patriotic, you love your country, you don't want to see it overrun by any heathen. You're out of a job. You're hungry and ragged. Your families are starving. You

want work, food, clothing and shelter. Here's your chance. We want to help you. We want you to help yourself. You are patriotic. You workers always are. You love your country and you will defend it (although you don't own any of it), God bless you! Come join our army of patriots. You will be right at home for all these patriots are workmen like you. Go with them and fight with them and you will once more free your country and at the same time get food, clothing and shelter for yourselves and starving families. You will get jobs." So with the fear of dying from an empty stomach as a workman, the worker prefers to take a chance of meeting death from a chunk of lead in the bread-basket as a soldier. It is settled. He joins the army.

Now you are that "patriot," Mr. Workingman. They give you a shoddy uniform, a cheap pair of shoes; they place upon your shoulder the latest improved, death-dealing rifle (the only up-to-date article in your outfit because it is the tool with which you are going to *work*). Then they will load you onto ships coated over with graft-made armor-plate worth just so much as the same weight of paper, with bibles on the deck and booze in the steerage and a generous supply of embalmed beef on board so that if you don't get shot, you'll get poisoned.

You sail across the seas to shoot "civilization" and "Christianity" into a nation of workers who never did you any harm, who have the same love for their wives and children and sweethearts that you have, who suffer under the same damnable system of wage slavery that you suffer under and who hope for the same emancipation that you want—"patriotic" hungry, star-spangled American workingman that you are, you are going over there to shoot and kill and burn and terrorize and "civilize" and "Christianize" those "heathens" and by so doing OPEN UP THE MARKETS OF THE WORLD FOR THE THINGS YOU HAVE MADE AND WHICH YOU HAVE LEFT AT HOME IN THE HANDS OF YOUR ECONOMIC MASTER AND WHICH YOU CANNOT BUY BACK BECAUSE YOUR WAGES HAVE BEEN EQUAL TO ONLY ONE-FIFTH THE VALUE OF WHAT YOU PRODUCED.

Patriotic Market-Openers! Embalmed

Beef Heroes! When are you going to stop this rotten business? When will you stop fighting the battles of your masters and begin fighting for yourselves? This thing of the workers fighting the battles of the shirkers has been going on through all the generations of the past. Will it continue to the end of time?

It would seem that the working class has at least reached the point in its evolution where it should stand squarely on its feet, look its capitalist masters squarely in the eye and say:

Mr. Capitalist, we have served you long and faithfully. We have given you the bulk of what we produced. We have built mansions for you. We have lived in the hovels. We've given you silks and satins and broadcloths; we've been content with overalls and calico. We've fed you on porterhouse steaks; we've been indeed glad to get the soup bones, the liver, the weiner-wurst, the tail and the tripe. We've built for you, Mr. Capitalist, the up-to-date automobiles; we've been content with the exercise of jumping out of their way.

We have sent our wives and our children to your factories to be ground up into profit in order that you, well-fed loafers that you are, could have a nice, easy time debauching the female members of the working class and advising us how to live within our means. Yes, Mr. Capitalist, we've even done worse than that. At each recurring election we have gone proudly to the polls, we the voting sovereigns of America, and placed a ballot in the box which said: "We love to be kicked by a nice patent leather shoe—please kick us some more." And there is one thing more we have done that has sunk us to the very depths of degradation. Whenever, by our industry, we have produced so much goods that we cannot buy them back with our meager wages, in order to find a market for those goods you have set us to fighting the workers of another nation under the guise of PATRIOTISM. AND WE HAVE FOUGHT. And while we fought your battles for you, Mr. Capitalist, you stayed at home and continued to rob the workers who remained.

But, Mr. Capitalist, at last one feeble ray of light has filtered through our thick craniums. We have listened to the soap boxers; we have read some Socialist litera-

ture. Those soap boxers don't indulge in the nice high-flown language that your preachers and politicians use. They even say "damn" sometimes, chiefly in speaking of you, Mr. Capitalist, but it sounds good to us and we're here to tell you that this feeble ray has thoroughly convinced us of one thing, if nothing else, and that is:

Hereafter, Mr. Capitalist, if you have

any troubles to settle with any of those people across the seas or beyond any other boundary line, shoulder your rifle and go over there and fight it out with them; but as for us, an outraged and aroused and intelligent working class, WE ARE FOREVER DONE FIGHTING THE BATTLES OF A USELESS, CAPITALIST CLASS. You are our only enemies!

HAYWOOD IN CALIFORNIA

BY

J. EDWARD MORGAN

PACKED halls; aroused audiences; warm greetings; clamorings for more dates; long and enthusiastic after discussions among near, far and clear Socialists, craft unionists and industrialists, onlookers and sympathizers; a painstaking, apathetic labor press and a scrupulously silent capitalist press; all rebels alert and alive, smiling, watching, daring and doing; honest-minded craft, unionists sharply listening and going home asking themselves questions—straws these that point the meaning of Haywood's meetings in California.

Haywood comes with no message of divine deliverance kept sacred through centuries of slavery by the sleeping gods. No new, god-inspired interpretation of "Natural Rights," Mosaic Leadership," "Cosmic Oneness," or "Messianic Consciousness." Slighted by the gods and abandoned by the saints, with the keen grasp of the class conflict glinting in his eye, the heat of class loyalty quickening his pulse and the clarion call of battle on his tongue, he came, he said: "To pull the mask from society, strip it stark naked, and make its brutal hideousness so plain that even a preacher might understand the class struggle."

And this he did. As Mark Antony lifted Caesar's bloody robe and pointed dead Caesar's wound, unmasked the conspirators, so Haywood lifted prostrate labor's bloody pall, pointed the cankering wounds, the centuries of added insults,

wound on wound, blow on blow, then tore the mask from King Capital's snarling jowl and cried: "He did it. Labor's friend. Your brother. Here is the Class Struggle. The battle of the brothers!"

Through England, through France, through Spain, Russia, Germany, Japan, China; through Canada and Mexico, back to the U. S. by way of Los Angeles and the lair of "The Old Gray Wolf." We followed appalled, aghast at what we saw and heard. Everywhere the same prostrate, mangled form of labor; everywhere the same gloating, blood-spattered monster of the Iron Heel, crushing, despoiling, enslaving.

During that two hours we journeyed on that hell-bent pilgrimage with Haywood all illusions vanished. Not a prayer was said, not a psalm was sung; not a resolution written or a vote cast. Some inaudible sermons were preached by awakening conservatists by way of self expression, with a "by damn it," and Johansen French phrases for benediction. I believe the preachers and moralists present got a sniff of the class struggle, choked and floundered and bedizzened by the grit and grind, the gouge and grapple, the blood and hell of the class war through which Haywood dragged them. Race consciousness got an awful jar, with a class conscious rebel of bull-pen psychology ripping the cloak of hypocrisy from society to the holy horror of its defenders.

The lawyers got a soulful gaze at the

niche they fill in society; and the detectives had the exquisite pleasure of watching Haywood vainly striving to drop a plummet to the bottom of their depravity.

The working men and women saw amazed and maddened the hideous picture of the class war. Found themselves born into this slavery and about to die enslaved in mind and body. They craned their mental necks in agony for a way out. Haywood, unlike Gompers, pointed the way out. Everyone looked and saw a clear path the way Haywood pointed. From the clouds their gaze was turned earthward and inward. Moses and the leadership of modern saints was forgotten. All seemed to marvel at working class stupidity. Craft unionism got a terrible jolt when the big audience saw labor on its knees giving up a half million dollars to kidnapers to ransom one of their fellow slaves held captive for his loyalty to his class, when to simply remove the arm of labor from the wheels of industry would bring the kidnapers to meek and mild submission.

It was rough usage—too rough for sensitive souls—when Haywood said: "In a pinch we might get along without the preacher." Were I a preacher I would doubtless resent the sting and preach him to hell and back again and chase him through all hell's dominions. He would have to acknowledge me a part of the divine plan for the salvation of his impudent soul.

Think of getting along without Billy Sunday! With twenty-five thousand souls saved a year at only two dollars a head! (Or should I say two dollars a spook? Do souls have heads?) Think of the Socialist craft afloat, adrift, hell-bent, with not a heavenly pilot aboard to steer it into the ethereal waters of "Messianic Consciousness." The rough-neck may build the craft, load the freight and hoist sail; his cleverness of brawn and brain take this coarse and peculiar turn. Hide, muscle and bone, with a steering

brain—the material man for this unimportant, vulgar, material work. But such rugged hands and jagged souls, daring wind and tide to do their worst, lured by the savage call of the wild, will steer for the open seas. Vain of their pent-up power, mad at the call of Freedom, they will throw old charts and Mosaic codes to the winds, ignore the heavenly pilot, and giving saintly leaders and Dipush out into the black unknown; shoo the surry-fum and cherry-bum from paradise, chase the boggy man through hell-gate and capsize the craft in the devil's private fishing pond and the New Jerusalem go up in smoke.

Strong muscles and brave hands to build the craft, but more delicate hands and finer souls to steer it through troubled waters! "Those soft, sensitive, pudgy hands can't man the wheels," says Haywood. "Take yours away for a week and let them try it. When they get over trying, McNamara will go free." So Haywood believes that soft, spongy, race-conscious souls, halting and timorous, cannot be trusted to guide the Socialist craft through the stormy waters of class-conflict.

Haywood's coming to California is opportune. The Socialist Party here seems to be afraid of its shadow; of its very name; of its own voice—that is, afraid of itself. Trying to make itself pleasing to itself, for the sake of pleasing its enemies, it has bit off its own head. Its tail, coughed up its entrails, sun-dried and sugar-coated them, then swallowed them with the oldest and shrewdest political adventures in California officiating at the delectable ceremony.

The clear voice of the man on the revolutionist's job sounding the slogan of class battle will help the shame-faced Socialist to stand once more on his own legs and listen to his own voice without heart failure.

Here's hoping Haywood will stay on the job until the workers get the goods and THE REVIEW outgrows every capitalist sheet in the land.

THE "SPOTKNOCKERS"

BY

RALPH H. CHAPLIN



SPOTKNOCKERS AT WORK.

NOBODY who knew them believed the spotknockers capable of striking. They had a few doubts about it themselves because their organization was young and inexperienced, and because they had tried the stunt previously and had failed most dismally. The bosses knew something of tactics and acting upon the principle that by giving the spotknockers rope enough they would hang themselves, a strike was precipitated on the fifth of July in the very dullest period of a dull year.

The strike occurred at the Chicago Portrait Company, the best organized and largest concern of its kind in the world. The bosses at this place treated the strike as a joke from the first. They had been

accustomed to see the boys strike at one door and scab at another. Many of the most ardent strikers of the last unsuccessful union in a previous strike, those who would fairly bubble over with effusive, school-boy oratory when at the union hall, would go home and have a sister or wife sneak around to the back door of the shop and take out a bunch of work to do at home. Secure in their belief that the spotknockers were not class conscious and knew nothing of class solidarity and thus could not organize effectively the bosses put two ads in the papers, one for girls to learn the business (experience not necessary) and one for "male artists to do work at home." Then they lured a few scabs to work on the inside with

the inexperienced girls, made arrangements with a couple of scab studios in town to handle some of the work that the strikers refused—and went their way rejoicing.

The strikers have been out, at the time this is written, for an even month, but the scabs are still on the job, the improved machines that have made the spotknockers' skill useless, are still on the job and all the allied crafts necessary for the completion of a finished spot-knocker picture are working overtime.

"You will be perfectly safe," one of the straw-boss hirelings assured a prospective scab. "These spotknockers are not teamsters." They understand the game, all right. They would be afraid of striking teamsters, but not of striking spotknockers. It seems that the further one goes from the class feeling of unskilled workers the more faded, weak and atrophied becomes class-consciousness and the real working class fighting spirit.

The skill of the spotknocker has been made useless by the machine, just as the skill of the wood carver has, for instance, and the skill of thousands of other skilled workmen has been made valueless and obsolete by machine production. Under the pressure of a constantly lowering wage scale and the speeding up process necessitated by the new method of production, the spotknocker, inspired by the alluring ideal of forming a "job trust," a "labor monopoly" that would enable them to force the prices back to the standard of the good old days, struck blindly at the machines that were displacing them.

It is probable that working people generally do not know what a spotknocker is, so I will explain and show how it happened that this hitherto most "respectable" and exclusive band of the working class was forced into doing such an "in-artistic," "undignified" and "ungentlemanly" thing as to *strike*.

A spotknocker is a commercial artist, a portrait artist—that is, he was an artist until modern machine production made him something else. His business is to copy and enlarge portraits from photographs (the kind you have hanging on your walls, size 16 by 20 inches, framed in six-inch oak burnished with gilt).

A long time ago he got a couple of

dollars or so for a single picture. Now he gets anywhere from 2½ cents to a quarter for touching up the machine-made article. In the good old days he was wont to wear a silk hat on Sundays, to let his hair grow bushy like a "Ham" actor and to wear one of these big spaghetti-catching, Elbert Hubbard neckties. People used to point him out as an "Artist." He prided himself upon being a "professional man" and was respected and looked up to by the (muddle-headed, middle class) community.

But, as has happened throughout the whole wide world, the heartless modern system of machine production invaded his snug little narrow world and tore him rudely from his lofty perch and placed him down with the common workman. The machine, all oblivious of his "artistic temperament," made his cherished skill useless. Gone are the palmy days of plug hats and dazzling sparklers when the artist used to "put it all over" the common herd. Gone are the dizzy, cloud enveloped heights that he has haunted from time out of mind. The unsympathetic machine has made him a mere "Spotknocker" instead of an "Artist." Nothing else, as one boss has it, but a mere "air-brush hand." Instead of a spacious studio where the pale light filters through high windows, he now has a stall in a big grey room where he works eight hours a day with perhaps fifty or a hundred others of his kind.

For thousands of years pictures have been made with a stick with a few hairs at the end of it, but the brush has been torn from his delicate grasp and replaced with a vicious, little spraying apparatus of steel that is worked by compressed air. This devilish contrivance, in connection with the solar and bromide prints that the spotknocker retouches, has made his skill largely useless by multiplying his efficiency and dexterity an hundred fold and by making it possible for unskilled people to do the work. Before these things were invented two or three portraits were considered a good day's work. At the present day the man who works at the easel next to mine must speed up to the tune of one hundred and fifty pictures a day if he wants to make a living wage.

And all this time spotknockers have



A SOLAR PRINT.

A SOLAR PRINT FINISHED.

BROMIDE PRINT.

Pays 15 to 25 Cents.

Pays 2½ to 15 Cents for Airbrushing.

been wondering what could be the matter with them. Some people have wondered if they will ever live long enough to find out.

Thus it happened that the machine became the artist and the artist became the "spotknocker." It is his business now to merely stipple or "knock" the spots that the machine overlooks. Instead of one hundred and fifty artists, we now have one spotknocker. God be with us! The boys at the C. P. Co. are out on strike, the bosses are having a game of billiards at the Chicago Athletic Association and the inexperienced girls, the scabs, the unorganized solar and bromide printers and the machines they use, are still on the job.

There are not as many spotknockers engaged in grinding out "chromos" as there were ten years ago, although the volume of business done is greater than ever before. So prolific is our labor that four or five hundred of us, working mostly in Chicago and some of the larger cities of the country, Canada and Mexico, are capable of polluting the entire continent with them.

Somebody told me once that spotknockers are wage-slaves gone to seed. The unskilled workers look upon him as a freak who talks a lot and is unable to do a man's work in the world. His bosses take him as a joke and doctors, lawyers and other "respectable" professional folk pity his pitiable pretensions to professional "dignity." One of the boys in the

shipping department said, after he had thoroughly convinced himself that the spotknockers had really struck, "By —! those candy artists are becoming almost human after all!" Heavens, what will become of us?

Almost entirely isolated from the great main current of working-class struggles, hopes and victories, the spotknocker, in spite of the intolerable pressure that has been brought to bear upon him, is still stagnating in a marsh of reactionary, middle-class sophistry, still content with conditions if he can get a few pennies more for the pictures he makes, that he may draw more sharply the line that separates him in his narrow circle from the great working class. He still believes that he is able to "beat the game," playing according to capitalist rules. He is still nursing middle-class ambitions, insipid ideals and hopeless platitudes and every possible hobby from Astrology and Christian Science down to middle-class "reform" socialism. He is being pushed down into the ranks of the unskilled workman and he is squealing and squirming and kicking, but he has not yet awakened to the need of clear cut socialism and the revolutionary labor movement of today. It is natural that he should have developed this point of view, but it is just as natural that he should abandon it, as he is forced lower and lower into the ranks of the unskilled.

As the commodity that he sells in or-

der to live, his labor power, is cheapened by machine production he will more and more begin to get next to the whole rotten game. For the first time he will begin to realize what life is really like when he discovers that the class struggle is not confined within the grey walls of a spotknocking studio or by the narrow circle of some chaste-like skilled craft union. Instead he will begin to acquire

that clear, implacable and healthy hatred for capitalistic "ideals," "morality" and such bunk and drivel. He will learn to take his place gladly in the great, worldwide fight of the working-class to emancipate itself from the present crushing system of exploitation. The greatest thing in the world after all is to learn how to fight and fight effectively on the job and at the polls.

AN EFFECTIVE CO-OPERATIVE PRESS



W. HARRY SPEARS, EDITOR.

WITH the rapid growth of the Socialist Party, locals in many cities where the movement was hardly known five years ago are considering the matter of establishing a Socialist paper. The value of a local paper is unquestioned. The great mass of the working people of a community must be reached by the message of Socialism through the medium of their daily problems. If a Socialist paper writes up a local strike, and brings the revolutionary message printed in a home paper, every striker will read it and think about it and his Socialist education will thereby begin. When the main industry in a

small town is so affected, or if there is a street car strike, the whole town thus gets its first lessons in Socialism. In practically all the larger cities papers have already been established.

The multiplication of these papers placed before the movement a definite and very practical problem. How could they be made to co-operate so as to save expense and increase their effectiveness? This problem seems to have been completely solved. The Socialist Co-operative Publishing Company of Findlay, Ohio, now publishes papers for ninety-five cities and towns in half a dozen different states. A portion of the material in each paper is local. This portion may be a half page or a few columns. The remainder of the paper is devoted to general propaganda and educational articles which are the same for all the papers. Of course the general articles secured are much better than could possibly be gotten by an independent local paper.

We are glad to note that this publishing company is co-operative in fact as well as in name. To secure a local paper, the comrades in a city or town must first subscribe a certain amount of stock, in shares of \$10 each. Their paper bears a name chosen by themselves and has a local editor. There is nothing in it to suggest that it is not in every sense a local publication.

The general editor, also editor of the Findlay Call, is Comrade W. Harry Spears. The ability and untiring efforts of the Board of Managers is largely re-

sponsible for the success of the enterprise.

With the growth of the Socialist Party its propaganda and educational work tends to become ever better organized. The lecture bureau lately established by the N. E. C. suggests the trend of the Party's affairs. This lecture bureau organized into one system all of the separate bureaus lately maintained by the larger publications of the Party. The

Socialist Co-operative Publishing Company is performing a service for the movement which undoubtedly is as important as that of the lyceum bureau of the N. E. C. As it has gotten well beyond the experimental stage, THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW extends its congratulations and hopes that it may greatly increase its field of usefulness before the opening of the next campaign. Address all communications to W. Harry Spears, care of *Findlay Call*, Findlay, Ohio.

SPINES AND JELLYFISH

By

TOM J. LEWIS

SOMETIMES I think there are more jellyfish in the world today than there could have been in the past—especially when I look into the ranks of the craft unions. There are craft unionists who would calmly stand by and seen men tried and true hung without a murmur if it were not for the class consciousness and solidarity shown by some of their number who use their heads. Men who understand the class struggle fight to the last ditch when capitalists injure or attack one of their own class.

But this is not true of the "Simple" Trade Unionist, who believes in the old Identity of Interest yet. He is willing to crawl on his belly at the commands of his master. He is only JOB-conscious. He believes that contracts are sacred so that he is willing to scab on his fellow-worker in order to keep his agreement with the BOSS, who breaks agreements whenever he wishes. It is a case of "heads you win; tails I lose" when he goes up against the capitalist game, but he plugs right along, being "faithful" to the boss and scabbing on his brother workers and tying his own hands.

Just now I had hoped to see organized labor in the biggest series of demonstrations and strikes and protests that we have had since Haywood was on trial. But evidently there are too many spineless backs among the craft unions to allow them to

muster a good number. And the leaders are doubtless afraid the newspapers will "misrepresent them," if they protest. We should have mass meetings, parades and emphatic kicks.

About all these spineless individuals know is WORK, work, WORK and obey the Boss. They don't see any further than their own dinner plates, so they don't see that they are killing their own chances for dinners in the future.

But McNamara won't have to depend upon these men. In every craft union and in every group of workers you can always find two or three men with back-bones and a thinking apparatus in their heads that is working. Such men are waking up and refuse to be misled longer by peanut-brained leaders. They are revolting against their false and misleading methods and agitating for a new form of real organization on an industrial basis.

These men see the great class struggle and know they will have to stand with the workers in their own class if they ever hope to TAKE ANYTHING from the capitalist class. Their whole talk among the shops and mines and mills is ONE BIG UNION of the working class; One Big Union to stop the wage system which permits the capitalist class to appropriate all the good things by robbing the workers; One Big Union which will stop the private ownership

of the means of life in the shops, mills, factories and mines.

Class-conscious workers see that the capitalists have legalized their ownership of the means of life—of food and clothes—but they intend to inaugurate an industrial democracy wherein the workers shall collectively own these things. Then there will be no more master and no more slave.

We can secure a society where the factories and mills and mines shall be owned by the men and women who run them just as soon as we get together men and women of courage and intelligence who will be satisfied with nothing short of revolution.

Then we can keep reducing the hours

of labor until all who are able to work shall do their share of the work and nobody shall live and loaf in the sweat of another man's brow.

This is what Socialism means. Is it worth while to you, you wage-worker? Of course it is. It is the greatest worth-while thing to us workers in the whole world. Let's get it as soon as we can. We will use every means at our command. We will drop all of our weaknesses and prejudices and nonsenses and GET TOGETHER for the Revolution.

Get busy for the industrial union; join the Socialist Party—the party of YOUR class. Come on in. The water's fine!

All the property that a workingman has is done up in his own hide.

A warranty deed is a graft title, a fantasy of ownership existing only in the minds of slaves.

Law on the rights of persons is written on a folio. The rights of property have filled the tomes of ages.

The meanest, the most humble worker, is a better man and a more important factor in society than any judge on the Supreme Court Bench.

Society can get along without its intellectual hoboos—its judges, lawyers, statesmen, politicians, detectives, cadets, soldiers, and—in a pinch—without the preachers. But the worker is indispensable.

Book knowledge is no knowledge when it comes to making the wheels of industry go round. Real education needs callouses on its hands.

William D. Haywood.

THE SPECTRE OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

BY
ARCHIBALD CRAWFORD

ASPECTRE is haunting the world—the spectre of Industrial Unionism!

Capital is frightened at its own shadow; the stupendous reflex of its own stupendous development. And well it might be.

Industrial Unionism is the greatest inspiration that has ever come to the army of labor—for it is an inspiration, not a plan devised by this or that labor leader.

And it comes to the *army* of labor, to every unit of the rank and file, not to this or that labor Moses.

Its message, thrilled with the breaths of an age of martyrs, says to the worker: "No Moses will lead you out. Emancipation is yours, but you must take it for yourself."

This message is not for *some* workers but for *all* workers. It is breathed louder to the homeless, the propertyless, the voteless, the jobless and the godless. The more the worker is dispossessed of all that adds up "*life*," the louder it is breathed, and for a simple reason—the inspiring message comes, not as all past hopes (?) of labor, from up above in the twinkling stars, but from below, out of the solid earth.

First it is heard, first understood by the despised bum, hobo, tramp, stiff, for he is nearest the source from which it comes. But its message of hope for an enslaved working class is wafting upwards and is affecting the entire soul of the great labor army.

And because it comes from the bottom and not the top, its philosophy, its ethics and morals are what some will call upside down. There is no *up* nor *down* in the universe except relatively, and the upside downness of the Industrial Union philosophy is best expressed in the word "revolutionary." Industrial Unionism is "Revolutionary Unionism."

The Old Unionism.

Hitherto wage-earners have been organized in trade or craft unions. The craft union does not admit capitalists into the union, for capitalists are its enemies, nor does it admit all workingmen, for all workingmen over and above the number of jobs available, are its enemies.

In other words, a craft union is an organization of workers engaged in a particular craft or calling, and the object of organization is to stint the number of persons who might learn, or become employed in that particular trade. Why so?

Because it helps solve the unemployed problem *for the craft*, but correspondingly *increases the problem for the remainder of the working class*.

A commodity is a thing of value produced for exchange on the world market. Butter, eggs, boots, etc., exposed for sale in a shop are commodities. Electric power is a commodity. Labor power is a commodity.

The law of supply and demand says that when the supply of a commodity exceeds the demand, the price of that commodity goes down. Inversely, when the demand for a commodity exceeds the supply, the price of that commodity goes up.

Craft unions reduce the supply of craft labor-power and increase its price. Hence the big wages in unions with big entrance fees and exacting conditions of apprenticeship.

But craft unions, as we have shown, increase the supply of labor power turned in other directions and thus put the rest of the working class in a less favorable relation to the law of supply and demand. Hence the low wages among unskilled and unorganized workers.

Craft unions fight and enervate the working class. However useful they were an epoch ago, they are absolutely dis-

astrous and a source of disintegration among the working class today.

"Recognition of the craft union by the boss," the "Union Label," "Trade Agreements," "Arbitration and Conciliation Boards and Courts," etc., are each and all wholly alliances between craft unions and more thoroughly enslave the whole working class.

Craft unions are good things for craftsman and if there was a larger force of craftsmen than "dead level" workers, craft unionism would still prevail.

But economic development has destroyed the crafts and reduced nearly all workers to a dead level. We workers are all sufficiently down and miserable to realize our identity of interest. Not one of us can rise unless we all rise. It has become a *class* matter, not an *individual* nor a *craft* matter. New times have new troubles and require new treatment.

The New Unionism.

Right never did prevail and never will without the aid of might.

Existence is a perpetual struggle; the weak go to the wall. It isn't the *few* who go to the wall but the *weak*.

The capitalists are few and the workers many. The workers however, are weak and the capitalists strong. The workers are going to the wall. In fact they are there already—right "up against it."

Why are the few strong and the many weak?

Why can a child lead an elephant?

The "elephant" labor has power in both hands, but lacks the co-operation of that divine speck of grey matter we call brain.

BRAWN and brain!

In impossible proportions. Plenty brawn, too little brain.

The greatest power in the world is *power to produce*, but it "cuts no ice," *except when it is withheld!*

Labor has power in its two hands, greater than any controllable power that does or ever did exist.

What is the mountain?

Have not the two hands of labor tunneled it?

What is the ocean?

Have not the hands of labor shaped and jointed iron that it floats in the most tempestuous ocean. Labor laughs at the angry sea!

And Niagara?

Has not labor already diminished that mighty roar. A hundredth part of that mighty volume is led, like the elephant, by the ear, to serve the needs of society. It comes like a roaring lion to dash upon the rocks below the fall as it has done for countless ages, but labor gently leads the way to the whirring wheels of the mill and after extracting its mighty power, leads the peaceful volume like a gentle lamb to join the rapids far below and beyond. And what labor has done with a hundredth part, it can do with a hundred hundredth parts.

What can be done that labor cannot do?

Nothing.

What can be done without labor?

Nothing.

What is labor?

The power possessed by the working class.

What does this power mean?

That society couldn't exist without it.

What power exists apart from labor?

No power creative at will.

What would happen if labor withheld its power to produce?

Capitalists, priests, politicians, press hirelings, thugs, sluggers, hangmen, soldiers, policemen and all creeping and crawling things that suck the blood of the common working man would die of starvation. Like Sampson in the Temple, labor's arms may rend the pillars which support society and bring the social edifice down to destruction about its own ears.

The new unionism says to the worker, weary with *agelong travail*, "Bowed and humiliated as you are, be you despised ever so much, your mothers, wives and sisters forced to lives of shame, your children stunted and starved, you hold in these two hands of yours the power to save not only yourself, your mothers, wives and sisters, and your children, but the whole human race. The world lies in the hollow of your dirty, blacked and horny right hand—save it!

How We Didn't Used to Win.

Formerly when a wageslave had a grievance he complained and if his grievance was not redressed, he would at times

become wild and agitated and say things, whereat his boss would "can" him and employ another wage slave.

After a time, this being an experience of all wage slaves in a given trade or workshop, collective bargaining was resorted to. At first the boss was discomfited, but as the field of labor which he exploited became international, he used craft against craft and workshop against workshop as he had formerly used individual against individual and so got the upper hand.

Industrial unionism embraces the uttermost man within the uttermost limits of this earth and as the boss can get no farther, he is—so to speak—"up against it."

The old unionist based his philosophy and morality in the sacred rights of private property in things socially used. He believed in a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. A fair rate of interest, a fair margin of profit and reasonable rent. He wouldn't hit a boss below the belt and if the boss put the belt around the crown of his head he wouldn't hit him at all. He wouldn't go out on strike before giving the boss sufficient notice to cancel contracts, refuse fresh agreements, hire scabs, or in other ways get ready for the conflict.

Then the old unionists would walk out of the workshop, lift their hats respectfully to the boss's son, wipe the dirt with a clean handkerchief off their master's carriage wheel, got from rubbing against their coats, ask a policeman's pardon if he jogged his hand with their tiepin while attempting to bustle and strangle them, and apologize if their heads should happen to break a policeman's club.

They would stay out on strike for weeks and eat up the union funds, saved in the preceding thirty years; then they would perforce practice Upton Sinclair's starving cure, and when tired of that would go back to work and sign the pledge not to strike again for anything or anybody.

The New Morality.

The new morality says:

Damn interest!

Damn rent!

Damn profits!

Damn agreements!
 Damn the boss!
 Damn the boss's son!
 Damn his family carriage!
 And his family too!

We've damned well enough to do to look after our own damned selves and families.

The boss don't care a damn about us and quite right too. He has his own self and family to look after.

We ought to be damned if we don't look after our own dear wives and dear little ones.

For wife and little ones are as "dear" to the worker, as any such ever were to his boss.

And ninety per cent of the wives and children of the world belong to the working class!

Our morality asks—what will help them?

What will stop them starving by the millions?

And whatever is calculated to help our class is moral, good and pure.

What injures our class is immoral and must be fought down and out.

We didn't make the struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, but it's there, and it's our business to uphold our own interest if we don't want to go under.

The power must be taken out of the policeman's club!

How?

Anyhow!

Why?

Because it hurts our class and is therefore immoral.

The guns mustn't point our way if they aren't spiked, because they are liable to go off and hurt us and that would be immoral.

So we must spike the guns or turn them round. Anyhow, and because it hurts our class and is immoral.

If we go on strike we must strike quickly, sudden and certainly. Don't give the boss time to think or prepare plans. He might get the better of us and that would be bad for us and immoral.

Strike when he has a big order which he must fulfil. It will hurt him more and us less and that is moral.

Tie up the industries in the town, all

the industries in all the towns, in the whole country, or in the whole world if necessary. The strike will end quicker and we will starve less and that's good for us, and therefore moral.

How to Win.

Don't let the strike eat up your funds. That's bad for you and immoral.

But let it cost the boss a bit. His power consists of the things he owns and if he owns less his power will be less. His weakness is your strength and is good for you—therefore moral.

A bolt taken out of a machine may be a big help in a strike, even if the bolt is buried in a hole six inches deep.

Innocence is sometimes a crime! See how capitalist courts sentence innocent workmen and discharge guilty capitalists.

To step out on strike and starve is foolish if you can strike on the job and eat. Striking on the job means, doing such a thing—i. e., anything—that will compel the boss to do what you think is the fair thing. If you win it's good for you and therefore moral, however many little things belonging to the boss disappears, or however little work you might do.

Pat from Erin's isle got a job once to the surprise of his friend.

"So you're working Pat?" asked the friend.

"Hold yer whist, man," said Pat, "I'm just fooling the boss. Sure! I've bin carrying the same hod of bricks up and down the ladder all day, and the boss thinks I'm wurrking."

Pat may have been working but he knew how to get one on the boss.

Another immoral thing is to stop outside the factory door and watch the scabs trooping in. If you can't keep them away, get in yourself, and if the boss doesn't settle with you, come out later on after the scabs are gone.

Of course all these methods have to be mixed with brains as well as brawn.

If you intend to go by what the courts say, you might as well appoint your boss leader of your strike. Nowadays, it's illegal to strike in any part of the world. A

good many other things are illegal and if you get caught you will surely get punished, so don't get punished, for, as punishment hurts, it isn't moral.

A Few Pointers.

Be a patriot, in the sense that you are loyal to the class from which you spring.

Be moral and don't do a thing to hurt a single member of your own class.

Don't strike for more than you have a right to demand.

You have a right to demand all you have power to enforce.

If you try to raise a two-hundred pound weight with a 150 pound muscle you can only expect to get hurt and that's not moral.

If you decide to strike for shorter hours or better wages and find you don't develop the power you thought, get back to work on the best terms.

Don't think going back on less than you demanded is defeat. The workers have never been defeated. You can't tell the winner till the battle ends.

Don't hit the boss in the same place twice. He'll get wise and put on armor-plate.

When the boss gets the better of you don't growl. Give him credit and try and beat him next time.

Don't weep over a scab.

An Albany (N. Y.) paper the other day said: "When complaining about your job, remember your boss doesn't compel you to work for him."

The Industrial Unionists say in reply: "When people complain of the ingratitude of labor, remember you need not be grateful. Further, if labor makes it hard for you to own the means of life, remember you need not own these things. If you let them go, your worries will vanish, and since you do not yourself use them and scarcely ever see them, you can't have much affection for them. Have no fear for your future. If work is a hardship we will remember that and give you a lighter task. If you can't work we will see you are provided for. Industrial democracy is inevitable anyhow, and if you do suffer, you have the satisfaction of knowing you suffered for a good cause.

EDITORIAL

The Coming of Collectivism.—Few of us dreamers ten years ago would seriously have expected the mighty progress toward collectivism which the world has actually made since the dawn of the twentieth century. Many of the things for which we were valorously contending have been settled once for all by the march of economic progress. We were wholly right in denouncing the wastes of competition. Already competition in the great capitalist industries has become a thing of the past. Ten years ago, it was thought to be the sacred duty of government to preserve competition and suppress monopoly. Now the competition is between the great capitalist nations, and each of these finds that it must stop the wastes of individual competition at home if it is to compete on even terms for foreign markets. In many minor industries competition lingers on, but it is dying a painful death and we need waste no ammunition on it. Co-operation in production has proved itself to be the only practical method. And this is not all. Not merely large-scale production, but large-scale production under state control is rapidly being accepted by the capitalists themselves, as necessary and "right." Even old-age pensions for wage-workers are being granted by the most highly civilized nations, and there is every probability that the capitalist rulers everywhere will gladly make these concessions and more. Utopia is almost here.

The Issue Growing Clearer.—Does all this progress toward Utopia mean that the condition of the wageworker is improving? Not at all. For ten years the cheapening of gold has been automatically and relentlessly reducing wages, and the small nominal increases which a few groups of workers have obtained will by no means make up for this automatic reduction. Never in the history of the world did the laborer receive so small a share of his product as in the United States today. Never was the need of revolution so apparent. By revolution we mean the overthrow of capitalism and

the abolition of the capitalist class. To this the Socialist Party is pledged and nothing less than this will be of any permanent benefit to the working class. Political reforms that are conceded by the capitalist class, such as old age pensions, free accident insurance, government ownership of railways and the like, are conceded because the capitalists believe these concessions will prolong the life of capitalism. We as revolutionists should leave the reforms to the capitalist politicians. If we do this and if we push on persistently our work of revolutionary agitation, the reforms can do us no harm, but if we allow ourselves to be led into compromises and alliances with capitalist parties for the sake of enacting reforms, our whole organization will dwindle into an insignificant tail to a capitalist party.

Socialism or Political Jobs, Which?—Every party member should make himself familiar with the important facts presented by Charles Edward Russell and Archibald Crawford in this month's REVIEW. By chasing after reforms, the labor movement of Australia and New Zealand has won apparent victories, but has destroyed itself as a revolutionary force. Instead of leading the world in the race of the nations toward Socialism, New Zealand and Australia have fallen far behind. The politicians who have been put in power by Socialist votes have become servile tools of capitalism, and a new working class movement, one that is really revolutionary, is at this late day beginning to take definite shape among our fellow-workers on the other side of the world. Let us in the United States take warning in time. Let us choose Socialism rather than political jobs. It is in our power to hasten the great revolution or to put it back for another generation. Let us not hesitate.

One Demand That Is Revolutionary.—The demand for an eight-hour day is not one of those reforms that can be secured only through compromise and fusion. It is a demand that can be enforced by the

working class. Its enforcement will be a direct material advantage to every worker now obliged to toil more than eight hours daily. It will oblige the capitalists to employ more laborers to do their necessary work and will thus diminish the competition for jobs; and finally the very struggle for the eight-hour day will bring hundreds of thousands of laborers into the thick of the class war, and if this fight is won, our strength for the next fight will be doubled.

Vote for Referendum C.—Local Philadelphia's amendment to the constitution of the Socialist Party has received the necessary number of seconds, and has been sent out to a vote of the membership as "Referendum C." We believe its adoption will immensely strengthen the party. The total membership will soon reach 100,000. Each member pays monthly dues, the amount of which is fixed by the local to which he belongs, usually 10 to 25 cents. At present 5 cents per month from each member is paid to the national committee, making its probable income for the coming year \$60,000. If Referendum C carries this will be reduced to \$24,000; the remaining \$36,000 being left to the state organizations. When the Socialist Party was organized, ten years ago, it had about 10,000 members and its income from dues was \$6,000. Moreover it had the difficult task of organizing many new states, and the services of several national organizers were absolutely necessary. Today every state has been organized except the Carolinas and Delaware. But plenty of money is available to pay national organizers, and they are hired. What they do is to travel back and forth through states already

organized, delivering lectures at the expense of the national party for the benefit of a few favored locals, and incidentally building up a centralized machine under the control of the National Executive Committee. Meanwhile nearly every state committee is in urgent need of money to carry on its work. Most state secretaries are underpaid; many of them have to work for capitalist masters all day and do the party work at night. State organizers can rarely count on receiving regular wages, and a state committee can rarely keep one man long enough for him to become familiar with local conditions. The adoption of Referendum C will at once increase the regular income of each state committee by sixty per cent, and in nearly every case this increase will so stimulate the state work that the membership will be doubled within a year, and the work of the national office will not suffer. The temporary loss of income will compel the stopping of all leaks; most of the national organizers will enter the service of the various state committees, and whenever any big thing needs to be done by the national office, the money will be supplied by voluntary contributions. The Red Special of 1908 was not paid for from the sale of dues stamps. Most important of all, this transfer of economic power to the state organizations is the most effective possible method for keeping the control of the party in the hands of the rank and file. The volunteer worker, who draws no pay from his comrades, but gives himself to the revolution, is the one who really counts. Give him a chance, and he will win the fight against capitalism.



INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

The Working Class and a War Scare.—One wonders sometimes what the masters of government and capital must think of themselves. Here is the German Kaiser, for example, always talking about the purposes of God and the peaceful intentions of Germany. A fine, religious man, the Kaiser. But German business is hard pressed. The old fatherland has to support about 60,000,000 people on a something over 200,000 square miles of territory. And Bismarck came too late to get a fair chance when the territory of the "inferior" races was divided. So the Kaiser and his cabinet carefully refrain from letting the right hand know what the left is about. While with the one they hand out the fear of God to the working class at home, with the other they try to filch something from God's innocents abroad.

At present Morocco is the particular heathen land that has centered about it all the attention of Christian Europe. Some years ago France, Spain, Portugal and Germany signed the agreement of Algeciras. According to this solemn compact France was to have guardianship over Morocco. Since then, of course, French capitalists have been doing their best to get the coin out of the heathen. They have organized mining companies, railway companies, and every other imaginable sort of company to exploit the territory and labor of Morocco. In this laudable activity they have had the full support of the French army and navy.

But Germany was left out. German "interests" in Morocco are of the slightest. They hardly suffice to furnish even the conventional excuse for armed intervention. But just now the Kaiser's government is sadly in need of outside excitement. Its unpopular tax law, which throws the burden of taxation upon the poor, has roused bitter resentment. The recent revision of the Workingmen's Insurance Law is hardly more popular. The failure of the Prussian government to grant even a pretense of electoral reform had added to the popular discontent. And there must be an election to the Reichstag in the near future.

Something had to be done to create a diversion.

Happy thought! Why not win an election and gain a slice of African territory with one bold stroke? So early in July the gunboat Panther was sent to Agadir, a port on the southernmost stretch of Moroccan coast. The official announcement said that this move was made to defend German business men against threatened attacks by the natives. But nobody outside the German government had happened to notice any threats.

The strange thing about it all is that apparently the move is going to be successful so far as the attainment of its exterior object is concerned. Of course, the other powers were stirred up, especially France. It was an unheard-of piece of audacity. Negotiations were entered into, however, with all possible secrecy and solemnity. The Kaiser's aggression involved the possibility of war between the chief powers of Europe, yet the German people were never once consulted. Neither were the other nations of Europe. It was a matter between rulers. Up to the present the carefully guarded consultations are not ended. But it is understood that the Kaiser is willing to keep his hand out of the Moroccan pie if France will make him a few concessions along the Congo. It was a pretty "raw" game, but it worked. The whole ten commandments of capitalist ethics have been illustrated. With all the talk about the law of God and international tribunals, the Kaiser knows that when you want anything the best thing to do is to send a gunboat after it.

On the outside the German government has succeeded, but at home, somehow, the old charm has failed to work. The campaign for suffrage reform never stopped an instant. The record of the government was never lost sight of. The war scare never played more than a small part in the working-class press. When the working class did express itself it was in a manner that must have given the ministry some bad moments. *Vorwaerts* raised the cry, "All Mo-

rocco isn't worth the bones of a single German workingman!" This cry was echoed in Paris. In fact, French Socialists have been fighting the Morocco enterprise from the beginning. On this occasion they declare their intention of opposing an international conflict with all their power.

The whole matter was well summed up by an editorial in *Die Neue Zeit*: "This decision of our French comrades will awaken the liveliest response in the German working class. We, for our part, will do all in our power to support the action of the Socialist Party of France. If it is possible to rouse the masses both this side and beyond the Voges against the Morocco game, the rulers in Berlin and Paris may be depended upon to gain the caution and foresight necessary for the occasion. But even leaving this particular incident out of the account it is time to make clear to the governments of Europe that the nations have ceased to be submissive flocks of sheep waiting to be driven to the military slaughterhouse."

It happened that when the excitement was at its highest a committee of French syndicalists visited Germany for the purpose of studying German methods of organization. They were received by the German labor unions with the greatest possible enthusiasm. One of them, Comrade Yvetot, made a speech which drew upon him the wrath of the German government, and he was ordered to leave German territory. But this puny means of opposing the expression of internationalism roused nothing but contempt.

In only one country was there a break in the working-class ranks. That country was England. And since the incident involved only the labor group in Parliament, it should not be taken too seriously. Perhaps it cannot be properly said to indicate a break in the solid phalanx of the working class. For the English proletariat has recently given tokens of increasing solidarity with its fellows of other lands. It will be remembered that at its Easter conference the Social Democratic Party passed a resolution in favor of maintaining an "adequate" navy. This resolution was obviously the result of the long campaign waged by Comrades Hyndman, Blatchford and certain others. Immediately after the conference it was seen that the action of

the conference was unpopular with party members. There were numerous resignations from the party as a result of it. Finally a referendum was taken on what has come to be known as the Hackney resolution and the action of the conference was definitely reversed. The S. D. P. is now on record in favor of the international solidarity of the working class.

Heretofore the Labor Party has always taken the regular Socialist position with regard to this one matter. This has been one of its few redeeming features. Curiously enough, just at the moment when the Social Democratic Party was finally swinging into line the Labor Party failed conspicuously to do its duty with regard to the Moroccan matter. When Premier Asquith declared in Parliament that the English government was ready to take a hand in the game Mr. J. Ramsey MacDonald said according to the press dispatches, that he "hoped no European nation would assume for a single moment that party divisions weakened the national spirit." This hardly seemed quite loyal to his recently acquired friend, the Kaiser, but what is friendship among statesmen? The Labor Party, apparently, is ready to sacrifice anything for international peace at an international Socialist congress. But in the English Parliament? That's another matter.

Germany—Labor Union Congress.—The eighth congress of the German Gewerkschaften took place at Dresden from the 26th of June to the end of the month. There were in attendance 388 delegates, representing 2,276,395 members. The program was long and the discussions characteristically thorough. A number of important questions of organization were up for decision. In most respects the organization finds itself in a flourishing condition. During the past six months it has gained nearly 260,000 members. More encouraging still is the fact that a good beginning has been made in the organization of farm laborers and private employes. Nevertheless, as Comrade Legien brought out in his opening address, the employers' association has grown even more rapidly, and the German workers find themselves on the defensive. So every means had to be taken to increase the fighting force of the organization.

The institution of a central strike fund

for the entire organization was moved by the central committee of German sculptors. It was argued that the strength of the whole organized working class should stand behind even the weakest subdivision in time of struggle. This motion was referred to a conference of executive officers for further investigation.

A resolution was adopted calling on all local organizations to carry on propaganda looking to the organization of domestic servants. In fact, a large part of the attention of the congress was given up to matters relating to the organization of the more backward sections of the working class. The Gewerkschaften have attained the point at which it is clear that the workers must go forward in undivided phalanx or not at all. For the next few years the cry is to be, "Organize the domestic servants, private employes and farm laborers."

The German unions finally took at Dresden the step which the Italians came near taking at their recent congress. They ratified a definite arrangement providing for a close relationship between the labor union and the co-operative movements. The agreement commits each of the two parties to a long list of obligations in relation to the other. The co-operatives agree, for their part, not to handle the products of prison or sweatshop labor. The fact that such provisions were necessary casts a good deal of light on the original character of the co-operative movement. But at any rate, the co-operators promise to reform. The unions, on their side, agree to advise their members to join the co-operative establishments and to assist the co-operative movement by means of an active propaganda on its behalf. Furthermore, the two organizations together are to undertake the establishment of co-operative manufacturing concerns and of a great workingmen's insurance society. The latter institution is designed to put an end to the many private insurance companies which are fleecing the workers at present.

Nothing which occurred at the congress was more significant of conditions in Germany than the discussion of the new criminal code which has been outlined by the government. The sections in which the workers are especially interested are those dealing with the rights of organization. At present the working class is much restrict-

ed in the organization of unions, the carrying on of propaganda, the preparation for strikes, etc., by the existing criminal law. The new code, instead of relieving the situation, will make it much worse. Under the new provision it is regarded as "coercion" to urge men to go out on strikes, or to refuse to work with non-union men. In German law "coercion" is treated much as conspiracy is among Anglo-Saxons. In addition, the new code absolutely forbids the formation of unions among the employes of the post office department, railways, telephone and telegraph companies or any other similar concerns connected with public transportation or communication. Nothing could show more clearly than these provisions how drastically the German government is determined to deal with the labor situation. There is very little hypocrisy about this feature of its activity.

Of course, the congress could do little more in relation to this matter than to "resolve" and "demand." But the discussion showed that the German working class is ready for action. The speakers said in substance: If argument and organization are illegal, then we will strike, and you can see what there is to be done about it. At the climax of his great speech on this subject Comrade Heinemann said: "The strikebreaker alone in all the German empire enjoys protection which no other can boast, not even the Kaiser or his Chancellor. The strikebreaker is in our society the only necessary person. The Chancellor can be replaced; the strikebreaker cannot."

Another important matter taken up was that of the protection and insurance of workingmen and working women. Particular point was given to the discussion by two circumstances. There is being held in Dresden an international hygiene exposition. When preparations for this exposition were under way the national commission of the Gewerkschaften asked to be allowed to make an exhibition designed to show the conditions which surround sweatshop labor. Surely nothing could be more appropriate, or even more important. But the request was flatly denied. Evidently the exposition authorities wished to keep alive the wide-spread notion that everything is all right in Germany. The other circumstances in the question is the fact that the Reichstag recently passed the much dis-

cussed revision of the imperial insurance law. In its new form, it will be remembered, this measure turns the control of insurance matters over to the representatives of the employers.

On this subject Comrade Robert Schmidt made one of the most powerful addresses of the congress. With tremendous effect he described the conditions of labor which obtain in various parts of the empire. When he had finished the representatives of one industry after another arose and told about their own sufferings or those of their comrades in the different trades represented. The picture given was terribly different from the one painted by bourgeois writers on economics, different even from the notion obtained by American travelers in Germany, who, of course, see nothing but the smug outside of things.

The last item on the agenda of the congress might look rather strange to an outsider. It read, "Educational work and libraries in the labor unions." Various plans were discussed and recommendations made looking to the lengthening and improving of the course of study in the school supported by the unions. The individual unions and local federations, moreover, were advised to arrange for systematic lecture courses. The union libraries are to receive more attention than heretofore. It was especially advised that librarians be appointed who are able to assist the workers and their families in pursuing private courses of reading and study.

France—Capitalist Government and the Working Class.—Readers of THE REVIEW may remember that some months ago the government of M. Monis made a solemn promise to the railway workers who were discharged after the great strike last autumn. There are more than 2,000 of these discharged employes; many of them have been for months in the most terrible distress. According to the agreement which concluded the strike, the railway companies were bound to take them back. But as soon as traffic was reopened they declared their intention of breaking their contract. Since then they have never relent-

The cabinet of M. Monis had his majority in the Chamber of Deputies pass a resolution calling upon the railways to reinstate all such employes as had committed no violence. In a dramatic speech he pledged himself to see that this resolution was made effective. If the companies did not respond, he said, he would return and ask for military power with which to enforce the demands of the government. At the time this promise was made THE REVIEW suggested that here was a good chance to test the real power of a government as opposed to the big business interests.

The sequel is hardly as interesting as it might have been; nevertheless, it is not without its lesson. The solemn promise of M. Monis was evaded by means of a change of ministry. With hardly the shadow of an excuse M. Monis resigned and M. Caillaux, one of his colleagues, was asked to form a cabinet. The new minister, as a member of the old cabinet, was of course committed to the promise made on behalf of the railway workers. But he has refused absolutely to carry out that promise. And the same parliamentary majority which supported Monis in his aggression now supports Caillaux in his retrogression. Day after day during the month of July the Socialist deputies returned to the charge. Over and over again they proved the minister to be a prevaricator of the most brazen sort. All to no avail. The discharged railway workers may starve for all the government cares. Incidentally, it is interesting to know that M. Caillaux is himself a railway director.

It has not been proved that the government is without power. But it has been proved that its power is at the service of the capitalists. The popular and reformatory M. Monis was withdrawn from office before he had a chance to do anything more than get the majority out of the predicament into which M. Briand had plunged it. Then there was once more wanted "a government which governs." Certain Socialists who became enthusiastic over M. Monis must feel rather foolish over the conclusion of the matter.

NEWS AND VIEWS

A Pace-Maker—Branch No. 1, Portland, Ore.—While the doctrinaires are weaving and untangling the knotty points of bourgeois and proletaire, direct action and political action, the "Rough Necks" of Portland, Ore., are going on their accustomed way agitating, expanding, carrying the revolutionary torch into the dark places and burning out the cobwebs of superstition and economic error.

Branch 1, of Portland, made "Three-O-Nine Davis Street" famous. There the "Prowls" gathered and went forth to battle in many a period of stress and persecution. The old, dingy hall, dear to the hearts of the proletariat of the continent, has been outgrown and Branch 1, still the same fighting bunch of "Rough Necks," as of yore, has moved into more spacious quarters at 142½ Fourth street. The new hall is becoming more popular than the old and the Sunday night meetings are crowded each week with seekers after economic light. Volunteer mural decorators have painted the walls in appropriate designs and over the speakers' platform the red sun of the Revolutionary Dawn glows in a radiant burst of color.

Accurate account of all propaganda meetings is kept and shows a gratifying result as the following summary of literature sales will show. This report does not include an item of 200,000 copies of a local campaign sheet, the Searchlight, which was distributed during the recent municipal campaign nor any other free distribution made during the period of six months covered by the report. It is a record that any organization may be proud of and the "Rough Necks" feel that they are entitled to crow a little over the good work done for it is bringing results.

Total number of propaganda meetings held. 166
 Number of people addressed, about. 100,000
 Total literature sales, January to July. \$802.70
 International Socialist Reviews, per month. 575
 Appeal to Reason, per week. 300
 Milwaukee Herald, per week. 200
 Hope, per month. 300

The Coming Nation and other periodicals, besides an immense amount of miscellaneous propaganda books and pamphlets were also sold and distributed gratis. In addition the branch has given dances, excursions and entertainments, besides supporting a ball team and other methods to develop the spirit of comradeship among the people.

An Ideal Pamphlet.—"At last we have an ideal pamphlet on Socialism. Industrial Socialism is the very book that I have long been looking for. Comrades Haywood and Bohn are to be congratulated on the production of so plain, simple and convincing an exposition of Socialism. It should be sold by the million copies. A copy should be placed in the hands of every shop worker and farmer. Rest assured that I shall do my part in pushing its sale."—N. W. Lermond, State Sec'y of Maine



Sketch of Otto Schmidt.—He is familiarly and popularly known among the Socialists of Allegheny county as "Schmidtie." His undoubted devotion to Socialism and to industrialism is known to every Socialist and even to many policemen and detectives. He is a molder and an ardent member of the I. W. W. His first appearance among the party members was the signal for some of the fiercest polemic discussions ever waged on the vital question of the functions of the political and the industrial organizations. These discussions might have produced unpleasant and at least harmful friction in the organization, but "Schmidtie," with all his firmness, possesses a happy, infectious laugh all his own which he is an artist at employing at critical junctures. This smoothed over many a hot argument and the educational effect of his campaign is not to be discounted. The theory of industrialism has made tremendous headway in this county during the past year, and too much credit can not be paid to Schmidt for his part in this result when it required courage to defend his position. Undoubtedly the fact that Schmidt recognizes the necessity of political as well as industrial action and gave equal support to both the party and his union was a factor in convincing the skeptics.

Last November, "Schmidtie" got it into his head that there was a field for a Socialist newsboy, and while he was a little older than the average newsboy he went at the task with true German, Socialist persistence. There was need for all of our hero's courage for there were many nasty, cold days in Pittsburgh when the ten-mile tramp to deliver a hundred papers was extremely disheartening and not sufficiently remunerative to even place "Schmidtie" in the rank of employed wage slaves. He did not give up but kept up and is now the proud manager of the city office of *Justice* and the Socialist News Company. Under his gentle guidance this militant shepherd directs about a hundred obstreperous human lambs each week who gambol about the streets, in spite of the police, and loudly call the latest sensation in *Justice*, using the names of some of Pittsburgh's proudest capitalists with the most careless abandon.

When the Industrial Democracy is a happy consummation and we have the roll call of the Jimmy Higgines, one of the first names responded to will be our industrial fellow worker and political comrade, Otto Schmidt.

Cloth Weavers' Union of the Textile Workers of America get in line for the eight-hour day. John Whitehead, Sec'y Cloth Weavers' Union, No. 72, Lighthouse 146 W. Lehigh ave., Philadelphia, writes us that he has been instructed to advise us that his local has passed the following motion: That the Cloth Weavers unite with the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW in agitating for the eight-hour day. That we place before each local of our International union the question of having a bill presented at the National Congress for an eight-hour work day and that no other bills in connection with the hours of labor be presented or supported politically.

He reported also: At the recent convention of the International Congress of Textile Workers, the resolution of the English delegates in favor of a UNIVERSAL eight-hour day in textile factories was enthusiastically and unanimously adopted.

All this is great news. Our comrades across the Atlantic are getting in line. At the same time we receive word that the eight-hour movement is spreading to Australia and New Zealand. Let us join hands to make it a world-wide movement: Eight Hours in 1912, and the Revolution as soon as possible!

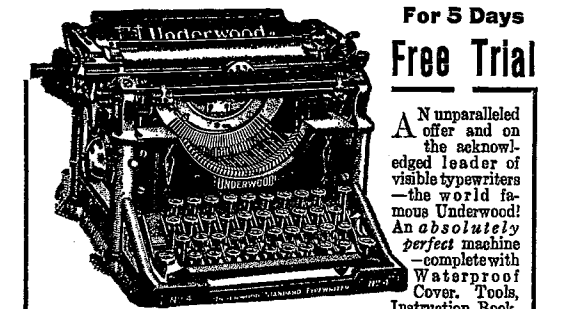
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 In reply to why sentence of death should not be passed upon them. Delivered in court October, 7, 8 and 9, 1886. If you want to understand the framup of the detectives and police against those labor organizers read this book; then watch Los Angeles. It also contains splendid photos of the eight men, taken just before they were murdered. Indorsed by the Central Federated Unions of N. Y. City, many Executive Boards of Organized Labor, also over 600 personal letters. Price, 30c. Bound, 75c.
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\$25 WEEKLY and expenses to men and women to collect names, distribute samples and advertise. Steady work. C. H. EMERY, M. P., Chicago, Ill.

Can't Supply the Demand.—I received 50 copies of Industrial Socialism by Haywood and Bohn at 6:00 o'clock last evening. I began a street meeting at 8 o'clock and by 8:30 the last copy was sold and there were a number of unsupplied demands. I shall order at least 100 in a day or so as soon as I find where my address will be. Since the meeting I have carefully read the book and pronounce it the very best that has come from the press for a clear, revolutionary expression of the Socialist program stripped of all needless ornamentation and topheavy philosophical flourerings. I shall sincerely assist you in distributing a million of these pamphlets among the workers. W. G. Henry, Stockton, Calif.

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Keeping Good Company.—Comrade J. Grose, of New Zealand, writes: "I enclose some more subs. for the REVIEW as you will see I have been keeping good company, men of intelligence who recognize the fact that there are only two classes in society—the workers and the shirkers, hence their orders for the Fighting Magazine, of, by and for their own class, the Working Class. The REVIEW is that magazine. I show them a copy. They examine it. Then they ask for it. They want it. They even demand it. So get a Yankee hustle on and get those REVIEWS over to us as soon as you can." Reports coming from New Zealand are simply inspiring to us here in this office. Our copy of the *Social Democrat* came today and there are so many good things in it that it is no wonder the movement in New Zealand is coming to be clear-cut and revolutionary. The New Zealanders see that all the reforms on earth don't mitigate the evils of wage-slavery and they are organizing and educating to abolish the cause of poverty.

The Advance Guard.—I cannot express my great pleasure in the splendid advance movement your company is taking in Socialist ideas. Your advocacy of industrial unionism and political action forms the graduate class in Socialism. Every word in your July number is pure gold. Your contributors are among the very cream of Socialist writers and they are preparing post graduates in the principles of Socialism. Long may you live to teach the way to the Co-operative Commonwealth. I am working hard for the Haywood meeting and subs. for your magazine.—Mrs. W. H. Newerof, of Los Angeles, Calif.

San Francisco "Labor" Party Sluggers Make Murderous Attack on Socialist.—The latest from San Francisco is a complete report of the desperate attempt made by a gang of "Labor Party" thugs to murder Comrade Cloudsley Johns, editor of *Revolt*, the Socialist paper of San Francisco. The McCarthy plug-uglies appeared at a picnic given by the Young Socialists' League of San Francisco. There they attempted to start a brawl, but were promptly ejected. That they were not a set of ordinary brutalized drunks, but paid professionals, is indicated by what followed. They hung about the place and in the evening followed Comrade Johns who was accompanied by his wife and a number of other women comrades. At an opportune moment the three attacked Johns from behind. Our comrade ably defended himself but his life would have been in danger had police not appeared on the scene.

Revolt, the ably edited organ of the San Francisco movement, has lately been criticising the so-called "Labor" Party administration. That the method now selected by the McCarthy gang to fight Socialism in San Francisco is to be kept up is shown by the threats made by the sluggers when their work was stopped by the police. "We'll get you yet," they declared. In court, two of the police who made the arrests refused to testify against the thugs. And yet there are some Socialists who still hope that a Gompers party may supplant their own.

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From Boston Lettish Comrades—For a long time I have been reading the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, but I never have found any news about the Lettish members of the Socialist party, about their activity to agitation and propaganda work, although the Lettish members distribute quite a large number of copies of the REVIEW. The reason nothing is said about the activity of the Lettish members in the English periodicals is because the Letts and especially the Socialists have immigrated only in the few last years and do not yet know enough of the English language to write much.

I think that it will be interesting to members of the Socialist party and also to the readers of the REVIEW to know about the activity of Lettish comrades, therefore I will give a short report accepted by the general meeting in July about the activity for the past half year of 1911 of the Boston Lettish S. P. branch No. 1.

1. We have held nine (9) lectures on different topics of Science and Labor Questions, which were attended by 3,249 persons, which makes an average of 361 at each meeting.

2. At these meetings we have discussed ten (10) different current phases of the labor movement.

3. We have published in total 6,200 copies of programs and proclamations, which were distributed among the people.

4. For the printing of above copies, hall rents and other expenses we have paid \$100, although our branch has only 125 members in good standing.

This shows that the Boston Lettish S. P. branch No. 1 is working to show the not yet conscious proletarians a way out from the present burden of capitalism in order to make them active members—Socialists.

The Lettish Socialist comrades realize that the distinctions between labor and capital are growing sharper every day, they know that the desire of capitalists for profits demands many lives of laborers, therefore we are doing and shall do in the future all there is in our power against capitalism for socialism.—Rudolph Salits, Agitation Committee, Secretary of Boston Lettish S. P. Branch, No. 1.

Fighting the White Slave Trade!



Our new book "Fighting the Traffic in Young Girls," by Ernest A. Bell, U. S. District Attorney Sims, and others. The most sensational indictment of the White Slave Trade ever published. It tells how thousands of our young girls are lured from their homes annually and sold into a life of shame. The Cincinnati Inquirer says: "Of all the books of the season the War on the White Slave Trade is the most helpful; it should be read by every man woman and child. Comrade A. Loeffler, N. Y., sold 15 Half Morocco copies and 3 cloth to his fellow workers in the shop. Agents are making from \$8.00 to \$17.00 a day selling this book. Over 500 pages. Many pictures. Price \$1.50. Best terms to agents. Outfit Free. Send 15 cents for forwarding charges. Book sent to any address postpaid on receipt of price 1.50. Also Other books: Mills of Mammon, 500 pages, by J. H. Brower, postpaid for \$1.10; War What For? 320 pages, by Kirkpatrick, \$1.20; postpaid, Barbarous Mexico, by Turner, \$1.50, postpaid. Send for circulars. Home Book and Art Co. 3135 Logan Boulevard, Room 6 Chicago, Illinois.

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Revolutionary Unionism, Debs.....	.05
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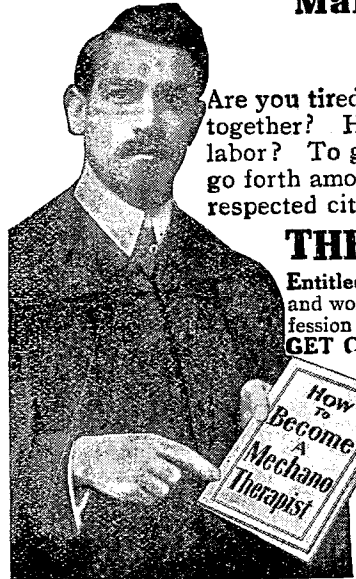
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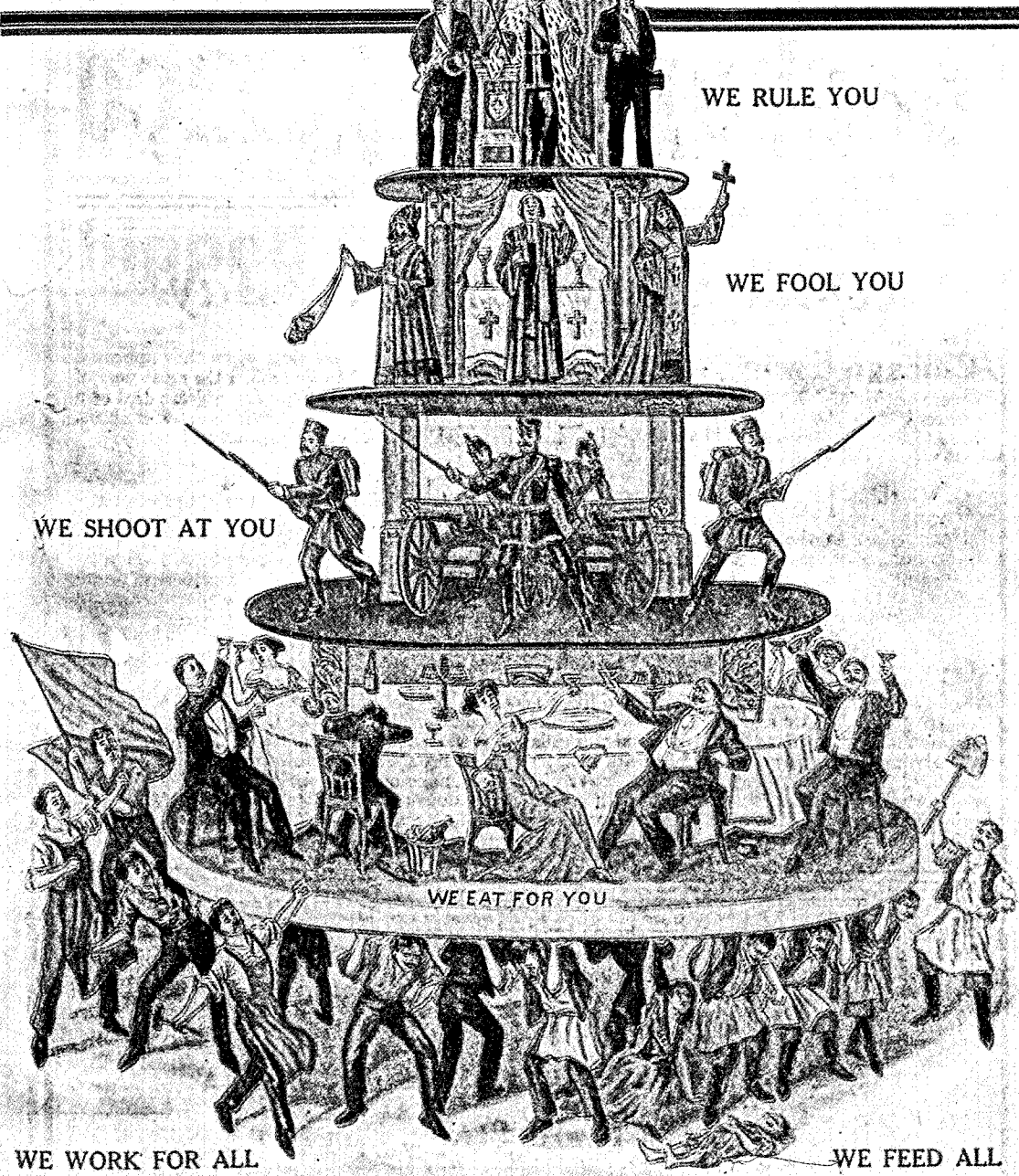
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Mexico, or more properly Diaz, challenged for barbarity, does not answer convincingly.
CHICAGO TRIBUNE (Editorial)

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Barbarous Mexico

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Christian Register BOSTON: The author explains that the term "barbarous" in the title of his book is intended to apply not to the people of Mexico, but to the form of government which permits the slavery and cruel ill-treatment of helpless human beings, bought and sold like mules. The details of this slavery, set forth in clear, apparently well substantiated statements, make painful reading. . . . Mr. Turner writes of what he has himself seen and proved. Taking plenty of time for investigation, he has explored conditions and hunted down reports. . . . This book is one with which the American public ought to become acquainted.

Oregon Journal PORTLAND: The writer . . . claims that there is neither free speech nor free press, that Diaz is "unanimously elected" because his opponents are never allowed to live to come to the polls; slavery of the very worst type exists, coupled with starvation and crime, and all this for the glory of Diaz. He furthermore claims that these things could not exist if Diaz did not have the support of the United States, threatening when insurgency raises its head, to call to his aid a powerful army of United States soldiers. Now all this might be passed over with the usual comment "sensational," if Mr. Turner did not substantiate his statements with such a tremendous array of facts and figures and photographic illustrations as would extract conviction from the most prejudice? unbeliever.

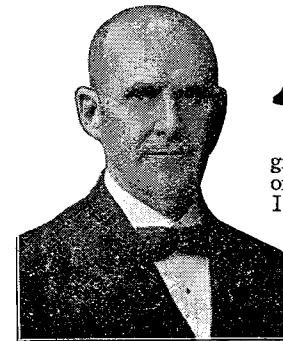
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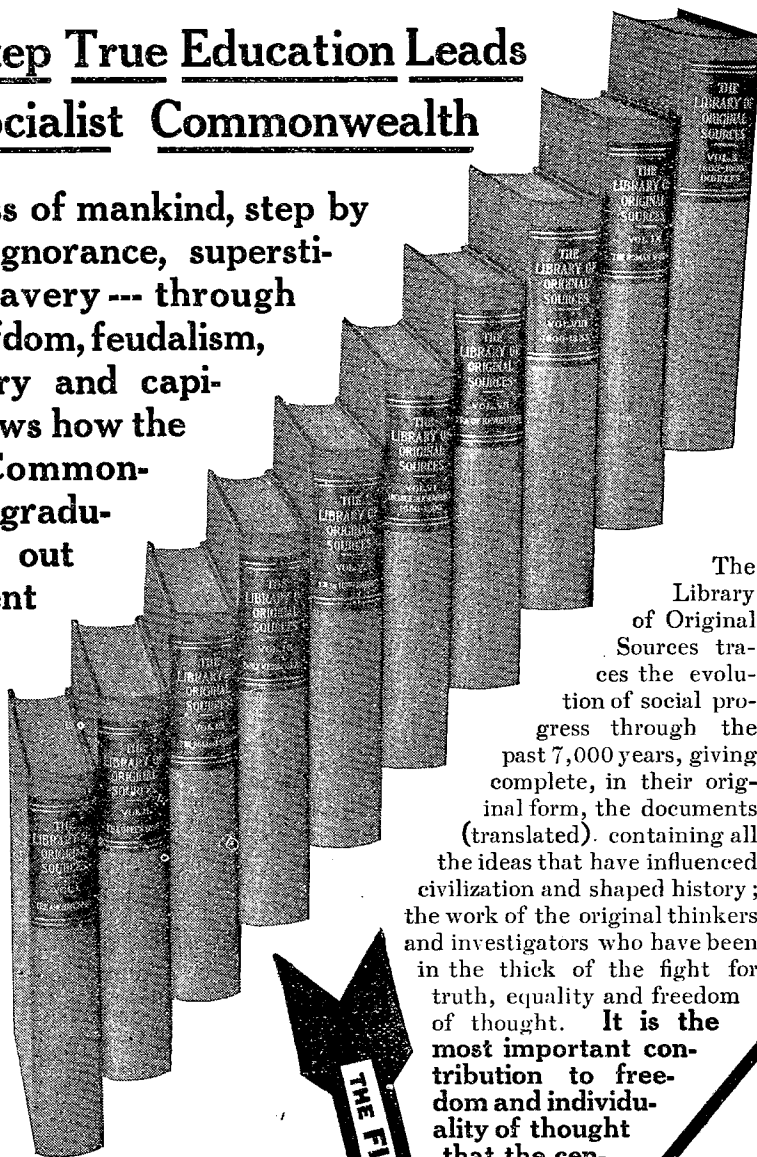
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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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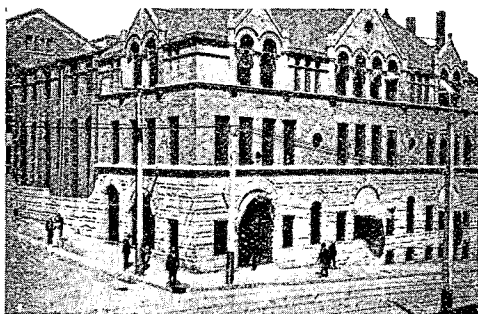
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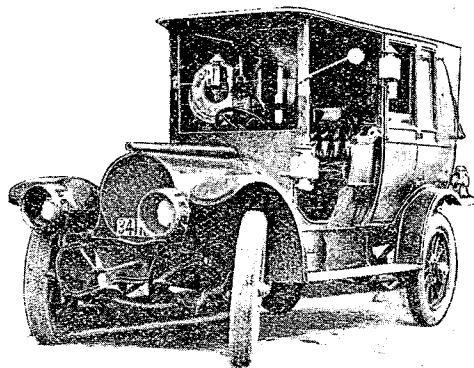
That the Kidnapped Iron Workers are in jail. That their trial will be in October. That Hiram Johnson, Governor of California, said of Otis—



Los Angeles County Jail

"In the city from which I have come we have drunk to the very dregs the cup of infamy; we have had vile officials; we have had rotten newspapers; we have had men who sold their birthright; we have dipped into every infamy; every form of wickedness has been ours in the past; every debased passion and every sin has flourished. But we have nothing so vile, nothing so low, nothing so debased, nothing so infamous in San Francisco, nor did we ever have, as Harrison Gray Otis.

"He sits there in senile dementia, with gangrened heart and rotting brain, grimacing at every reform, chattering impotently at all things that are decent, frothing, fuming, violently gibbering, going down to his grave in snarling infamy. This man Otis is the one blot on the banner of Southern California; he is the bar sinister upon your escutcheon. My friends, he is the one thing that all California looks at when, in looking at Southern California, they see anything that is disgraceful, depraved, corrupt, crooked and putrescent—that is Harrison Gray Otis."



"Private Car"—Steel lined with rapid-firing gun mounted over cylinder hood. Owned by "General" Otis—the labor hater who has made Los Angeles infamous.

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XII.

OCTOBER, 1911

No. 4



The Sphere.

THE STRIKERS' PERMITS—FLOUR BEING MOVED.

"THE MASTERS OF THE BREAD" THE GREAT STRIKE IN ENGLAND

FRIDAY night the great London dock strike ended in the greatest victory ever won by British labor. Nothing could be moved without the permission of the strike committee. Even the proud British government had to apply to the strike committee for permission to move necessary supplies of fodder and petrol, so that the delivery of the mails might not be intercepted. Here, you see, the strike committee did exercise political power in the most literal sense of the words, and this political power was conquered, not by the ballot, but by united action, or, rather, concerted inaction, on the industrial field.

The strike won because it was a mass industrial strike, with the strikers all saturated with the sense of solidarity. That the power exercised by the strike committee was truly political power, was strikingly recognized by the labor-hating Tory Evening News, which, on Friday night, flaunted the scare-head, "The New Parliament on Tower Hill."

It was, indeed, a Parliament, and far more powerful, so far as the daily life of the people of London went, than the elected Parliament at Westminster.

It must also be remembered that this strike arose almost spontaneously among workers so oppressed and hopeless, so

undermined physically and depressed mentally and morally that even their firmest friends have often despaired of the possibility of arousing them to effective action. Day after day I went back and forth among them, and I only saw three strikers who were not literally clad in tattered rags.

Yet these men held all London in their hands. They were the masters of her food supply. Truly in Bellamy's almost forgotten phrase, "The masters of the bread," but with what admirable restraint and discipline they exercised their power! —La Monte in the *New York Call*.

I HAVE passed through an exciting week in Liverpool with one of the Tory members for the city and a home office official. I was sent here to try and compose the fierce strife between employers and workers. Liverpool was like a city in a state of siege. Soldiers and police were everywhere, and the troops were armed with fixed bayonets. Thousands of men were sworn in as special constables, and convoys were passing through the streets guarding provisions as though in actual warfare.

The docks lay idle and silent for miles. Ships from all parts of the world were tied up and helpless. Every hotel was crowded with Americans, wearily waiting a chance of getting home, and riots, small and big, were numerous.

In common with all England, Liverpool stood face to face with an entirely new development in trades unionism. The strike no longer was confined to one trade, but linked up with innumerable trades.

The men on one railway line went out on strike in sympathy, although they had every single point already which the other railway men were seeking to win.

The dockers struck to help the railway men and then the street car employes went out to help both and all agreed to stand or fall together. This brought

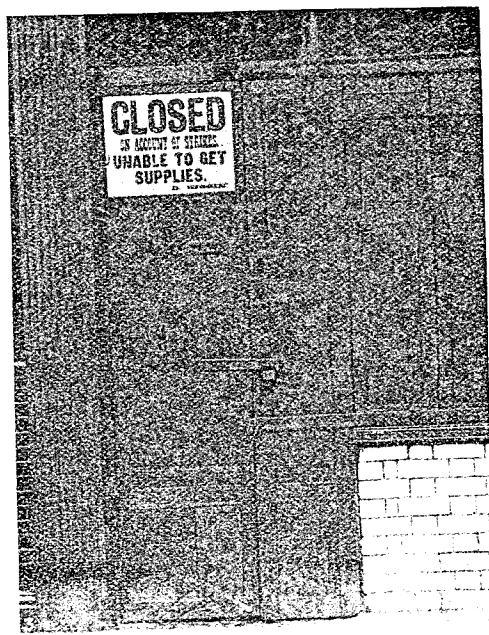
about the strangest situation, especially in Liverpool.

To add to the complications, the Moroccan situation gives at this moment extreme anxiety to the government, which is impotent to face German or any other complication with the country paralyzed.

This is England's first experience with what French strikers call syndicalism and syndicalism has won.

It also has imperiled the existence of a strong ministry, threatened the whole food supply of the nation, placed an almost irresistible weapon in the hands of the working classes, and given them a new sense of their power—it might be said, omnipotence.

It indicates that if working classes really were united against a war they could bring it to an end in twenty-four hours. In short, we have this week opened an entirely new chapter of English history, the final consequence of which nobody yet feels competent to forecast or estimate.—O'Connor in the Chicago Tribune.



Illustrated London News.

A BUTCHER'S SHOP AT LIVERPOOL.



The Sphere.

STRIKERS' CHILDREN—LIVERPOOL.

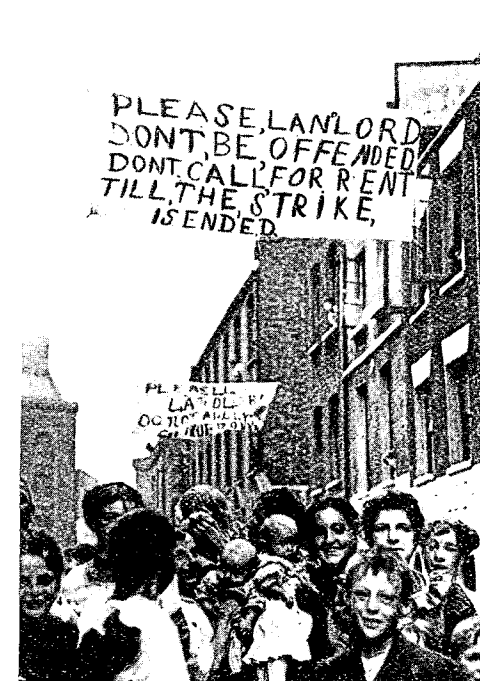
A NATIONAL strike of British Railway workers! This is the ultimatum of the council of railway deputies now sitting in London. Translated it means a general strike of British transport workers. In this there is a *denouement* of far greater importance than the demands and results of the struggle itself. As we walk along the streets of Liverpool, there is a new word on the lips of the workers; "Industrial Solidarity." Tom Mann the leader of the strike in letters to the press, in speeches, in committees or in mass meetings, begins and ends each message with the words "Industrial Solidarity."

Its meaning is significant. It is a recognition of the interdependence of every section of industry. It is the growth of industrial concentration, on the one side into trusts and corporations, on the other into industrial unions as opposed to the old sectional trade and craft union. Because of the strength and size of the two opposing forces and the vast battlefield it covers, the struggle takes on gigantic proportions.

THE STRIKE OF THE BRITISH TRANSPORT WORKERS

BY

ROSE STRUNSKY



Illustrated London News.

STRIKE SCENE—LIVERPOOL.

The very beginning of this British transport strike proves the anti-sectionalism of the fight. It was planned exactly two years ago on August 13, in a saloon on Worth street in New York City. The reason for this is clear. In New York one can get of an evening about 3,000 British seamen from the Anchor Line, the American, the White Star, the Atlantic Transport and the Cunard lines. A meeting was organized by the general treasurer of the British Seamen's Union, Mr. T. Chambers, with the men from the Lusitania. It was not to organize the men of the Cunard Line against their company that this meeting was called, but to organize all the British seamen against all the British companies. The companies were united in a federation; there was solidarity there to ignore any request made by the men; the men therefore felt the need of solidarity upon their side. The union thus formed soon outgrew its small quarters and used the rooms of the American Seamen's Friends Society and the Catholic Seamen's Mission to hold their meeting.

A year later the organization made its first move. In July, 1910, they sent letters to the shipowners individually and as an association asking them to consider certain grievances concerning hours, pay and conditions. They did not ask for immediate redress; they asked only for a chance to present their grievance. Most of the letters were ignored, and the few companies that answered merely referred the men to the Shipping Federation as a whole, which in turn entirely ignored the request.

The union appealed against this treatment to the president of the Board of Trade and their petition was signed by at least a hundred members of Parliament. The president was asked to bring about a conference, and this matter he promised to attend to. The men waited from July to November. Finally there came a note from him, saying that the Federation had positively declined to discuss the subject, and he ended the note by declaring:

"I fear that nothing further can be done."

The union then decided to call the men out on strike sometime during the following summer, but the precise date of the strike's beginning was kept secret. It was

fixed for June 14th, and three days before handbills were distributed in every port, calling the men to a mass meeting on the 14th., when an important announcement would be made. All through the month of May, placards had been posted everywhere, which read:

WARNING!

Sailors and Firemen—Wait For
The Signal!

On the 14th. of June the meetings were held and the strike declared. The big passenger lines immediately recognized the unions, and their boats ran; it was with the tramp ship owners that most friction occurred. The unions had decided to center their demands on the increase of wages rather than on the abstract question of the men's right to organization. A standard wage of £5 a month was fixed on tramp ships, and thus the seamen got an increase of 15 shillings on Tyneside and 25 along the Bristol Channel.

In Liverpool there was an increase of 10 shillings a month. This gives the men from £4 to £6.10 a month, the latter being the pay of the firemen on the express mail boats.

It is not difficult to see how, out of the British Seamen's strike, arose the General Transport strike now going on. For the seamen to win their fight expeditiously and thoroughly, there was necessary the support of all other water transport workers. For this reason the strike of the dockers and the coal heavers was called. These men refused to load or unload ships upon which the seamen were on strike. It was the feeling of industrial solidarity with the seamen that sent them out, both union and non-union men. The dock workers, once out, lent themselves readily to organization and in three weeks their union increased from 8,000 to 29,000 men. By a strike they could kill two birds with one stone; they could help the seamen and at the same time demand redress for their own grievances.

The Liverpool owners promised to have all difficulties with the men adjusted by August 1st. When the new rate-schedule was handed in, a long and

complicated document, it was found that 700 dockers had no increase of wages whatever and the coal heavers of the north end of Liverpool had not had their grievances settled. Meanwhile the freight handlers of the Great Northwestern and Lancashire and Yorkshire Railways had refused to handle goods that were to be shipped to the Liverpool docks. Then the railway porters joined them. This strike which was begun in sympathy with the Liverpool dockers and which was really an outcome of the seamen's strike, soon took on a character of its own. For four years all the railway workers composed of the amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, the General Railway Workers Union and the Signalmen's and Pointsmen's Society had been suffering under what they described as the vexatious attitude of the railway officials towards conciliation and arbitration agreed on in 1907."

Matters had come to a head then on a question of wages and hours and the men instead of striking as they threatened to do, agreed to place their grievances before a conciliation board which was to last for seven years. The men found that what the Railway Companies meant by meeting the men at a conciliation board was that each individual porter or guard who wanted an increase in wages or a reduction of hours was to make his appearance in person before this board. But if the man did so he was forthwith dismissed. The companies would not meet the men as a body and all requests on their part for a conference were ignored in the same manner as the shipping companies ignored the seamen.

Even the capitalistic press and public opinion seem pretty much in accord that the men's grievances are real. The average wage of an expert engineer is 38s 10d or \$9.50 a week. This is the highest wage paid. The rest reduces itself to an average of 21s or \$5 and goes as low as 14s, 8d, or \$3.50 a week. These figures are taken from a report dating over a period of eleven years and there has been no increase in the wage while the rise in the cost of living has been going on steadily. Also the average working day is from nine to twelve hours, but the official report shows a 1.10 per cent over-

time which makes a great increase to the already long day.

In Liverpool the dockers, though all but 700 were back at work, felt it their duty not to handle goods which would ordinarily be handled by the railway goods men. This brought matters to a head here. Mr. Sanderson of the White Star Line acting as chairman of the shipowners committee in the absence of Mr. Booth (the ship owners federation had been dissolved by the seamen's strike), sent out an ultimatum which said that:

"Unless peace is restored on the water front and all striking men are back at work on Monday, August 14th, there will be a lockout of all the port's cargo workers."

The leaders were anxious to avert this and all the men went back to work except 200 of the discontented dockers and the coalheavers. This was done with the hope of an early settlement with the railway companies. However, at noon Monday, despite the workers going back, the dockers were paid and the lock out declared. In retaliation the strike committee threatens to call out a general transport strike of the Mersey district which means calling upon the seamen to strike again.

Meanwhile there turned out to be no early settlement between the Amalgamated Railway Unions and the Railway Companies and the Unions have sent out an ultimatum on their part that they give the companies twenty-four hours in which to meet the men. This was extended today to twenty-four hours more.

How long the public sympathy will go with the men in the event of a national railway strike is a question of duration. The public as usual stand it good-naturedly just as long as the results of it do not fall too heavily on its shoulders. But already through the seamen's strikes and the disturbances at the ports, business is unsettled, the mills cannot get raw material, and the loss of cargo spoiling at the docks and freight yards is enormous. A national railway strike coming upon this would affect every one rich and poor alike, the mill hands, the small business men, the suburbans who use the railway to come to the city for work and the holiday makers at the sea shore and other resorts who would be stranded away from

home, for the month of August and early September is the summer season in England.

As to Liverpool itself there is an uncanny quietude about the city. Here and there groups of men and women talk in undertones. Long companies of Scots Greys and Warwickshires parade in the street, sent to help convey cargoes of coal or meat. The people are sullen at this display of military. Last night we stood at a corner watching a company of cavalry escort five wagons of coal. A silent crowd watched the procession. "They have 2,000 soldiers here to escort several tons of coal through a peaceful city," said a man standing next to us, bitterly, "and they said 20,000 soldiers would put down the Boer War!"

The papers had had large headings of "Rioting of Strikers in Liverpool," but so far every one questioned here about this has denied it. We even asked the police if there had been trouble from the strikers. "No," said they, "it is the sectarians." The "sectarians" by way of explanation, are the Orangemen on one side and the Catholics on the other, who improve every opportunity to shower bricks at each other. It was against such a mob that the shooting of Tuesday the 15th occurred and not against the strikers. The truncheon charge of Sunday was absolutely unwarranted. The police dashed out without any warning from the Lime street railway station and attacked a



TOM MANN AND BILL HAYWOOD.

peaceful meeting of citizens held in the square and began beating men, women and children over their heads and shoulders with their truncheons. They had assembled to congratulate themselves on the supposed victory of the dock strike but when they learned that the fight was still on, they began to read a set of resolutions, when the truncheon charge took place.

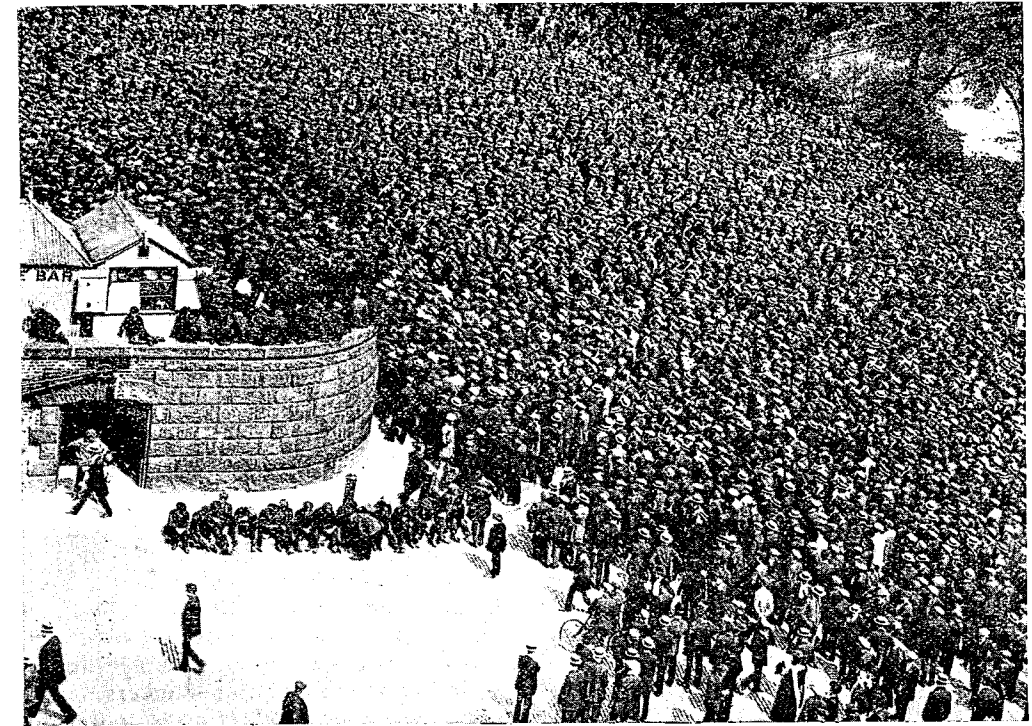
Peaceful as the city seems now, there is a nervous expectancy in the air, which the magistrates have translated into forebodings of evil. Large placards of WARNING stare the passerby in the face, urging citizens not to walk the streets except on business and not to loiter along the principal thoroughfare. The City is crowded with extra police from Manchester, Huddersfield and Birmingham, and at every other crossing soldiers bivouac with their horses as in a beleaguered city.

Thus there has suddenly sprung up a strange new power in the midst of quiet England—the united worker. How much he will do, or how much he is able to do will depend on the consciousness of his strength.

"Tell them in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW," said Tom Mann, "that for the sake of the deliverance of the workers, we are fighting on the principles so often expressed by them, that of *industrial unionism*."

And the Fight has begun!

Liverpool, Aug. 17.



American Press Ass'n.

STRIKERS' MEETING ON TOWER HILL, LONDON.

ON THE RIGHT ROAD

BY

BEN TILLET

BORN in poverty, hindered by despair, saved by hope, the English transport workers' fight has made history fast and furious. It has shaken the dry bones of the world and carried a message of class solidarity to the ends of the earth.

The live press world has had to rub keen eyes to believe. For years the movement has been developing under the noses of the Powers-That-Be, and the men, themselves, hoped and hoped again with a feeling that the right for the working class was impossible.

In the early mornings, month after month, our champions went out with their message, just as they have gone for years. There were apparently no signs of the great upheaval. At times the men

were enthusiastic and at others disheartened.

It is true, the bosses had them in their grip. They might be called to work at any time, therefore they must wait, being ready at all times to take a job at a moment's notice, when a man was killed or injured.

The masters' association, the Shipping Federation, had held sway all the years until it had become insolent. Even the scabs were no longer treated with courtesy by the shipowners. Seamen were forced to sign at almost any price. Colored men, Asiatics, Chinese and Coolies were given preference. Every sort of discrimination was made against the British laborer with impunity.

But at once all the great ports took

action. Section after section was ready for the signal to stop labor, to "down tools." And the very ports we had been unable to reach with the work of organization came into line with the vanguard and the whole country was stirred as never before by any labor struggle.

Through Glasgow, Hull, Sunderland, the ports of the Northeast coast, the Irish ports, then Liverpool, London, Southampton and the smaller ports following, driving American, Colonial and Mediterranean vessels to Hamburg, Rotterdam and Antwerp in a futile effort to be discharged or loaded again—the story of aroused labor went to the ends of the labor world.

In most ports about twenty-five per cent of the men were permanently employed. The other seventy-five per cent took a chance of semi-permanent or casual labor with the result that there was always a section of men who depended on a meagre fare.

The irregular work meant beggary for many, for casual labor brings many curses with it; the workers waiting long hours for jobs and furtively looking for scraps of food.

Men had to put in a whole week in order to earn three or four dollars.

Fighting methods had to be developed, so the unions having membership in the Transport Trade called a meeting of themselves and formed what was destined to effect a revolution both from the standpoint of the trade union and the labor, or economic, movement. Although divided in political matters, the unions realized the oneness of their needs. Each worked for one objective—the strike.

Many of the most energetic and practical fighters were well known socialists, the most experienced being members of the S. D. P. who took their places in the ranks and helped the real movement by the ardor of their work. Not only this—but the rank and file felt great confidence in the men who talked Social Revolution.

The National Transport Workers' Federation was formed, with Harry Gosling as President and J. Anderson, Secretary.

This Federation represented the dockers, among them the stevedores, and the lightermen, who have held a charter for six hundred years, modern representa-

tives of "The Jolly Young Watermen" whose ancient name and fame has made most of the river history of London. The trappings and the glory of the royal barges that gave lustre to the Thames of old, have departed. The gondolier of those days has given place to the sinewy lighterman whose thews and lusty strength is of commercial importance and the greatest asset of the port trade. The carmen, gondoliers of the road, are also of the practical age. And they number almost as many as the combined dock workers, at docks, wharves and quays.

All these had to be gathered into one great organization together with the railway workers. And these scattered workers acted as one group of men. They joined hands to make the fight a real one. Our success was assured directly the rank and file became enthused with the spirit of class solidarity. The very men who had repudiated any connection with trade unions joined with us in making the best of the fight. Thus the dockers, warehouse workers, lightermen, watermen, bargemen (on docks, rivers and wharves), the carmen, the hydraulic, crane and electric operators and the lockmen were interested and made COMMON CAUSE. So a complete stoppage of transportation was inevitable.

And the stoppage of the port work laid idle all the auxiliary industries until the *food supply was held up*. Then men refused to supply ice till the call came from the hospitals and institutions of public utility. Permits were issued for the delivery of ice in such cases and they were also given for supplying coal in many cases. Permits were granted in cases of sickness and suffering.

We had many odd and humorous instances of councilmen and others so obsessed with their class importance that they left their manners at home. These were speedily trounced by the Strike Committee and dismissed. The atrophied English "city man" came in immaculate get-up. Frock coats were in evidence, umbrellas, gloves, creased trousers, patent boots and spats—and the heat was 89 degrees in the shade! Wonderful was their endurance and they spoke to us at length with great emphasis and superior drawl. But they were rudely shocked,

for gross workingmen deliberated in seats of power and attended to the stupidities of these Superior Persons.

Can you see them, hesitating, stuttering, top hat in hand and brushing gently the nap the wrong way as they expostulated and entreated and spoke of the loss of goods and complained of the way the "dignity of" their "firms" were suffering from "this wretched strike business"?

Then came the Government contractors who wanted oil and fuel. Permit was granted them, the facsimile of which appeared in the morning *Post*. The Gentleman who gave it to the *Post* will hardly expect to receive the same treatment next time.

But the Strike's the Thing! And we were able to launch a movement that will continue to grow, that can be pointed to as a lesson to the most downtrodden peoples of the world. It will show them the possibilities of a general upheaval of the working class!

* * *

For years the International Transport Workers' Federation had done good work for the workers of ships and docks in an international direction. But as the movement had been started to deal with the Shipping Federation, it was met by an alliance of monied power that ran into more than one billion pounds, with a representative international alliance so closely involved as to be able to call for service in any one of the European countries.

This power was effectively organized and beat to a "frazzle" the organizations of the port workers opposed to its operations.

Sectional or divided unionism had lent an importance to the Shipping Federation's operations that was more apparent than real; hence the sense of security and the impunity of the officials of the ship-owners and the blackleg agencies set up by them. Scabs have been sent to all ports of the United Kingdom and also to the continental ports by the thousand. But this was educating the poor wretched tools of the ship owners, whose victimization has made them rebel against the very people who used them.

And so section after section came along, like the corps of a great army in campaign. Dockers, lightermen, carmen fol-

lowed each other in order and the ships, the barges, the vans stopped moving in succession till the canals, the docks, the rivers, streets and roads became silent. Almost were we filled with awe when we looked about the river. All was a perpetual Sunday. Ships lying deserted, smokeless, steamless, noiseless at their moorings. Bustle and noise had given place to an ominous quietude. The streets of London have not been so safe or deserted for years. There was a hush over everything.

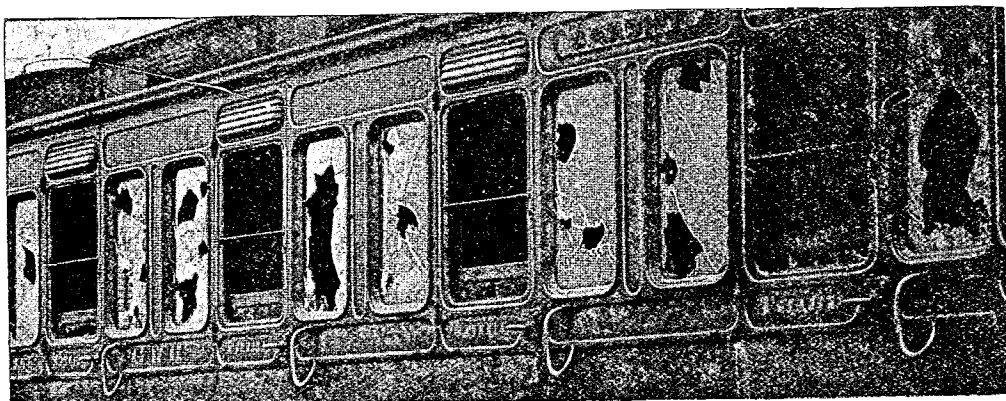
But My Lady Park Row, the Countess Mayfair and Miss Piccadilly joined with Mrs. Suburb in the chorus against the strikers. Abodes of the middle and "upper" class rang with invective against the "mob" for be it known the Magna Charta of the British citizen—bacon and eggs—were missing. It was a brutal shock to delicate souls to learn that they DEPENDENT upon the COMMON LABORER.

Perhaps poor Jane, the cook, swallowed the insult, but the striker was in a position to stop the food supply and he didn't mind a bit. We had stopped the supply of ice at the Clubs and Clubmen fumed and sweated at the loss. Champagne tasted warm and the hot weather took much of the starch out of the jaded idlers. About all they had strength to do was to curse the partners of the Hunger wolf for fighting.



Illustrated London News.

THE ARMY AT WORK.



The Sphere.

LLANELLY—PART OF THE DEMONSTRATION.

Then the Chamber of Commerce awoke and demanded the penal code, ball cart-ridges, the baton, bayonet and sword—even the Maxim gun. Soldier and policeman were to be armed with lethal weapons, were to ignore the calls of humanity and to protect private property. Workers who had refused to toil were to be shot down for their temerity. There must be no waiting till the strikers HAD destroyed property. They must be promptly shown the majesty and pomp of the army and be shot down by any irresponsible officer licensed to murder his fellow countrymen. The orders to the military were so loose that it amounted to a license to shoot at will.

The jury system in England is carefully safeguarded so that in times of tumult men may be selected who will exonerate the PROPER kinds of murders.

Then the military official may always exasperate the workers. The burial of a victim of a soldier's fury was made the occasion by the military authorities to send armed men to cut through the funeral procession, to exasperate the mourners. Neither living nor dead—among the working class—are respected when the soldiers are "out."

To deploy companies of soldiers while meetings are being held—right in among the crowd, is another plan whereby the officers hoped to exasperate the strikers to some protest that would furnish them an excuse for shooting and violence.

Anyway, the whole "Upper Class" of De Veres grew frantic when they faced the possibility of a FAMINE, and like a great

prairie fire the news went forth and every one of the Crown officials was called upon in fear and fury to "make the beggars work or use the army."

And HALF of our men had been living in a state of SEMI-STARVATION fifty-two weeks in the year. Many have DIED for want of food; whole families have been wiped out by hunger—but never a word when the workers are concerned. This is one of the "immutable laws of God" and Mammon. The verdict is "the poor wretches had none of the means of life."

But the calloused hands of the hungry men were idle. The wheels of civilization which had run smoothly through their labors had stopped. They had said "No" to the old masters and all industry was hushed. Famine grinned on at the squealing creatures whose idleness was class form, a mark of superiority.

And the "superior persons" were as class conscious as the workers and whined that they had always been willing to confer with them without the presence of the dreadful AGITATOR.

Thereby hangs a tale, for of all the fights I have shared, there has never been one where the workers have taken the initiative as they have in this battle. The "leaders" have in most cases been behind the movement, not in front of it. It may not be very flattering to say so, but it is nevertheless true, that in most cases they tried to prevent a development of the fight, hardly believing the workers as a body would be anxious to make a battle for their rights. In all cases the men

critically examined every agreement and in some cases rejected the offers made.

It hardly sounds feasible, but there it is. The men, in most cases without strike pay, were prepared to stand for weeks in the demand for better conditions—the conditions they had agreed to stand for.

With the development of the strike movement came military suppression. Our generals, who have had no experience, found the strike movement a practice ground for the instruction of the military in the use of arms, marching and the formalities of war. Civil law was suspended; even the formality of reading the Riot Act was dispensed with, as the officers in command of the soldiers had authority to fire at discretion. Points and heights of vantage were utilized for signaling, from St. Paul's Cathedral to the bridge and house adjoining any scene of disturbance.

In practice for the shooting, one of the soldiers shot his comrade. His defense was that he was showing the other fellow what they would have to do if called out.

Meanwhile the men were meeting in large bodies, and on Tower Hill, reminiscent of executions, axmen and headsmen, stood a good-humored crowd, which endured the ravages of the tropical heat with almost stoic powers.

The meetings grew larger each day. There were marchings and trampings up and down the wharves and the dock centers. Then it was determined that a march through the City should take place. The shipping world was aghast at the possibility of the dockers walking through the sacred precincts of the Shipping Offices.

Marches had taken place along the main thoroughfares for weeks, and one great demonstration had been held in the Park. Another was to be held in Trafalgar Square, the men carrying banners for a dozen miles or more. There was a grimness at all the gatherings, which could be felt as well as seen. The men were in earnest, and deadly earnest at that.

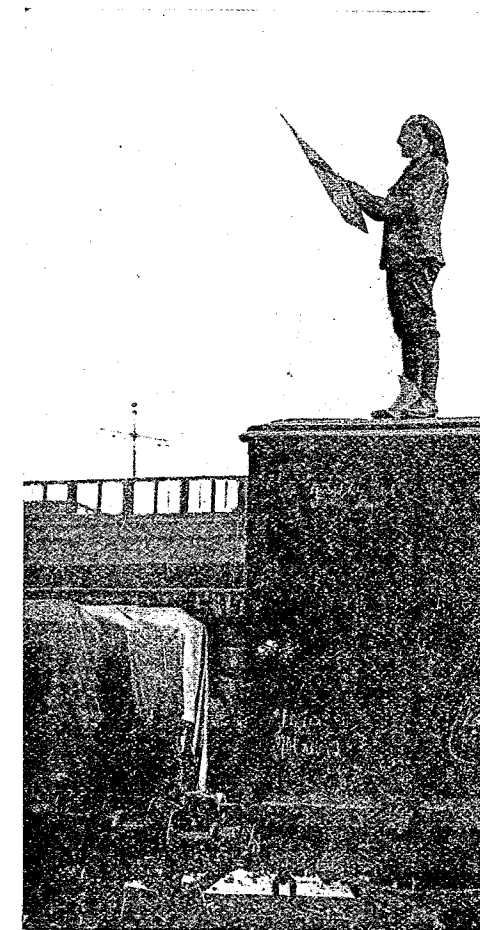
The City of London police are the gentlemen of the police service of this country, and although we held the majority of our meetings and marched the greater number of processions in the city itself, there was not the slightest attempt at

disorder, the strikers mingling cheerfully with the police and assisting in maintaining order in every way.

WHAT WE GAINED.

The car men previously worked from 80 to 140 hours in the week. We reduced that to a 72-hour week of six days. The wage, with the reduced hours thrown in, was raised 20 per cent, a recognition of the union enforced, a machine for dealing with grievances set up. Whatever the respective value of the gains may be when totalled, at least for the first time in the history of the trade a great union was formed and recognized.

Lightermen and watermen shared the benefit of two hours knocked off the day's work. For the week it would mean a saving of labor time equal to more than a



Illustrated London News.

A "STRIKE TROOPER"—SCABBING.



The Sphere.

PICKETS AT WORK.

tions, and besides the reduction in hours the men received an increase in their pay to the amount of 20 per cent.

Dockers received an increase of 25 per cent on the average, with the greater blessing of forcing definite times for the calling on of labor, and limiting these to two in the morning, one mid-day and one for the night work,—all four at the specified hours of 7 a. m., 8 a. m., 12:45 mid-day and 5:45 p. m. This meant and means to the men a saving of time, of despair itself, and relief from the hunger-watches for work which might never come. Meal time has been doubled and is to be paid for, and the Union must be recognized.

All grades of workers for each of the great departments have won many benefits, and there is still hope of other benefits in many ways never anticipated.

Thus, the workers of the ship and craft, the quay and warehouse, the van and truck, numbering close on 100,000 men in the port of London, will have received great advances as well as advantages of a material kind. Moreover, the transport worker has set the economists, the poli-

ticians and the capitalists to thinking furiously, and to realizing that a newer and braver spirit is abroad. There is now a definite expression of the "first law of nature,"—to live, to move, to have being, to enjoy the fruits of toil, to play the citizen and the man. And behind the men (if not in front of them in pluck and ideas) are the womenfolk, who are asking more pay for the feeding of the children, for the clothing and the comforts.

The "Right to Live has joined with it the sentiment of the "Right to Enjoy." There is almost a fierceness in the joy of working and living at the docks. The lighterman sings or swears more blythely as he punts his unwieldy barge on the tide-flow; the carmen have keener shafts of wit, coarse maybe, but full of the humor of life, and each is kinder to his beast, for the boss is kinder to the man, and the human in the man responds in kindlier tone and behavior.

Much that I have said of London applies to Liverpool, to Hull, Glasgow, and the Bristol Channel and the northeast centers.

The greater meaning of the Transport fight is that already there is the machinery afoot to make the International Transport Workers' Federation a world power in the sense that the British National Transport Workers' Federation was a national movement. That being the case, the American continent and the continent of Europe make the wider battle-ground of the next great move of the transport workers. The American and the European transport workers are already in one great organization, and if our fight had gone on for another week, we should have spread the movement to include the working of ships and cargoes to the whole of the transatlantic trade as well as the European trade routes.

At least, it is the sign of the times for the Socialist to renew the fires of his enthusiasm, for the student and the economist to see the economic bearings of the new spirit.

The direct movement must more and more be scientifically utilized. It is here, and the politician will be less and less a factor in the greater world movement as the spirit gets into the soul of every man and woman and boy and girl who is a

worker. Mothers will teach revolt and the rebel spirit, and the elders shall give better and brighter examples of the newer life, of the newer solidarity, of the loftier aim and the more virile claim for the

things vital to life. If the Socialists realize the oneness and the humanness of this new movement; then indeed is Socialism on the way to the conquest of the world.

A VOICE FROM THE FOG

By

J. EDWARD MORGAN

Jerry, that's me, far-famed son of toil,
 Alive and alert, built up from the soil
 To the scratch and the rule according to Hoyle.
 Big-boned and strong-sinewed, thick-chested and long
 In the reach, fore and aft, big-fisted and strong;
 Hard-headed, sure-footed, long-winded—be damn!
 Six foot in my socks! It's a man that I am!
 I can push, I can pull, I can heave, I can haul,
 A half ton of brick aint no bother a-tall;
 Just show me the load and git out of my way,
 I'll heave it or haul it or pack it all day.
 Stand aside purty face with your airs and your style,
 Watch Jerry, the lad from the Emerald Isle!
 Heave, yo heave, yo—look out for your clothes!
 Yo—heave—up she comes and over she goes.
 I have toiled all my life and no man ever saw
 Me break so much as a twig of your law.
 And paid every week like a prince for my task
 TWO DOLLARS A DAY! What more could you ask?
 I work and I eat and I sleep and am dumb
 And I get my reward in the Great Kingdom Come.

THESE DAYS IN AMERICAN JOURNALISM

BY

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL

THERE may be such things somewhere in this world as free government and free institutions without a free press, but I do not know how one can conceive of them. Certainly, so far in human experience, the right of free expression of opinion has been the absolute and indispensable foundation of all other rights. When free opinion has been threatened the whole structure of human liberty, reared so slowly and with so much sacrifice, has been shaken with it.

From this, I think, there will be no dissent by any person of whatsoever faith that has read any history or considered human affairs.

Whether free institutions are now held by the American people to be of vital importance to them is another question. Some persons of a cynical order of mind answer it promptly in the negative. If they are wrong, then the most stupendous fact now before the country is that in the main we no longer have anything that can be called a free press. Sometimes this assertion is made by those that only believe it. I happen to know it because I have sat on the inside of the machine and seen the strings at work that pull it, knowing perfectly well whither those strings led.

The daily newspapers of the United States may be divided into these classes:

1. Those that are owned outright by the public service corporations of the cities wherein they are published.

In one place the leading newspaper is owned by the street railroad company; in another by the electric light company; in a third by the gas company. These ownerships are always carefully concealed by the use of dummies, or still more effectually through the device of pretended loans. The public next to never knows anything about it; reading the news over the breakfast table the average man never suspects that it is news

prepared in the interest of the street railroad company, for instance. The editor is a man well-known in the community, a man of standing and character. Who shall perceive that he is a mere dummy and figure-head for franchise grabbers?

Few persons outside of the business have any conception of the extent of this kind of secret ownership. Yet it is a fact that in every considerable city in the United States the public service corporations either own outright or absolutely control at least one newspaper. Sometimes they have their grasp upon more than one, but one they always have; purchased perhaps when the original franchise was obtained by bribery from a corrupt city council, perhaps purchased since as schemes and conditions indicted the necessity for a local organ. But once bought they have in almost every case been retained. Hundreds of newspapers are so owned; if the public could have a list of them it would be provided with a sensation much greater than any newspaper is likely to furnish this year or the next.

When now you consider that the ownership of all these public utilities, traction, gas and electric light, all about the country, drifts steadily into the hands of one small group of financiers, and that this group sits in New York and dictates both street railroad and newspaper policies in cities two thousand miles away, you begin to grasp something of the abnormal and colossal power placed in these few hands.

And yet only a small part of it; because this is only the faintest beginning of their story.

2. Newspapers that are swayed and controlled through the business investments and connections of their owners.

This is a very subtle but powerful influence that we almost never suspect. Mr. Pulitzer, owner of the New York World, began life as an extreme and probably sin-

cere radical. When he was a reporter in St. Louis it was his favorite doctrine (which he preached with singular vehemence and tireless energy), that no man could possibly accumulate by honest means a great fortune; that necessarily the makers of millions were thieves; and he advocated a system by which no man should be allowed to possess more than \$25,000 of wealth. For some years in his newspapers he championed the cause of the people, fought on the side of labor, denounced plutocracy and showed daily and very forcibly the disasters it would bring upon the country.

All the time he was making money, and as he made it he invested it, and as he invested it his sympathies were drawn away from the people to the side of the exploiters. The transformation was one of the most interesting it has ever been my fortune to observe, and kept exact pace with Mr. Pulitzer's prosperity. Every dollar he put away became an influence for conservatism. He is now a very rich man and very conservative and his newspapers are the chief and ablest of all champions of existing conditions—the ablest and the meanest, the most adroit, persistent, tireless and unscrupulous.

Mr. Pulitzer, when I knew him, would have leaped upon and torn with his two hands anybody that offered to bribe him.

But all the time he was bribing himself. Now he is as completely and heartily in the camp of the public enemy as any kept newspaper prostitute in the land. With all the force of his ability he is fighting on the side that he was wont in the old days to attack—bribed by his own money.

There are others like him, but he happens to be the most conspicuous illustration. The thing is perfectly natural. More and more newspapers become purely commercial enterprises; they are conducted for profits and for nothing else. Well, what are you going to do with the profits? You can't dig holes in your celler and bury them. Naturally you invest them in good sound lines of securities representing solid business. Yes. And all the good sound lines of business in the country are either owned or controlled or dominated by the one group of the Central Interests that control the government and prey upon the people. If you combat

them you combat your own investments. Want to do that? I think not.

You see the thing is both inevitable and irresistible. You can hardly find an investment in these days that has any promise of returns and will not bring you into contact and sympathy with the Central Interests. Therefore, it is either one thing or the other. If your newspaper makes money the profits sweep you into line, and if it doesn't then you are swept the same direction in the manner to be told next.

3. Newspapers that are financed by the Interests.

Every year newspaper publishing becomes more and more expensive. You may have noticed that in the last fifteen or twenty years very few daily newspapers have been started in our great cities. Although the population of those cities may have doubled or more the number of newspapers tends to decrease and not to increase. Well, here is the explanation for this singular fact. No one but a multi-millionaire can start a daily paper now and even a multi-millionaire cannot keep one afloat without the assistance of the money power. Take any newspaper in the dull months of summer. The receipts from advertising and sales fall far short of the expenses; the paper must go on, it cannot stop; it cannot materially curtail those daily expenses that tend constantly to become greater. To get through the slack season it must have accommodations, which means ready money; it can get those accommodations from but one source, for the Central Interests control the banks and the money supply. It is therefore thrown into their power; they have their clutch upon its very heart; conduct your newspaper upon safe, sane and conservative grounds or you get no money and go to the wall. The editorial gentlemen may rave and the public imagine a vain thing; in the business office, where the paper really lives, there is no hallucination about it and before long the whole establishment is sailing along on a course laid down by the Interests.

Just how this works in practice was shown recently in the case of Hampton's Magazine, in New York. It was warned not to publish an article attacking Mr. Morgan and the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad. It disregarded the

warning and went ahead with the article. Immediately afterward it found that it could not borrow a dollar at any bank in New York upon any security whatsoever. It was in reality prosperous and making a profit, but to navigate it must have accommodations; for these it must go to the banks; and after the word had been given out from headquarters there was not a bank in the country that would accept any of its paper no matter how endorsed nor how backed with unquestionable securities. The result was that the magazine could not go on and its owners were obliged to dispose of it. The explicit threat had been made to them that they would be ruined; this was the manner in which the threat was carried out. What a tremendous power is here! How absurd to speak of a free press when over the head of every publisher is held such a coercion! Print what we want you to print or down you go. The censorship in Russia was never more autocratic nor absolute. I have known cases where the presidents of banks have directly notified newspaper managers that they must not print certain lines of news if they expected to get any money at the banks, and the injunction has always been obeyed. There was nothing else to do; the bank had the whip hand over the newspapers just as the Central Interests had the whip hand over the bank.

Some of the newspapers are permanently financed and kept by the Central Interests; some are mortgaged, some are secretly owned. You must understand that a great many daily newspapers in this country are published at a loss; I suppose that taking the country this is true of a majority of them. Since the days of Jay Gould and C. P. Huntington it has been customary for the Interests to secure their control over some of these needy publications by practically assuming the annual loss. The curious may find exact information as to the manner of this in the celebrated Colton letters of C. P. Huntington, but persons on the inside of newspaper secrets will need no such revelation; the thing is too common.

Where this is not the plan the mortgage is a handy and useful disguise for the control that is the real object of the Interests. Two of the foremost daily newspapers of New York city are held

hard and fast by this secure tenure. One of them is the out and out, willing, zealous and faithful drudge of the Interests. It is a harlot and likes the business; it will sit for company all night and then go upon the street and joyously flaunt all the scarlet signs of its calling while it looks for more custom. The other is demure and practices its vocation under the guise of respectability. It favors all public reforms that do not interfere with the profits of its masters. It is strong for morality and all that sort of thing, including what is vaguely but conveniently known as good government. It sternly rebukes Tammany Hall and all the low-brows and rough-necks whenever it happens that these elements are not engaged in carrying an election for Mr. Ryan and the traction Interests. It is the professed champions of the "better classes" but all the time it is nothing but a harlot—kept through a mortgage.

There are more of these sheets scattered about the country than the uninitiated ever suspect. If you want to know who really owns the newspaper that with such avidity you peruse over your breakfast table and whose are the opinions that you daily imbibe therefrom you must look over the mortgage lists in your county. You would probably be much amazed if you could understand the purport of some of them.

4. The newspapers that are dominated through their advertising accounts.

This is the most potent influence of all, the commonest and the most constant. It is always present; no newspaper can possibly escape it. It supplements all the other influences; it works efficiently where the other influences have been evaded. It is always at work and everywhere. It is intangible, indomitable and irresistible, and it is steadily dragging the entire American press at the heels of the corporation chariot. Let the newspaper proprietor or editor be, in purpose and conviction, as independent as he will, this thing will get him at last. No resolution and no endeavor can avail against it, and its strength is not the strength of men's wills or minds but the strength of vast and uncontrollable evolutions and conditions.

With very few exceptions the American newspaper is manufactured at a loss. Its

sales price does not cover the cost of the white paper it is printed upon, to say nothing of press work, ink, rent, insurance, taxes, editorial labor and other items. Every copy is sold at a loss on the cost of manufacture, and the greater the circulation the greater the loss.

Therefore it is thrown wholly upon its advertising, not merely for its profits, if there are to be any, but for its existence from day to day. The necessity is sheer and absolutely imperative. Life and death are involved; it must have the advertising or it will cease to exist.

In these days the bulk of display advertising comes from the department stores.

The ownership of the department stores, like the ownership of the street railroads and of the other public utilities, is steadily narrowing. Year by year the process of evolution that brought the department store into being is unifying its ownership. Year by year the "chain" store stretches over the country, and always the chain comes eventually into the same hands.

Where the department store is not owned outright by the Central Interests it is strictly under their control. It likewise must have money; it likewise can get money from but the one source. When years ago the control of the money supply of this nation was allowed to pass into the hands of a small coterie of financiers there was erected a power greater than was ever swayed by any conqueror or emperor in the world's history. This coterie, now composed of the same identical men that control the railroad interests and most of the productive industry of the United States, can refuse money supplies to any department store that advertises in any newspaper inimical to their acts or profits. They not only can refuse it but innumerable times they have refused it until now the department stores have come to act instinctively as the Interests desire. They will not advertise in any newspapers except those that are good and go along with the game.

Whenever they put forth that power the newspaper involved has nothing to do but to surrender and make the best terms it can. The Interests have the strangle hold upon it.

This accounts for the dailies. As for

the weeklies, they are easily kept in line by their local banks and their local business men, who are also tied up to the banks.

So stands the circle complete. I do not overlook the small and diminishing number of good newspaper men that being in charge of journals see the sure drift of the times and strive conscientiously against it; men like Fremont Older of the San Francisco Bulletin and the managing editors of the Scripps combination. These men have respect for their profession; they revolt against its pollution. Yet even they can do next to nothing to stem the tide. The newspapers they guide are also more or less at the mercy of conditions; they too must have money and can get it only at the one source; they too must have advertising and can get it only from enterprises that are strung up to the Central Interests. Soon or late they must be driven down with the rest; not because of anybody's will or design but because conditions are so framed that nothing else is possible.

It was necessary first to get the methods of newspaper control clearly stated before we could come to the results of that control, which is the most important matter we have to consider here.

Every one of these kept and controlled newspapers has what is called its "news policy"—which means its attitude toward daily events and the scheme according to which its columns are colored.

If you ever heard of such a thing you probably thought it a merely technical device pertaining only to the newspaper office, a thing like a press or a counter. As a matter of fact the whole subject hinges here and nothing else about your newspaper is of so much importance to you.

Every day you are accustomed to read in your favorite journal elaborate reports purporting to be of current events. There is nothing to warn you, nothing to arouse your suspicions; you read that this event or that occurred yesterday; and as you read you get a certain impression of that event upon which you form your opinion.

You believe that impression to be created by the event. In ninety-nine cases in one hundred the impression is not created from any such source but by the

manner in which the event is described.

You could read another account of it from another source and receive a totally different impression leading to quite another opinion. You seldom do read any other account; hence your mind is, as a matter of fact, completely at the mercy of the man that writes that one account, and he in turn is directed by the "news policy" of his journal, which is arranged to suit the exigencies of the business office, which must keep close to the advertisers, who are tied through the banks to the Central Interests. And by this declension, lo! the predatory forces that you probably fear and abhor and regard as your country's enemies are daily in direct and subtle contact with your mind and busily at work forming your opinions.

Or to put it in another way, attached to that reporter's pencil is a string that leads a thousand miles hither and thither but ends in the hands of men that have an object in creating a certain impression. Someone gives a pull on this string and the next day you are reading tainted news and never know it.

That is the "news policy." Usually it consists of a definite understanding in the newspaper office that reports of events are to be so handled that certain interests or persons shall not be offended. "We don't print anything that would give them the worst of it," said a city editor, referring to a piece of news about the Metropolitan Street Railroad that he had conscientiously suppressed. He said it in perfect good faith and with a kind of naïve astonishment that anybody should think the matter important. It was perfectly well known in his office that this course was to be steered; it was part of the "news policy"; it had always been part of that policy; long familiarity had made him regard it as not only reasonable but absolutely right. That was what his journal wanted and he was there to give it its desire; so he discharged a reporter that wrote something of a disagreeable nature about the traction thieves. His business was to protect them.

In precisely the same way it is the "news policy" of the papers of New York not to allow anything of an unpleasant nature to appear regarding banks or the

condition of business. You can no more get an accurate impression about the real condition of business from a New York paper than you can from one in Siam. It is part of the game to make everybody think that all is well in the markets, although, as a matter of fact, the bottom may be dropping out of everything. Consequently, the newspapers play the game. That is what is required of them by the Interests that hold the strings and exercise the American censorship.

The vast extent of this evil cannot be imagined by anyone that has not industriously followed it. Let me give one or two illustrations. They can afford no gauge of the practice but they may indicate its nature.

Most of the telegraphic and nine-tenths of the cabled news printed in American newspapers is furnished by an institution called the Associated Press. Its function is to gather news and send it in identical form to all the journals that belong to the association. Through it millions of readers can be reached every day with the same matter.

An engine of such almost inconceivable power for influencing public opinion would not be likely long to escape the attention of the Interests. They early in the game laid hands upon it and now it is conducted in part for the benefit and largely at the direction of Mr. Morgan and his associates.

It is held by the gentlemen exercising this control that there should not be printed anything that tends to show a spirit of revolt among the people anywhere, and it is also held to be desirable that the Catholic church should be upheld and strengthened. These are points in their own "news policy."

Now observe: The execution of Francesco Ferrer was as cold-blooded a judicial murder as ever occurred in this world. It was a pure piece of mediaevalism, a revival of the Spanish Inquisition, a savage cruelty without palliation. If it had happened in the sixteenth century we should shudder as we read of it in our Motley and abhorring the fiends capable of such an atrocity, give thanks that such times had passed away.

So long as it possibly could the Associated Press ignored the story. When it

could no longer suppress the news it sent out an account that was manifestly, and, to any one acquainted with the facts, grossly unfair to Ferrer. Its "news policy" was to give the best of it to royalty and the church.

This perverted and poisoned despatch was sent all about the country and read by millions, the vast majority of whom had no other knowledge of the affair.

It came to the office of one of the greatest and most famous of New York dailies which also had a "news policy" covering such things. And someone in that office took that despatch and injected into it about five or six sentences of pure venom, and when that was done no one unfamiliar with the facts could read the story without feeling that the execution was a just and proper thing and the earth was rid of a dreadful beast when Ferrer was put to death.

The result of these perversions was to create such a false impression about the matter that there never was any adequate protest from America against an outrage that stirred all the rest of the world to indignant outcries.

Here was a case where deliberately tainted news gave to practically an entire people a false impression that no amount of protest has ever been able to remove. Is not this a tremendous power? Where in the history of the world has there existed its like? What compared to this was the power of Napoleon at the height of his glory? What empire that ever was erected in this world was the equal of the empire over the minds, thoughts, opinions and actions of the hundreds of millions of Christendom?

This is an illustration from international affairs. If you wish another you need only refer to the well-known case of the Boer war, wherein a great and powerful nation was allowed to suppress a small and weak country for the sole benefit of certain mine owners and stock speculators and the world submitted to the infamy because it was persistently and successfully lied to about the nature and origin of the trouble. Perhaps you believe that enlightened opinion is the true safeguard against war and the true protection of the weak against the strong. Then let me tell you that if you will consider well of the history of the Boer war

you will perceive that the men that sway this colossal power of tainting the world's news are able to make war at any time in any part of the world, and are able to distort and misrepresent the facts that they can make you too believe in a war and shout for it. What a power is this to lie in the hands of men whose only concern in humanity is to prey upon it!

Let me show you next a case more recent and nearer home. On the 25th of last January occurred the most deplorable tragedy that removed the brightest of young American novelists, David Graham Phillips. It was the work of a madman; of that there is no more doubt than there is of the revolution of the earth; without fault on poor Phillips' part and without origin in anybody's belief or doctrine, a lunatic's reasonless deed and nothing else. It is part of the "news policy" of one of the New York newspapers to give the Socialists and Socialism what is known as "the worst of it" upon every possible occasion. This newspaper got up a wild-eyed story, without foundation in any fact, that Phillips had been murdered by a Socialist because he had declined to ally himself with the Socialist cause. Its attention was called to this most bare faced and preposterous fake; it persistently refused to correct it. So in the minds of its readers the story stands today, and so strong are first impressions that from the average mind among those readers it would be found almost impossible to dislodge the belief. Socialism got "the worst of it," for such was the "news policy" of the paper. But how many of the readers thereof will ever suspect that every day they are being stuffed with similar lies as the result of the "policy?"

It is the deliberate manufacture of what goes for news that does the harm. Nobody is influenced now by editorials. There used to be such an influence in the days of "old Greeley" and "old Raymond" but now that is all dead and gone. What influences the American people today is the news column; they make up their minds from what they regard as events. If these events are described to them in a way that practically compels them to come to a certain conclusion and that conclusion is for the benefit of the gentlemen that profit from existing con-

ditions, how tremendous is the task of ever dislodging this gang!

Two years ago we were holding the first national conference in behalf of the negro. One of the New York newspapers had a "news policy" inimical to the purpose of the conference. It put into the mouth of one of the speakers, Bishop Walters, a remark that he never dreamed of making and could not possibly make, a disgusting and revolting remark, that could not fail to prejudice the mind of any reader against any conference that would listen in silence to such a thing. An indignant protest was sent to the editor of the journal that perpetrated this infamy, with a demand for a correction. He never printed the letter, nor acknowledged it in any way, nor did his paper ever afford us the shadow of a correction. Its "news policy" was to give the worst of it to any such conference, and it proceeded to follow its policy by manufacturing remarks and putting them into the mouths of speakers. We were two years recovering from the injury wrought by that one simple fake.

There is no cause that cannot similarly be disgraced and defeated. Imagine then what show any cause will have that threatens the supremacy of the Interests by whom all these newspapers are absolutely controlled! It is no longer wonderful that the American people submit to the tyranny of their corporations. The wonder is that any persons are aware of the facts and prepared to make revolt.

Because such adept work in the use of poisons as I have indicated in these few examples is going on all the time. There is no item that you read in any copy of any newspaper conducted for profits that may not be similarly dosed and for similar results upon your minds. Howsoever innocent it may appear, how much a matter of routine, how plain or how ordinary, make no difference. The simplest item is probably cooked in accordance with the recipes of the "news policy" for the purpose of protecting some Interest or furthering some game. Of all this you would have ample and visible proof if by any chance you could get hold of one of the lists of things forbidden that is now a part of the outfit of every metropolitan

newspaper office; persons, corporations, enterprises and movement that are not to be mentioned, schemes and men that are to be boosted at every opportunity. If you could see one of these you would understand how difficult and intricate has become the work of steering by the "news policy" and how important to the gentlemen that hold the ends of the strings.

By this time I think all the old glamor and romance must be out of this business. There is no longer an idea of getting news for public consumption, of serving a constituency, of giving to readers the truthful and accurate picture of a veritable event. The romance is all gone. What is left is nothing but the sordid manufacture of something for profits. The newspaper is the most thoroughly commercial of modern enterprises. It exists for the balance sheet and for no other purpose. It manufactures a certain product. To get rid of that product and make money therefrom it must shape the product to suite the taste of the gentlemen that control the advertising and hold the money bag. Consequently it is so shaped regardless of facts or warrant.

What then is the average man to do about his newspaper reading if he does not really care to be forever fooled and misled and lied to?

To this question I know of but two answers. He can keep on reading the profit mongering press, bearing himself constantly on his guard and disbelieving all he reads; or he can restrict his newspaper reading to journals like the Socialist dailies that are published for other purposes than to make money. In the former case he will be obliged to say to himself a hundred times a day, "I don't know whether there is any truth in this or not, and I shall not allow myself to accept it nor to form any opinion upon it." In the latter case his reading will be somewhat small in amount if good in quality. But in that latter case he can also comfort himself that what he is missing is something of not the slightest value to him. For how shall it profit a man to regale himself daily with the trivialities and scandals with which the kept press seasons the service it renders to the men that pay its board?



NEW ZEALAND WORKERS.

REFORM LEGISLATION IN NEW ZEALAND

BY

A. CRAWFORD

Editor of The Voice of Labor, British South Africa.

NEW ZEALAND reform legislation has attracted the attention of the whole civilized world. I don't know why.

Many badly informed persons think that New Zealand has a Socialist government or something akin to it. If that is so, I don't want Socialist government.

The reform legislation of New Zealand is a gigantic fraud—the most gigantic fraud ever perpetrated upon the American working class. It is time some one told the truth about it.

Some day I may write the necessary volumes myself, but to economize on my own time and the REVIEW's valuable space, I will tell a little part of the truth.

No reform exists in New Zealand that did not first exist and prove to be quite "safe" in a European country.

In other words, New Zealand has a Department of Labor which watches the experiments of other countries in social reforms and adopts those calculated to have a soporific effect upon the working class.

Mr. Edward Tregear has been at the head of this department since its inception twenty years ago. He is a declared Socialist who thinks that a raid might surreptitiously be made upon the fortresses of capital.

After twenty years trying he can only point to what reform legislation has done for employers and how new industries have been encouraged to operate in New Zealand.

A few months ago, on the eve of his retirement, Mr. Tregear informed me that he had not secured one-hundredth part of what he had attempted in the way of im-

proved conditions of labor. He meant that ALL he had attempted in the working class interest had been turned down. After twenty years!

In his last annual report (19th), Mr. Tregear says *inter alia*: "The latest developments in connection with the conduct of labor exchanges in other countries are being closely watched in order to apply them here in New Zealand if considered feasible," which proves out of Mr. Tregear's own lips what I say of him and his department.

New Zealand has no eight-hour law, although everybody thinks so. There is, however, a provision in the Mining Act, which compels employers to pay overtime to miners who work more than eight hours in any one day.

If you have been twenty-five years in the country, never been to jail, are over sixty-five years of age and are considered to have led the life of a "sober and respectable" person, you may (there being other disqualifying conditions) become entitled to a pension, ranging from the smallest sum to an amount not exceeding two and a half dollars per week.

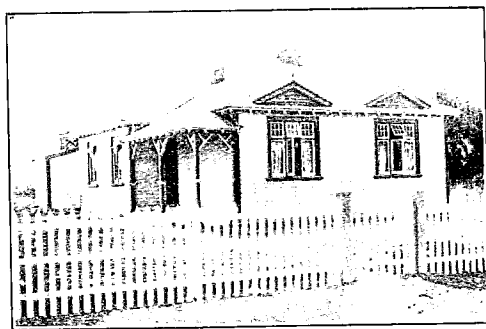
If you have made up your mind to qualify for that pension you are the sort of person who can risk a loan from the government to build a home. You must be able to put down fifty dollars for a start, otherwise you are not fit to be helped. A suitable piece of land will be found something more than a convenient distance from your job and the nearest town.

In a recent government report on workmen's dwellings it is stated that workers cannot be got to rent the houses built for rent by the government at Petone, near Wellington. The reason given is that the houses are too far out of town.

You can then borrow money from the government at interest slightly below that of the private money lender.

In thirty years' time you will have paid for your house thrice over or more; once on account of the principal and twice on account of the interest to London and continental money lenders, through their agents and tools—the New Zealand government.

Of course, in these thirty years, you



WORKMEN'S DWELLINGS—OWNED BY GOVERNMENT.

have survived four crises. As there are only four towns in New Zealand with populations over 15,000 and none with populations over 100,000, and as these are distant from each other, you will have lived the life of a meek and humble wage slave. When you have been compelled to respectfully ask your boss the reason for some little reduction in your spending wage and he tells you that cheap money from the government has brought down rents and therefore made living cheaper; that, therefore, competition compels him to do to you as other do to him—when you hear his little lecture on economics, you will become learned and go away in peace, otherwise you will be "canned" and compelled to go to distant towns to seek a job. Not being able to take your house with you, you would then have to sell the portion of it, if any, still owned by you. Then you would learn that what you pay for a suburban home and what you get on sale for one are distressingly different things.

Some miles north of Christchurch, New Zealand, flows the Wainakariri river. Walking along its banks one day I hit upon an encampment of pensioned citizens. Here were poor old fellows who had given their lives that forest lands might become transformed into pastures green, that railways might make life possible in the interior they had tunneled mountains, bridged chasms and formed embankments.

These weekly pensions of two and a half dollars are wisely spent and scientifically proportioned, from a capitalist point of view. Less would not have rid the town of the hateful beggar so dis-

turbing to bourgeoisie conscience. More would have brought the old pioneers to town to live. On the sum they receive they buy provisions and take them to their homes on the river bank, where they wait for death patiently, having nothing else to do.

I have been in homes, too, where strong men wept to think they had been so foolish as to sell their manhood for a slave pen. Here was a place they could not leave—a prison, not a home. He had a boss he could not answer; he was a slave. James A. Patten, the millionaire "hold-up," was right when he wrote:

"My advice to the young man would be, 'Never buy and own your own home—that is, unless you have a fortune. It is a luxury that ties up many bright and energetic young men.'"

That workingmen's homes, old-age pensions, insurance schemes, etc., under capitalism, have a soporific effect on workingmen is painfully obvious in the tameness with which New Zealand workers submit to capitalist exploitation. A land without strikes forsooth! There can be no strikes without strikers, and no strikers without spines. And reform legislation is not calculated to develop spines.

But the greatest reforms in New Zealand are found in matters governing the relations of workingmen and their masters. New Zealand legislators have staked their reputations on this measure and assert that no class war need exist. Let us inquire into the truth of this.

The industrial conciliation of arbitration act, the product of the fertile brain of the Hon. W. P. Reeves, late High Commissioner for New Zealand in London, was passed in 1894.

It was amended in 1895.

It was amended again in 1896.

It was amended again in 1898.

It was consolidated in 1900

It was amended in 1901.

It was amended again in 1902.

It was amended again in 1903.

It was amended again in 1904.

It was compiled in 1905.

It was again amended in 1905.

It was again amended in 1906.

It was consolidated in 1908.

It was again amended in 1908.

It is found to be still unworkable in its present form and is again to be amended.

The constant prayer of the capitalist politician in New Zealand is "For ever and ever amen(d)"—Capitalism, of course!

So it is with all reforms. In the mouths of politicians they are a cure for all social ills. As laws on the statute book they are the CAUSE of all social ills.

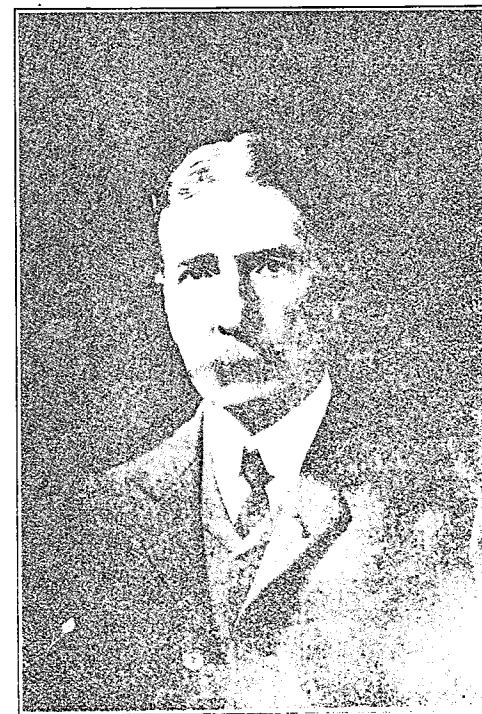
The workers' representative on the New Zealand arbitration court is a reformer. I asked him in January last what he thought of his arbitration law.

"It's all right," said he, "but it wants reforming."

I got the same answer from the officials in charge of the Labor Department.

The next reform you see will reform the reform of 1908, which reformed the law of 1908, which consolidated previous reforms and reformed the reform of 1906, which reformed the reform of 1905, which reformed the compiled laws of 1905, which ——— Humbug!

All reforms are humbug!



EDWARD TREGEAR.

There are 428 "Industrial Unions" in New Zealand, of which 120 are Employers' and 308 Employees'. There "industrial unions" is defined by law as "societies consisting of three or more EMPLOYERS or of fifteen or more workers."

Industrial unions, to take advantage of the Arbitration Court, must register, and before they can register their rules must satisfy the "Registrar."

The demands of the registrar have become so exacting that the government has found it necessary to issue a printed set of "Model Rules" and instructions on "How to register unions and associations under the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Acts."

The words, sentences and paragraphs in the model rules which are underlined MUST be inserted.

A suggested object and an indication of the spirit of the rules is "to establish good feelings between employers and employed."

There isn't much chance of a REAL Industrial Union being registered.

The "Arbitration" court consists of a judge invested with the powers and status of a judge of the supreme court, sitting with two members, one appointed on the recommendation of the employers' unions and one on that of the workers' unions."

The appointment is for three years at an annual salary of \$2,500 and \$1,500 expenses. This lifts a workingman out of his class at a jump.

The judge gets \$10,000 a year to decide whether or not John Jones and his family can live on \$1.75 per day or whether he should have \$2. Not being able to judge from personal experience, the judge judges thusly: (If I have not used the exact words I make no mistake about the principle.)

John Jones stands in the witness box. He claims on behalf of himself and fellow unionists that he cannot live on \$1.75 and wants \$2.

Says the Judge to the horny-handed John: "Are you a married man, Mr. Smith?"

"Yes, your honor," comes the meek reply.

"Wife alive?"

"Yes, your honor."

"How many children have you?"

"Three, your honor."

"How many potatoes do you eat per day?"

"Two, your honor."

"And your wife?"

"Two too your honor."

"Tu tu, what do you mean? Oh, I see, t-w-o t-o-o?"

"Yes, your honor."

"And the children?"

"Three, your honor."

"I know you have three children, but what I want to know is—how many potatoes do they eat? Remember you are on your oath."

"Three, your honor."

"Oh, I see," etc., etc., the same process with other commodities.

Mr. Shortweight the grocer is specially subpoenaed and stands before the judge.

"What is the price of potatoes?" Mr. Shortweight?" asks the Judge with a gracious smile.

"Tuppence a pound, sir," says Shortweight.

"And sugar?"

"Tuppence ha' penny, sir."

And so on, the butcher and all necessary expert evidence being called, the judge finally striking a careful average weight per potato, etc., average number used per day and multiplying the number of pounds by the price per pound, adding the total values of all commodities necessary to a workingman and his family, he declares certain wages and conditions of employment.

Judge Higgins of the Victorian Arbitration Court, Australia, said only a few weeks ago:

"One dollar and seventy-five cents will enable a man to maintain a wife and five children in comfort and tide over periods of sickness, provide educational facilities and make some provision for old age."

Judge Higgins only gets \$15,000 a year, or \$50 per day. Of course he ought to know.

* * * * *

Arbitration is a farce. Sometimes I think a tragedy. A worker goes to the arbitration court to learn his status as a slave.

A man who dines at fashionable hotels

decides that the worker should dine at a cheap eating house.

One man who lives in a palace allots a hovel to his fellow worm.

He who rides an automobile says, "Let that man walk."

He whose wife dons silks and satins decides that Mrs. Jones shall wear cheap print.

His little children have a well supplied nursery; the worker's children are allocated to a mud-hole.

And the workers stand for this!

In making awards the Judge may lay down a minimum rate of wage, but with it he gives permission to masters to employ one underpaid man in every three.

A worker may apply to the court for a certificate of inefficiency to enable him to work for wages below the minimum.

The Judge may stipulate that Unionists should get preference of employment and fine employers who do not give a union man the job if he can perform the work as well as a non-union man.

As a result everybody joins the Union—even the scabs.

In return for a preference award the Union can't refuse to admit a respectable person. The Wellington Cooks and Waiters had a preference award and prosecuted an employer who had a Chinaman in his employ not in the Union. When asked if they would accept the Chinaman as a member, the Union said "No." The preference clause under these circumstances was inoperative.

The Judge can fix entrance fee and week's subscription payable into the Union and seldom allows a Union to charge more than \$1.25 entrance fee and 50c per month subscription.

Union secretaries give out the jobs, but a Union is not a job trust because it can't keep other workers out of the Unions. It can neither raise the entrance fee against them nor refuse to accept them as members. Some workers belong to as many as four Unions at a time for the sake—not of Unionism, but of jobs.

In Australia it is quite common for employers to indicate the nuisance jobless workers are to him. Notices are posted requesting men looking for work "Not to loiter about the place." The New Zealand employer has solved this by ordering his "hands" from the Union secretary.

Says Mr. Tregear in his report: "By the awards of the Arbitration Court, many unions have been granted certain conditions, and this has resulted in making some union offices veritable labor exchanges." The report goes on to say that the Government cannot organize a labor exchange because "some of the Union officials prefer to do this work themselves."

I have walked through a New Zealand town with a Union secretary, upon whom dozens of workless workers would fix their wistful eyes. "Come to my office at four," he would say to one. "See me on Monday" to another and, conscious of his power, he strutted around like a "duke."

And the workers of New Zealand tolerate this!

Where opportunity offers, however, they flee from it. Here are some recent statistics taken from the New Zealand Government Gazette of January 20, 1911:

During 1910, 35,769 persons arrived in New Zealand and 32,361 departed, an excess in favor of arrivals of 3,408.

Of these 9,367 persons arrived from England and 2,509 departed for England—an excess from England of 6,858.

From Australia 24,502 persons arrived in New Zealand and the departures there numbered 27,100—an excess to Australia of 2,598.

Two thousand seven hundred and fifty-two persons went to other countries and 1,900 came from other countries—an excess to other countries of 852.

So you see, this very "Socialistic" land entices the workers from England in thousands and a proportion escapes to other lands.

A working man can get out to Australia for \$30 upwards and a woman for half that, but it costs them \$75 to escape to the nearest "other" country.

Everything is done to attract the cheap English workers in their thousands and keep them in the islands of the Antipodes.

New Zealand has taken recently to importing boys to substitute adult labor on farms!

Some poor devils think even Hell is better and go there; especially is this so in the English winter.

What I have said is nothing to what can be said of the baneful influence on the world of so-called New Zealand "palliatives," but surely I have said enough.

egg, larva, chrysalis and adult. From the eggs of the moth the tiny worms scarcely an eighth of an inch in length, gnaw their way out.

Small, tender mulberry leaves are fed, the young worm simply piercing and sucking the sap. Soon the worms become large enough to eat the leaves themselves. Their jaws move sidewise and silk culturist report that several thousand worms eating make a noise like falling rain.

Women or girls keep the worms on trays of matting placed on racks. The leaves are placed beside the worms. The worms breathe through spiracles, small holes down each side of the body. They have no eyes but are very sensitive to jarring. The rapid growth of silk worms is marvelous. During the few days prior to its spinning, the worm often grows from one and one-fourth to two inches in length. At all ages the silk worm secretes silk to protect itself from injury. When in danger of falling it instantly fastens a silken thread to whatever it may be standing upon. In case of accident, the worm uses this thread, which is strong enough

to sustain its weight, as a ladder to go either up or down. In ascending the thread is wound around its forelegs to shorten it. The thread is always strong enough to sustain the worm.

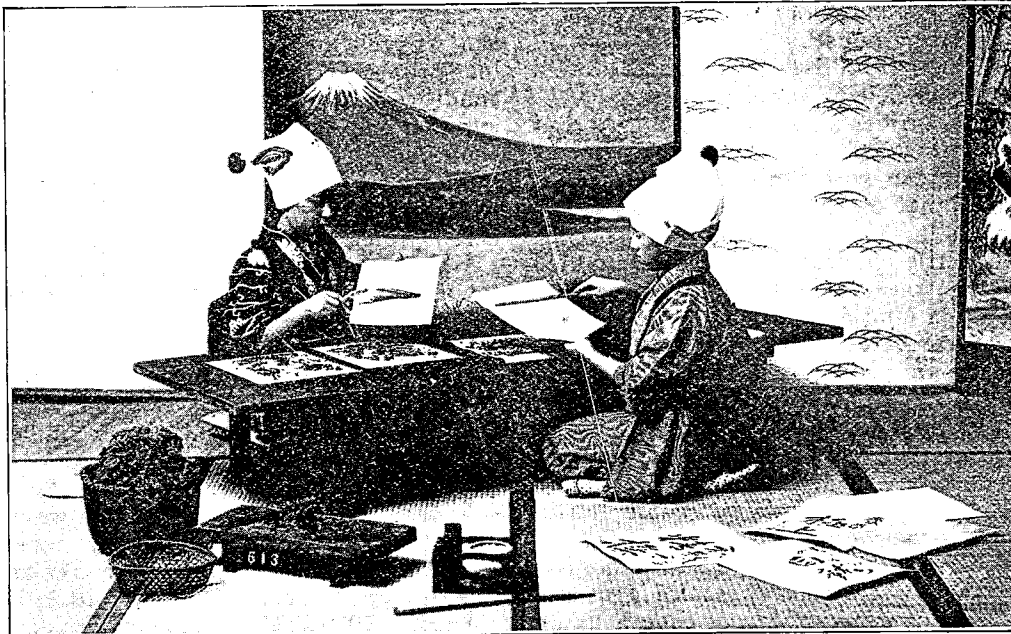
Upon attaining its full growth, the worm is ready to spin its cocoon. It seeks a quiet corner and moves its head from side to side to find an object to which it may attach its guy lines, within which to build its cocoon. The worm works incessantly, forcing the silk out by the contraction of its body.

The cocoon is tough, strong and compact, composed of a firm, continuous thread. When the worm first begins spinning its work is very rapid. From nine to twelve inches of silk flow from it every minute.

Soon the ten prolegs of the worm disappear and the four wings of the future moth are folded over the breast together with six legs and two feelers. With no jaws, and confined within the narrow space of the cocoon, the moth has difficulty in escaping. After two or three weeks the shell of the chrysalis bursts and the moth ejects against the end of the



TAKING COCOONS FROM MULBERRY BRANCHES.



Photos by Courtesy of Marshall Field & Co.
WORMS HATCHING FROM MOTH EGGS.

THE BUSY SILK WORM

BY

MARY E. MARCY

(Data supplied by the Corticelli Silk Mills)

THE wonderful insect that makes silk is the larva of the mulberry silk-moth of China, commonly called the silk worm. First reared in China, it is now extensively cultivated in China, Japan, Italy, France, Spain and other European countries. Owing to the higher price of labor power in the United States, capitalists cannot here compete with these countries in the production of raw silk. They go "abroad."

The silk industry originated in China and, according to historians, has existed there from a very remote period. The Empress, known as the Lady Si-ling, encouraged the cultivation of the mulberry tree, the rearing of silk worms and the reeling of silk as early as 2640 B. C. She

is said to have devoted herself to the care of silk worms and the Chinese credit her with the invention of the loom.

For many years the Chinese guarded the secrets of their art with vigilant jealousy. No one, under pain of death, was allowed to export the silk worm from China. The Emperor Aurelian is said to have refused his empress a silken robe on the ground of its great costliness. Silk was worth its weight in gold.

According to a tradition, the eggs of the silk moth and the seed of the mulberry tree were first carried to India by a Chinese princess concealed in the lining of her head dress.

The silk-moth, so important in the field of manufacture, exists in four states—

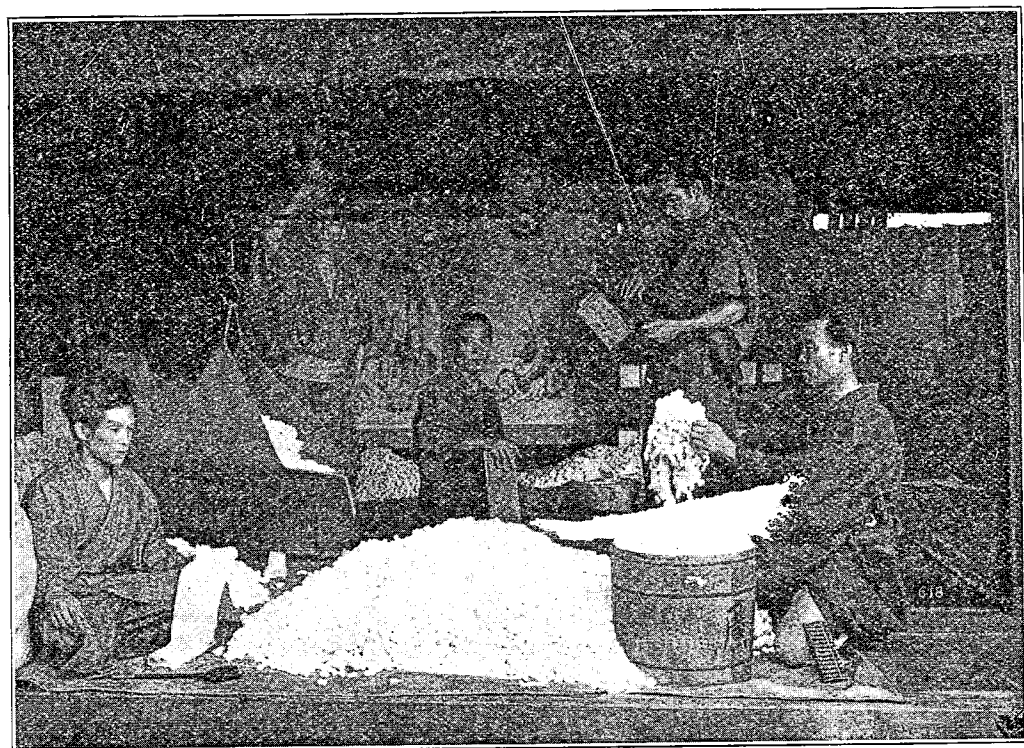
cocoon a strongly alkaline liquid which moistens and dissolves the hard gummy lining. Pushing aside the silken threads, sometimes breaking them, the moth emerges. But the escape of the moth breaks so many threads that the cocoons are spoiled for reeling, so that when the moths are not intended for seed the cocoons are placed in a steam heater to stifle the chrysalis. Then the silk may be reeled at any time.

The moths have no mouths but they do have eyes. From the time the silk worm

twig and plunges the cocoon into warm water. The end of the silk thread is then found and the cocoon carefully unwound.

The threads of four or more cocoons are gathered together, according to the size thread wanted. These are twisted around each other either by foot or machine power.

Imported raw silk comes in skeins of from one to several ounces, packed into bundles called "books." In China and Japan the books are usually sold in bales varying from 100 to 160 pounds.



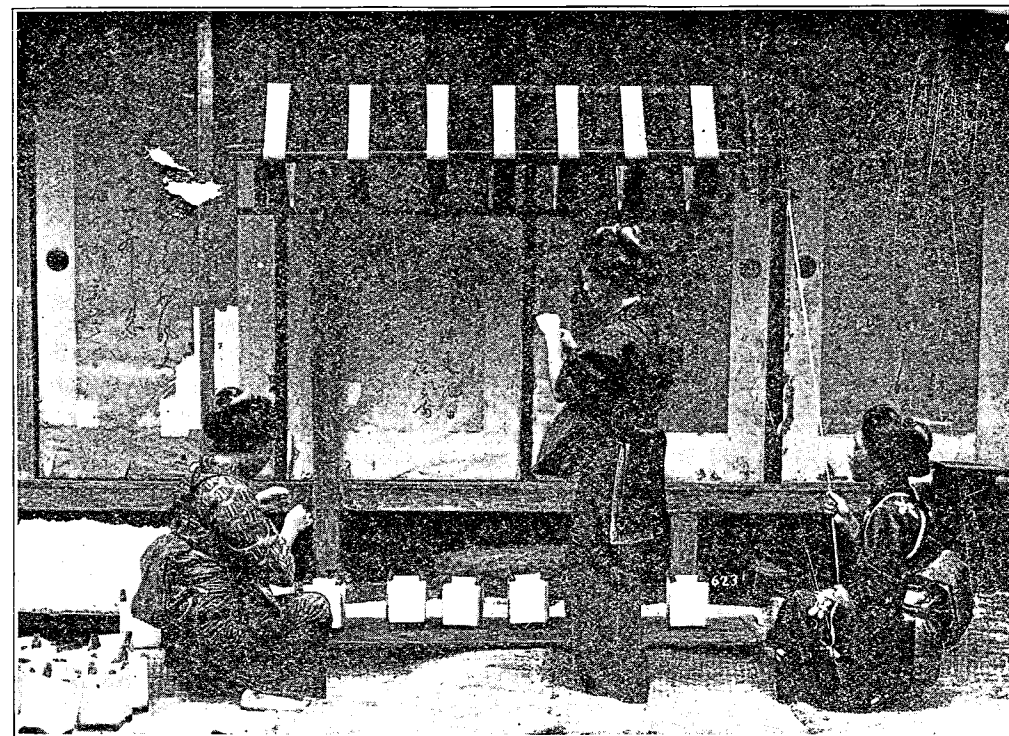
SELLING COCOONS.

begins to spin the cocoon till the moth emerges and reproduces itself in the shape of eggs, the insect eats nothing. Soon after mating the eggs are laid. The moth lays from three to four hundred eggs. It would take thirty thousand of these eggs to weigh one ounce. It takes from twenty-five hundred to three thousand cocoons to make a pound of reeled silk.

Silk is nearly always sent to the United States reeled, ready for the manufacturer. The silk operator brushes aside the silk threads that fasten the cocoon to the

It is a fact rarely known that silk is the strongest fibre known to science, as well as the only fibre proof against decay. Cotton will soon mildew and rot away, while silk is in its element when wet and may even be soaked in water without impairing its strength.

Sericulture is interested in rearing silk worms under artificial or what we might call domestic conditions, their feeding and securing cocoons. It is also interested in maturing a sufficient number of moths to supply eggs for the cultivation



REELING RAW SILK FROM COCOONS.

of the following year. Under domestication the eggs of the silk worm are hatched out by artificial heat when the mulberry leaves are ready for feeding the larvae.

The Bacological Institute of Trent (Austrian Tyrol) was founded for the purpose of making Tyrolese silk culturists independent of imported "seed" or silk worm eggs. The production of some eggs of good breeds is most important.

This institute keeps about 25,000 ounces of eggs through the winter in cold storage in a current of dry air. In April the eggs are shipped to domestic and foreign purchasers to whom they are sold. Each ounce of eggs yields about 160 pounds of cocoons of a very high quality.

When the cocoons are received at the institute, the female cocoons are separated from the males and all cocoons of abnormal appearance are rejected. A few co-

coons are brought rapidly to maturity in incubators heated to about 90 degrees F. and the consignment is not accepted unless healthy moths emerge from the sample cocoons. The cocoons are then placed singly in compartments or boxes and allowed to develop normally.

At the season when the moths emerge, 300 women are employed day and night in imprisoning the moths in cells of gauze or waxed paper which are mounted on frames and suspended from the ceiling. The imprisoned moths die after they have laid their eggs. The cells are then opened and the dead moths examined under the microscope.

The eggs produced by the healthy moths are collected from the cells, washed and spread out to dry on frames covered linen. These are used for future seed.

WANTED: THE NECESSITIES OF LIFE

By WILLIAM THURSTON BROWN

IF THE evolution of society should sometime cease to be, as now, a blind process and come under the control of a rational idea, what would that idea be? Would it not be this: That the only thing which can make it worth while for human beings to be born or to grow up lies in the freedom and expression of individuality, the sense of a personal creative function for every human being? Not the Rooseveltian ideal of a vast multiplication of human animals to become mere beasts of burden for a few to ride; not the subordination of the individual to the mass or to the coercive powers of any kind of government, but the frank subordination of all other things to the free and full expression of the individual life—this alone can justify any form of human association, or even make the world worth while.

There can be no difference of opinion as to the fact that the worth or even the significance of any nation or group of human beings, of any age or period in history, is to be measured not by its machinery, its inventions, its conveniences, its books or buildings or cities or any such thing, but solely by the freedom and

power and personality of its people.

If a beginning is to be made of abandoning the process of blind and unthinking evolution, such a beginning will take place in the sphere of ideas, of thought, reflection, will, where alone it can take place.

We are slowly making the discovery that there can be no such thing as education *unless, as a result, human beings discover their place and function in this evolving world*—unless, in other words, they are able to express their own personality. The so-called education afforded in the public schools is woefully defective in this supreme function. At its best, it merely fits boys and girls to become unthinking parts of an industrial system in which they have no voice or control. It teaches nothing of the problems of the day—nothing of economics, nothing of life. It develops no self-consciousness, no individuality.

Three things, above all others, are essential not only to education, but to life: first, a knowledge of the fact of revolution; second, the sense of personal freedom; and third, action. These three are the indispensable conditions of life. If

we have not these, we do not and cannot live. Without these, we are nothing but wooden figures, mere pieces of furniture in a mechanical and life-destroying system. And all these are in a measure possible to at least some of us. Some of us can know this fact of revolution. Some of us can exercise a measure of freedom. Many of us can at least act.

The Fact of Revolution.

The key to any clear knowledge of what the world means is the knowledge of REVOLUTION as the central and crucial fact of history—indeed, of the very days in which we are living. The great word of modern times—the word that is on all our lips, is "evolution." But it is only in Revolution that the significance or even the fact of evolution can be seen. We cannot see causes—hardly processes; we can only see effects and infer their causes.

No man or woman is acquainted with the alphabet of real knowledge until the fact of Revolution is grasped. In particular, three revolutions disclose and illumine the meaning of the world we live in and show us our place and function in it: *the revolution which resulted from the evolution of the tool of production; the revolution in man's whole conception of the world and of life produced by Darwin's great induction concerning the origin of species and the descent of man; and the proletarian revolution with which the whole civilized world today is insurgent because of the slave status of the working class.*

The evolution of the tool of production from hand manufacture to machine manufacture, from simple tools to complex tools, from the little shop to the big factory, wrought a complete and far-reaching revolution in the status of the laborer. It changed him from a condition of independence to one of dependence, from a free man to a slave. That was THE REVOLUTION. That revolution alone explains the meaning of our industrial and social system today. No man can understand our industrial and social system unless he knows about that revolution. That revolution is the key to effective knowledge for anyone. Lacking that knowledge, the world's workers are hopeless slaves. Possessed of that knowledge, they are on their way to freedom.

The study and observation of Charles Darwin, supplemented by those of other scientists, completely destroyed the foundations and superstructure of humanity's whole intellectual cosmos, and compel a new and revolutionary change in our whole thought of morals, of religion, of history, of life.

And now, as the inevitable product of these two tremendous revolutions culminating in the nineteenth century, we are in the rapids of another revolution; the world-wide uprising of the working class, forced as the price of its own existence to destroy the existing capitalist system and replace it with the republic of Labor, the regime of Socialism. If our thinking is sane and fruitful only as it corresponds with the data and conclusions of evolutionary science, our action and effort, either as individuals or en masse, can have meaning or value only as it fits into this pending revolutionary struggle.

It is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of the truth that none of us can be economically free until all are free, and that the path to any kind of freedom is a path of pain and martyrdom until every man's base of livelihood is secure. But it is just as important for us to know that no true freedom of the mind or soul ever can be the mere PRODUCT of some economic change. Not in a million years could men and women know real freedom or have it unless it is a fact of their own minds. The real freedom is not political or economic, but spiritual in the best sense of that much abused word. No conceivable political or industrial or social revolution in any future time will or can make free men and free women. The real freedom, without which there can be nothing worthy to be called life, never can be the product of any mechanical change. There is no magic in the whirling planets, in the changing seasons, in political enactments, or even in class struggles or victories, by which the minds of men and women take on new qualities or rise to a nobler stature. There isn't on this earth today more abject slavery on the part of men and women than in what is regarded as the freest nation in the world. And while it is perfectly true that Capitalism does make wage-slaves of fully two-thirds of the whole race, it is also true that "four

walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage." We do not have to wait till the dawn of the co-operative commonwealth before we claim and gain for ourselves some of the noblest and most vital treasures of life. Justly do we feel, fairly may we claim, that life cannot fulfill itself in a system based on economic mastership and industrial slavery. But no man or woman in all the world can be said to live at all, so long as it is true that a lot of silly superstitions and exploded beliefs are expressing themselves through such men and women. You and I cannot be some one else and really live at all. You live exactly and only in the measure in which you think your own thoughts and live your own life. Otherwise you are nothing but a quotation. In the measure in which you let any other human being or institution or book or what not think for you, you abdicate the throne of your own being and are guilty of the deepest treason life can know. We men and women must assert our freedom at any cost. Freedom and life are one.

Finally, the attainment of any possible good, whether socially or individually, hinges on ACTION. The need of clear knowledge must be evident to all of us. But knowledge becomes a mere dry rot, an empty sterile scholasticism, a dead body to which we tie ourselves—witness the mass of colleges and universities today and in all former days—*unless to knowledge is always added action.* The richest discovery of modern times in the sphere of education is the discovery that not the brain cells chiefly, not memory and imagination primarily, are the organs of education, but that the whole body, all its muscles, organs and activities, are the indispensable organs of education. The key to the new education is in that one word, "action." We learn by doing, *and in no other way.* If that is true of the child, it is true of the man or woman, true of a class or race. You have as much virtue as you are putting into action, AND NO MORE. You have as much knowledge as you are using, and no more. Wage slaves have or ever will have as much freedom, as much power, as much control in society or anywhere as you actually USE, and no more. Beware how you delegate any power or any function which you can yourselves exert. Beware how you let other people do things for

you, speak for you, act for you. That is precisely what Capitalism means. You are letting other people do things for you—and to you—instead of doing them yourselves. If ever you are to be free, you will have to legislate for yourselves, and you will never do that in Washington. You will do that in the industries where you work and by which you live.

Fellow-workers: this is a changing world. That is the kind of world you are in. Changing all the time. Don't forget that. The whole method of production has changed—from hand production to machine production. You were masters of hand production. You are not yet masters of machine production. That's why machine production is master of you. You must take into your own hands the control of the machines. You simply must. It is the price of your economic freedom. Unite as workers and you can do it.

But one of the reasons why you don't do it is *that you are letting other people do your thinking for you.* You consent to be intellectual slaves. You own the mastership of a book, of a church, of a priesthood, of a creed. That spells SLAVERY for you. You are not men and women, but wooden puppets that move at the will of the dead, so long as you accept any creed or faith or belief WHICH YOU HAVE NOT VERIFIED. Drop it. Cut it out. Leave it. Be free. Affirm the right of your own mind, of yourself.

And don't believe the man who says you must wait till some sweet by and by before you can be free. You can be free the moment you put your freedom into deed. You can be free as individuals today, *and no other time at all.* How? By living your own life. By doing what YOU think is right, what expresses YOU. You workers of the world can come into your own the moment you say so. AS A CLASS YOU HAVE ALL THE POWER THERE IS. All else depends on you. If you will exert YOUR power, the whole world is yours. Do it. Unite. Act. Take things into your own hands. Pay yourselves the full product of your toil. Wipe out these little parasites of politics and trade, of press and pulpit and office, and be your own masters.

THE COMING ECONOMIC REVOLUTION IN ABYSSINIA

BY

KELLETER d'AACHEN

ABYSSINIA is an especially interesting part of Africa. The old Ethiopian Kingdom has maintained its integrity up to the present time while so many other governments have risen, fallen and risen again.

It is the only native African state that, by force of arms, has compelled a European nation to acknowledge its independence. This country is somewhat larger than the state of Texas and twice as large as the British Islands. The people are well-built, clear-headed and independent, bearing very little resemblance to other African tribes. Economically they are in the advanced stage of nomadic herding and primitive agriculture.

Conditions in Abyssinia are not greatly different today from what they were 4,000 years ago. The small ruling class has maintained the independence of their country for a long period. For this they must have possessed much strength and ability. European travelers in Abyssinia have stated that they found the Abyssinians very just in their dealings.

Harrar is the leading center of trade. It is a queer old town with mud walls and gates that are shut at night. The buildings are chiefly of mud or sun-dried brick.

Adis-Abeba, the capital of Abyssinia, has a population of less than 50,000 inhabitants. It is the seat of the Abyssinian government and the residence of the Negus (King) and the native court. The United States and various European powers maintain representatives at the court.

The climate is about the same as that of Southern Mexico and Central America and on the whole, healthful. The soil is excellent for growing wheat, barley, oats, millet, rubber, sugar cane, date palm, wild indigo and coffee, which grows wild everywhere.

The country also possesses much latent wealth. Iron is present in large quanti-

ties while gold, diamonds, coal and copper have been frequently found.

The Emperor Menelik has had a difficult course to pursue as Abyssinia has been threatened on all sides during his life. He lost the coast lands on the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden while the Somali Coast bordering on the Indian Ocean is claimed by Italy in virtue of treaties with various territorial sultans and with Great Britain. So Abyssinia is surrounded by countries under European control. These aggressions were nothing less than attempts to introduce modern international capitalism into Abyssinia.

However, Menelik, who was a shrewd and capable monarch and greatly influenced by his clever wife, Ta-hai-itu, maintained a strong policy, brought the various warring tribes under his control so that the Empire presented a firm front to meet the aggressions of foreign capitalist nations. He was strictly opposed to the construction of sea harbors and railroads for the Emperor knew that railways spell capitalism and he knew that he would have to content himself with being the instrument of a capitalist controlled country.

And Capital, knowing of the rich soil, the vast mineral resources and the supply of intelligent workers, tried its level best



ABYSSINIAN WARRIORS.

to get a foothold in the country. The United States Consular Trade Reports of July 6, 1911, gives a long list of attempts of the various governments and banking houses to obtain concessions.

The house of Rothschild sent Count Ty-clia, who was followed by Baron von Erlanger. They reported large deposits of mercury but were refused a concession to develop. Later Baron Rothschild himself came to Abyssinia with the same request but was again denied by the Emperor.

In 1905 the Austrian Government sent a mission, composed of a Baron, a Count and a prince, which remained two years in Abyssinia. And so on.

Lack of railways made it impossible for foreign capitalists to get a foothold and to suck the Abyssinian tiller.

But the change is at hand, for old Menelik has died, and with him has passed the main barrier against invading modern capitalism. The empress was overthrown by the ruling class after a three day revolution.

These men welcome the coming of an economic change, for it will make capitalists of them. Already they have changed the form of government from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy. They arranged the constitution to suit themselves and selected ministerial council from their own rank and class.

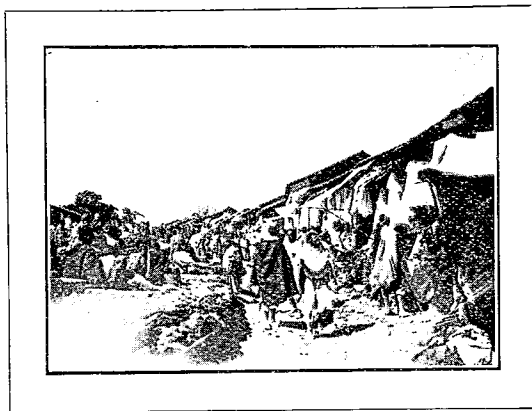
The new Negus (King of Kings) is a boy fifteen years of age, Lidj-Yassoo. It will not be difficult for the coming capitalists to teach him to be their mouth-piece and to reign while they rule. They need no longer take refuge in armed force in order to crush and exploit the Abyssinians as Italy tried to do in 1896. They can now proceed along the lines of "law and order."

Railroad and mining concessions will be theirs as well as grants of land that hitherto were public property. Thus "legally and lawfully" will they take away the grazing grounds used by the common natives who will be forced to sell their labor power to the newcomers or starve.

On the other hand, the ruling class, with their complete control of government, has power to grant or refuse concessions to the "foreigners," and are thereby able to arrange matters so that they will receive their "fair compensation" first, while the new railroads will increase one hundred fold the value of their now almost worthless tracts of land.

Home capitalists will join hands with "foreign" capitalists to exploit the labor of the natives, who will, in turn, become soldiers of the great Proletarian Army.

In Abyssinia today history is repeating itself before our very eyes. Feudalism yields to Capitalism and Capitalism, in its turn, will prepare the way for Socialism.



A STREET IN THE MARKET, ADIS ABBEBA
ABYSSINIA.



LOUIS DUCHEZ

A TRIBUTE

BY

ROBERT JOHNSTONE WHEELER

THE Socialist Movement in America has lost a brilliant thinker and writer and the world of labor a noble and devoted worker. Louis Duchez is dead. His death occurred July 24, at his father's home in East Palestine, Ohio. For several months back he had been ailing, but heroically he kept at his post, serving the cause he loved, until two weeks before his death he left New York and came home to die. The disease was perplexing to the doctors—some malignant growth in the throat, which developed suddenly and carried our loved comrade away in a few minutes, Monday morning, July 24. He was conscious to the last and struggled hard to live. But death was stronger and at last, yielding to the inevitable, he died as he had lived, with a smile on his lips. His wife, father, mother, two brothers and five sisters survive to grieve over his early death.

A life finished at 27. A splendid proletarian scholar gone. A man marvelously gifted with intellectual powers lost to the working class. A great soul, radiant with love for humanity, faring forth and fading away into the great unknown, while the mighty movement for which he lived and died is surging forward.

Comrade Duchez was born in the little town of East Palestine. His mother is of Irish descent. His father, a native of France, was a soldier of that famous regiment which, called upon to fire upon the Communards, lined up for execution against the wall of Mont Marche, threw down its guns and shouted: "Viva la Commune." This act of heroism sent the regiment into exile in Morocco. After several years in Africa, Mr. Duchez escaped and came to America. In France, the Duchez family had possessions and prominence. But in America, the escaped exile was forced to work with his hands in order to live. He became a coal miner and still works in the mines.

Louis grew up in the little mining town. As the family was numerous, he was called upon in childhood to aid in its support. His opportunity for school education was limited. Yet, even though surrounded by a hard and unlovely environment, he early began to manifest aptitudes and talents beyond the ordinary. He was a strange child—an inveterate reader and student of books. Before he was twelve he was delving into Darwin and Huxley and Wallace. A new strange book was a joy to him. At fifteen he was studying

philosophy, and by the time he arrived at man's estate, he had mastered history and the social sciences.

About this time the wanderlust that so oft calls youth, took hold of him and he joined the army. We were then engaged in "restoring order" in Cuba. In the army, Louis' time was not wasted. He devoted himself to a study of law. Finishing that subject, he took up veterinary surgery, and qualified according to the army regulations. His studious habits and talent as a writer, soon attracted the attention of his officers. When a man was needed to aid in getting out a newspaper in Havana, Louis was chosen and was made city editor of the Havana News, which office he held until the army of occupation was withdrawn from Cuba.

Mustered out of the army, he determined to travel. After some time spent in Europe, he traveled over the United States. In Chicago he first met radical thinkers in groups. For a time he was employed on the *Chicago American*, but his ideas were too advanced for that journal and he turned to "To-Morrow Magazine." By this time his passion for study had carried him through the works of Marks and Engels, and other classical writers on scientific Socialism. He became an avowed Socialist and began to advocate Socialism in the "To-Morrow Magazine." For several months he was the principal writer for "To-Morrow." His writings during this period display a remarkable breadth of knowledge of Science and a comprehensive grasp of the workings of society and its needs. Under the caption: "To-Day Versus Progress", he wrote on Education, Philosophy, Socialism, The Press, Current Events and the Utility of Knowledge. With all socialists he believed that society is possessed of sufficient knowledge to permit of scientific organization of the production and distribution of wealth, that poverty with all its evils may be destroyed. He says:

"Western Civilization has reached a point where it must either apply verifiable scientific knowledge to the workings of society or relapse into another dark age. This the Twentieth Century will decide. Biologists have given us exact knowledge in regard to life; psychologists have given us scientific information

with regard to the workings of the mind and sociologists have arrived at real knowledge in reference to society. Besides the study of chemistry, physics, astronomy, mathematics, zoology and botany have advanced accordingly, supporting these three cardinal branches of scientific learning."

Then invention and discovery have made the world akin, forced machinery to duplicate the work of man a hundred times, and given us control over the animate and inanimate forces of nature. Yet standing at the very doorway of progress, ignorance, like some grim armed sentinel, bars the way and civilization halts and marks time. But truth is sure of victory. The question is asked: When? Out of the mouth of science comes the reply: "As soon as society learns to apply the knowledge I have given." He felt that he was living on the edge of a great change. He rejoiced in life and the opportunities of his day. Again he says: "Fortunate and happy, indeed, is the man living in this wonderful age and endowed with Cosmic Understanding, for he is privileged to take a look into all the mighty past and see from whence he came, and then, turning his face to the future, get a glimpse of the glories yet to be."

He was a poet of rare power and feeling. In May, 1908, when the country was wrestling with the Wall Street Panic and the children of the working class suffering for the food and clothing piled up in the bursting storehouses of the owners, he wrote the "Warning of the Unemployed":

"Masters and Rulers, take warning, we're men;
The blood in our veins came down from the past;
We've hearts and they're human, forgiving, but when,
Aroused to the limit, resist to the last.

"Your factories are idle, your larders are filled;
The specters of panics stand not at your door;
Great wheels wait our turning, broad lands to be tilled,
And still we are hungry, and idle, and poor.

" 'Tis not for charity, kings, that we ask;

The mouths of our children indeed must be fed;
But we, strong and willing, stand alert for the task,
Beware—we may eat o'er the bodies of dead."

This poem was widely read and the menace which it voiced felt by the capitalist press. The *Detroit Journal* devoted two columns to a survey of the problem of the unfed masses and denounced the poet for daring to translate the feeling of the suffering ones into a threat against the ruling class.

In July of 1908, he wrote "The Superman." This splendid poem shows Duchez at his best. The theme is Man, the Toiler, freed from the fetters of ignorance, superstition and fear; standing upon the threshold of the new era, with mind filled with knowledge, soul aflame with love and eyes beaming forth hope and the joy of life; and proclaiming that:

"The Superman is on his way, He comes
Unled by armored knights or deafening drums;
Unguided by the guesses of the past,
His is a real gospel and will last.

"He does not hope to own the crown of kings;
Nor does he care to wear celestial wings;
He only asks that he may live and be;
And build the Future on Fraternity.

"The road that he has traveled o'er is rough;
The burdens he has borne were weight enough;
Still he comes though hard the way and long,
To bring the joy of labor with its song."

In September, 1908, I first met him. I was speaking in a little town in Ohio, near his home. When I stepped down from the box a young man came forward out of the crowd and grasped my hand. The vigor of his hand clasp, his intense manner of speech and the rare, beautiful smile that came so readily to his animated countenance as he talked to me, impressed me with the idea that here was a young man of more than ordinary

power. A few days later I reached his town. He was waiting for me at the station and took me to his home. Two never to be forgotten days I spent with him. I searched through his large collection of books. I noted his careful system of study. The world's great masters were his intimate friends. I marveled at his knowledge of science and history and literature. During the long hours I talked with him I was thrilled with his youthful enthusiasm and lofty idealism. I left him the next day, feeling that I had discovered a great man.

Shortly after, he joined the Socialist Party. But his keen working-class mind would not permit him to agree with the middle class teachers who were then prominent. He saw that the Political Party alone was not sufficient. The workers must be organized in the industries. About this time the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW was conducting a symposium on "Who Constitute the Proletariat." Louis contributed "The Proletarian Viewpoint." This article marked him as a thinker and writer and earned for him the enmity of the self-appointed leaders of the Party; an enmity which pursued him with ever increasing bitterness until his death. The "orthodox" in New York went so far as to formally try him for tactical "heresy." Even the Socialist Party has its "Bigots" and the "Inquisition" awaits those who dare disagree with them.

But trials within nor strivings without could not daunt this man. Like all the truly great, he was persecuted because he was ahead of his time. Holding that the Political Party can never be more than an educational factor in the struggle in this country, he labored to build up the Industrial Union. No single individual in the Industrial Movement did as much as he to spread the propaganda. His name will ever be associated with the beginnings of Industrialism in America.

He spoke French, Italian and Spanish and translated readily from all three languages. The *New York Call* employed him be times to handle its foreign news. Much of his best writing was done for the *Sunday Call*, before he was censored. His writing in the REVIEW attracted great attention and was translated into the leading European languages. He was a very

prolific writer and left a mass of manuscript, prose and poetry, which friends will try to publish.

His private character was most admirable. He was absolutely free from any of the habits that stain the lives of men. There was no trace of grossness in his nature. During his entire life, in the mines, in the army or out in the world of struggle, he commanded the respect of his associates. A strict vegetarian in diet; a physical culturist; a trained athlete, he regarded his body as a storehouse for energy needed by the mind. He was a type—a forerunner of the kind of man the future will breed and Science train.

In his home life he revealed his most charming traits. Tender and gentle and loving; soft voiced and equable of temperament; full of sunshine and joyousness—he was a most beautiful soul. His was a radiant life.

But now he has passed on and the movement he loved will miss him. Though his life was short in years, it was full and rich with deeds. The long rest came to him early. They bore him forth from his home and tenderly gave him

back again to the Great Mother. And as her arms enfolded him, Comrade Gerrity, read Comrade Markham's noble poem: "The Poet" and they left him sleeping.

Only yesterday I stood beside his quiet resting place—I who loved him so well. And sadness, sorrow and a sense of loss oppressed me. Then it seemed as though from out of the quietude he spoke and said as often before he had said to me, "Comrade, some may fall by the way, but the Cause moves grandly on." Yes, the Cause lives and calls loudly for workers.

So we leave thee Friend, Brother, Comrade; leave thee resting. We shall not lament thee. We shall rather joy in that we held companionship with thee for a little time. Our labor for the Cause shall be greater and our love for our fellows deeper because of thee. And when the last battle has been fought and paens of victory are being sung, because Humanity has come to its own, then shall thy name gleam resplendent among those who live again in minds made better by their presence; in thoughts sublime that pierce the night, like stars, and with their mild persistence, urge men's minds to loftier issues.

WHAT WE CAN DO BY POLITICAL ACTION

BY

ED. MOORE

THERE is something in the words, "By the power in me vested," and "By the authority to me intrusted," which evolves the powers that break up street meetings, beat and arrest pickets, and kill, kidnap and manufacture perjured evidence to convict labor leaders of crimes they have not committed.

And those who say, "By the power in me vested" are the police, the state constables, the militia, judges, jailors, Pinkertons and railroad bulls. And what

is the power vested in them? The law invests them with authority to arrest those who violate in any way the rights of property. And, pay strict attention to this, property rights are political things. It is the *law* in a system in which things are made to sell that says what are the rights of property.

Using the powers of government, the owners of the jobs get the police to club those who work when they try to get more wages. If it were possible for the workers to turn the boss out on the street

the boss would get an order from a judge by which the whole shop's crew would be sent to jail as thieves. And if other shops' crews attempted to help keep the boss out on the street, the mayor, the governor and the president of the United States would use the "power in them vested" to protect the legal right of the boss to own the shop. They would protect his right to buy the labor-power of workers to make profits for him.

It is the use of political power that gives the ruling class its advantage over the working class. A hired spy in the shop is protected by the law. A picket on the corner is taken and sent to jail by the authority of the law. A worker is crippled by a badly built or wornout machine. Under the law a boss may throw him out to starve. A worker breaks a machine, and under the law he is sent to jail. Greedy bosses force working people to toil in unhealthy shops and this shortens their lives. The law says the bosses are not guilty of willful murder. Workers boycott unfair made goods, and this cuts off the profits of the bosses. Under the law the boycotters are sent to jail for injuring the rights of property owners.

Low wages and the high cost of living force working class parents to send their children to mills and shops, to piece out the wages of the father. Under the law you cannot overwork young horses, and you are not permitted to work old ones that are underfed, or which have sores made by harness. But under the law capitalists may cut off fingers and whole limbs of young and old working people without fear of legal punishment. The law encourages them to starve any and all of those who strike for better conditions for the wage-earners.

A governor of a state is the commander-in-chief of its military forces. By political action the Socialist party, or in other words, class conscious working people, can by their votes elect a revolutionary workingman governor, and as governor he can use the state militia to force associations like the Businessmen's

Alliance and the Merchants and Manufacturers' Associations to leave unmolested the officers and members of labor organizations. If one of them is killed or kidnapped a Socialist governor could use this force to put in bull pens men like Harrison Grey Otis and his hired thug, William J. Burns. A revolutionary workingman in the highest office in the state would have as much influence on legislation as two-thirds of the members of the State Senate and House of Representatives. His veto would kill the bills of labor-hating employers, and he could render ineffective their judicial tools by refusing to approve appropriation bills to pay their salaries.

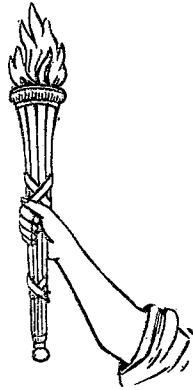
A state legislature whose membership was composed of two-thirds of revolutionary workingmen could repeal, with the governor's help, the laws that give authority to corporations to keep private armies for the purpose of bulldozing dissatisfied employes. Should the courts attempt to set aside the acts of the legislature it could try, impeach and remove the judges. If it were necessary the governor could call the legislature to meet in special session to take this action to protect the welfare of the working class. It could make the killing of working people in industrial and commercial plants and in mines and on railroads and in marine transportation murder—a capital offense punishable by death or imprisonment for life.

A mayor of a city, in which he is commander-in-chief of the police, could use them to arrest strike-breakers as suspicious characters whose presence and actions would be likely to create disorder, foment trouble and incite to riot, thereby endangering the lives of the working class citizens, and their labor-power, which they sell to the job owners for wages.

As all class struggles necessarily are political wars to gain titles of ownership, the working class must take political action to invest in itself the titles to the property its labor produces, and the Socialist party is the agency to use to do it.

OHIO
SOCIALISTS

IN
ACTION



GEORGE A. STORCK.



J. C. SCHAWA.

WHEN Mark Hanna of Ohio, the man who made presidents "to order," said that the next great political contest will be between the Republicans and the Socialists, he certainly had his eyes on the agitators with the Arm and Torch—for today Ohio seethes with the revolutionary movement.

Over a year ago Comrade George A. Storck was called to leave his tools and home in Lorain to serve his comrades as State Secretary at Columbus. He

found debt and demoralization on the inside and a general apathy toward the state office on the outside. His successor, Comrade Schawe, finds \$1,200 in the state treasury and the office swamped with mail from wide-awake locals throughout the state, showing renewed activity everywhere.

Comrade Schawe is one of the "live ones" of Local Columbus and we feel sure he will keep the "state machine" up to its present standard of splendid efficiency.

The paid-up membership is three times greater than one year ago, and 22 new locals were organized during August—together over 200 locals are carrying the red flag of revolt at the head of their columns. Twenty-eight thousand five hundred and seventy-three votes in 1908; 60,637 in 1910—but best of all is the fact that many locals are agitating for industrial as well as political action.

Columbus, Ohio.—Every REVIEW reader remembers the splendid solidarity shown by the working class of Columbus



A. C. EBY.

during the strike of the street car workers one year ago. For weeks the workers walked to and from work. One third of the police force rebelled against protecting the company's scabs. Terrible Teddy was imported and you recall his words: "A policeman who refuses to do his DUTY stands lower than a soldier who deserts."

But the Columbus comrades certainly made Socialists while the strike lasted. Many meetings were held; hundreds of copies of the REVIEW were sold, and that the comrades have had their working

clothes on ever since, the following facts will show:

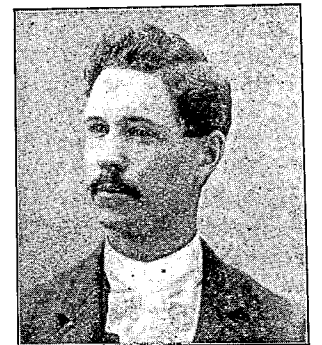
The local has grown from 100 or more members to over 1,800. Their paper, *The Socialist*, is becoming more red each issue and is one of the liveliest sheets put out by any local in the country.

Comrade A. C. Eby, a mechanical draughtsman, heads the party ticket. A clean-cut platform was adopted and an aggressive campaign has been started. Comrade Frank Bohn, Associate Editor of the REVIEW, will get in the game to help October 7th to 10th, and many other able speakers have been arranged for. Comrade Slayton, Allen Cook and Ella Reeves Bloor are already occupying the soap box. William D. Haywood will speak for them on Saturday night, November 4th, at New Memorial hall, which seats 7,000 people.

The "Overall band," composed of thirty comrades, will also be "heard from," and Comrade Taylor, the hustling literature agent, is always on the job. Go to it, Comrades. Close up the ranks and raise hell with the capitalist system in Columbus.

Local Akron has a full ticket in the field with George P. Smith heading the list as the mayoralty candidate. The whole town concedes that the socialists will elect several of their men and the Local comrades are putting every effort to talk socialism at meetings between now and election. Comrade Margaret Prevey and Fred T. Childs are both doing splendid work, as of old. *The Summit County Socialist*, Akron's city paper, is reaching people that would not be accessible any other way. The wards are all organized and

the boys and women comrades say they are fighting "to win." The use of a large tent, which seats 2,000 people, has been donated the local for the fall campaign. Haywood will speak for us on October first.



GEORGE P. SMITH.



HARRY S. SCHILLING.

Local Canton.—The Socialists of Canton, Ohio, have an excellent chance of electing their city and township tickets this fall, and they are certainly on the job with both feet, as the following facts show: Five thousand copies of *The Social Revolutionist* are distributed in Canton every week. This is a "live" paper published by the local organization, which is composed of active and energetic members. Meetings are held every night in some part of the city, as well as noon hour talks at the factories. Comrades Allen Cook, Geo. McCloskey, J. F. Eaton and Harry S. Schilling keep the soap-box warm, and more agitation work is being done than ever before.

Comrade Harry S. Schilling, candidate for mayor, has been a member of the Typographical union for sixteen years, and a Socialist for nine years. In 1900 he graduated from the National Law School in Washington, D. C., and was admitted to the bar in the state of Indiana. For some time past he has been working on the *Social Revolutionist*.

All the candidates are competent for

the positions for which they were chosen, whereas the old parties are so disgusted with their candidates that they are talking of putting up an independent candidate for mayor. From present indications the comrades will elect their entire ticket.

Local Cincinnati has put up a working class ticket, with Lawrence A. Zitt running for mayor, and the Socialist campaign is arousing every working man and woman in the city. It is an inspiring thing to hear the speeches of the Socialist party candidates after the bunk Boss Cox and his servants have been dishing out the past few years.

Judging from the Socialist candidates, they must be having a hot educational campaign and an extremely class-conscious one, for nobody is advocating public ownership of the Town Pump or any other capitalist reforms. As Comrade Zitt writes, "we believe here in Cincinnati that our backwardness is largely due to the fact that we have never wandered one step from the program of the WHOLE PIE, although you will notice



LAWRENCE A. ZITT.

from our platform that we also demand and intend to secure as many slices as possible, whether large or small." He adds that the party in Cincinnati is working to place itself in a position to handle the ever-growing socialist sentiment immediately it is created by outside forces of a capitalist nature and not give it an opportunity to be side-tracked by some wishy-washy reform movement that happens along."

Good for Cincinnati! When you build upon the rock of Education, you build permanently. This is the only way to make a real socialist movement anywhere.

The Cincinnati Platform is clear and to the point: "The Socialist Party is pledged to secure to the workers the full social value of the product of their toil" is the backbone of it and this is the heart and soul of Socialism.

Cleveland, Ohio.—The Cleveland comrades have been so well organized for years that nobody was surprised to learn that they are taking such an active part in the garment workers' strike. In writing up a recent monster public demon-



TOM CLIFFORD.

stration of the strikers the capitalist press has this to say:

"Judged by the recent reception tendered Ruthenberg, he will be Cleveland's next mayor." Comrade C. E. Ruthenberg is the Socialist candidate and is at present organizer of Local Cleveland. He knows how to do big things. On Labor day they organized a selling squad of "live ones" and disposed of 2,000 copies of the Fighting Magazine for the benefit of the strikers.

We quote from a letter received from that veteran fighter, Tom Clifford: "The movement in Ohio looks mighty good. In Cleveland we expect to elect three councilmen, your humble servant among the number. We certainly have the old party politicians up in the air and we are going to keep them there."

Comrade Theodore Lockwood, a black-listed machinist and literature agent, helps carry on an aggressive educational campaign three hundred and sixty-five days in the year. During the past twelve months he has placed over 4,000 copies of the Fighting Magazine in the shops. He



C. E. RUTHENBERG.

has regular routes and receives the hearty co-operation of the comrades in his work.

Comrade Frank Bohn, who spoke in Cleveland on the 16th, reports unprecedented enthusiasm and splendid meetings. Where the educational side of the work is carried on as faithfully as it is in Cleveland, a sound, class-conscious Socialist will be found behind every vote cast. There is no yellow streak in the Cleveland local.



HENRY O. SCHREIBER.

Local East Liverpool.—The Socialist movement of East Liverpool, which selected Henry O. Schreiber to head the municipal ticket at the November election, is one with the usual militant membership required to make a movement successful. Last November the vote for Socialism went to 602 from 245 the previous November, and if indications are any value to judge from, the educational work which has been done will place the Socialists in charge of the city government next election.

Comrade Henry O. Schreiber is a clerk in a grocery, having graduated to that position from the clay bench of a pottery. His wife, an ex-school teacher, has been selected for the school board, and her chances for election are even better than those of her husband.

Last October the *Free Press* was launched, and each week since that time a free distribution of 10,000 copies has been "religiously" placed over the city and the adjacent towns of Wellsville, Ohio; Newell, W. Va., and Chester, W. Va. A great number have also filtered into the country and the result is that Socialism has made immense strides amongst the farmers.

To show the political situation here it might be well to tell of a politician who went into a pottery to canvass for himself for the approaching primaries. He was told by a comrade that it would be useless to do so owing to the workers all being Socialists. He said he would take the chance, however, and on his return remarked, "I found one who is going to vote for me." When asked who it was he replied, "I won't tell for you might get him also."

Not the least of the many things done by this organization was the picnic they held at Rock Springs, a picnic ground just across the river. Over 300,000 pieces of advertising matter were distributed over the picnic zone, special trains were arranged for and 5,000 people were expected. It can be imagined how the workers, who labored for the picnic's success, viewed the situation when train-load after train-load was dumped into the grounds until fully 15,000 red ribbon wearers were spread over the grounds. It was the big thing of the movement in this part of the world, and arrangements are now under way to make it even a bigger thing next year. Nothing less than the nominee for president will do for the main attraction.

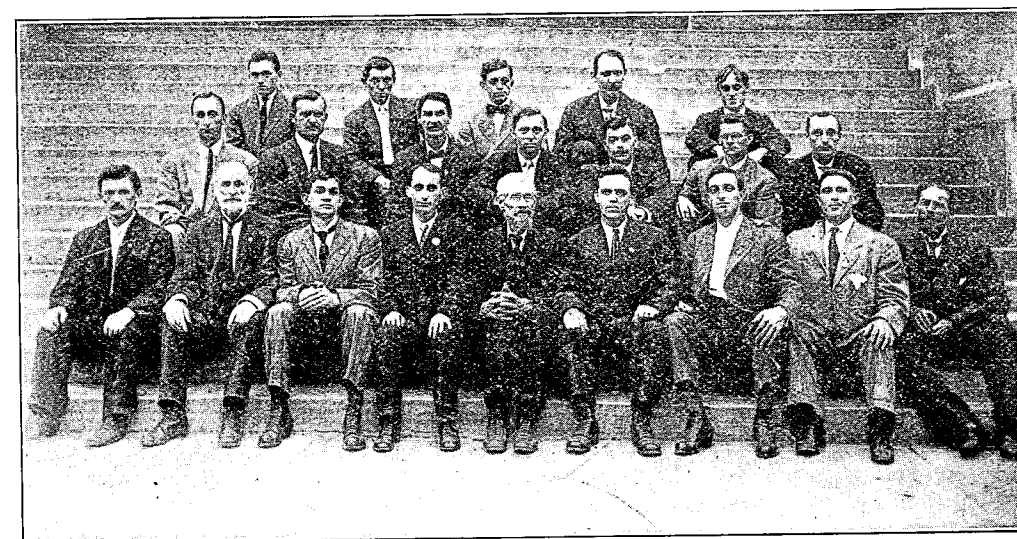
Comrade Vernia adds, "Frank Bohn has just closed a series of open air meetings and they were good ones, and he surely added to a "live" movement. It looks like we are going to carry this village. If we don't we will have a lot of fun scaring the old party barnacles."

Local Hamilton.—Local Hamilton, composed of 286 members in good standing, with headquarters on the principal street of the city, has the old capitalist parties on the defensive this fall. They are publishing their own propaganda paper, *The Hamilton Searchlight*. During the campaign they are putting one of these papers into every home every week, and they are engaging all the best speakers available. Wm. D. Haywood will speak for them October 27th in the Coliseum, which holds 2,000 people.

The comrades have a full ticket in the field, with Comrade Joseph Felblinger at the head of the ticket. Comrade Felblinger was born and educated in Weiller, Germany, and came to America in 1892. He is one of the oldest fighters in the local movement, is married and has four children. He is a member of the Machinists union, No. 241, being a machinist by trade, and is heart and soul on the side of the working class. Comrade Hinkel writes us that the old party politicians admit the strength of the Socialists and know they are a force to be hereafter reckoned with. "Our vote last fall was 1,900, giving us second place, with the Republicans third."



JOSEPH FELBLINGER.



GROUP OF HAMILTON COMRADES ON SOCIALIST TICKET

First Row—
Felblinger, Furgerson, Shaefer, Primmer, Cook, Bevington, Geis, Callahan, Aker,
Second Row—
Hinkel, Overly, Norris, Myers, Manny, Henkel, Hinkel
Third Row—
Fishwick, Penwell, Sutter, Rogers, Fromm, Jr.

Local Mansfield makes up in enthusiasm what it lacks in numbers. The comrades are concentrating their efforts on pulling off a few rousing big meetings rather than holding many small ones. Comrade Debs is booked for October 4th and William D. Haywood will close the campaign on November 5th.

Comrade A. J. Roth, who heads the ticket, is a railway man who stands steadfast for the interests of his class and is well known among the workers.

Now is the time for the workingmen of Mansfield to show the stuff they are made of by backing up a straight working class ticket at the ballot box.

An Industrial Giant.—Industrially Ohio is outstripping her sister states by leaps and bounds. In returning to the Buckeye state after a few years' absence, one is amazed to see old landmarks dotted by new mills and factories. Farms and wheat fields are retreating before the aggressive march of Modern Industry. But close upon the heels of capitalism came an awakened and aroused working class. The Ohio comrades are fighters. They never sleep. And they are laying a firm foundation of EDUCATION.



A. J. ROTH.

HAYWOOD HITS HARD

By AN OGDEN COMRADE

THE Haywood meeting held in Ogden, Utah, September 7th, was the largest labor meeting ever witnessed in Ogden. Comrade Haywood spoke from the stage of Ogden theater, having the largest seating capacity of any auditorium in the city. The house was packed and the walls bulged with applause.

To reduce expenses and augment the attendance the committee in charge permitted the Progressive Republican league of this city to use the theater from 7 to 8:15 on the evening of the Haywood meeting. This delayed the opening of the Haywood meeting until about 8:20, at which time the house was filled to the galleries. Senator Moses Clapp of Minnesota talked on reform politics for one hour, while the big miner and the Socialist committee waited in the flies. Big Bill took some mental notes as the insurgent spoke.

When Clapp and his gang cleared the stage the Socialists took possession. Nearly the entire audience of 1,500 people remained in their seats. Vacated seats were taken by persons who had not cared to attend the Clapp meeting so that by the time Haywood opened the audience was larger than when the senator left. The big miner paid his compliments to the politician who had preceded him in no uncertain terms. The harder Haywood roasted the louder the audience applauded. The most lamentable thing about the Socialist meeting was that the Senator did not remain to hear it.

Comrade Haywood is one of the ablest speakers in the entire Socialist movement. He ranks with the ablest orators of today. His lecture was far above our expectations and the meeting was in every respect a success. The Ogden newspapers devoted more than a column to his talk.

BE YOUR OWN GOVERNMENT

By

TOM O'CONNELL

IN the first place, don't vote the Socialist party tickets because somebody tells you to. We do not want the blind votes of men who have no idea what the Socialists are trying to do, and who, consequently, cannot help the work along.

We want intelligent votes—good, sound Socialist votes that will stick until we have accomplished our one great aim—the abolition of the wage system.

Why not elect men from the shops and mines and factories who will SERVE the working class instead of those who will do whatever the bosses tell them to do. Why not put Socialists in office to SERVE YOU instead of the boss?

Remember, friends, that the men controlling the government control the army and navy. I want the army and navy on the side of the working class, so that when we organize in the shops and factories, in the mills and mines, they will not be used against us. When YOU say what the troops shall do, they will never be called out to shoot down striking workingmen. And you can control them whenever you get wise and join with other working class Socialists to BE the government.

You won't have to fight for "free speech" or the right to organize when and where you will when you or your comrades sit in official places. You NEED the police force, you need judges who will render decisions in YOUR favor, and laws passed in YOUR interests. You need to control all these forces that keep down the working class in order to win.

It is wiser to use the army and navy for yourself than to permit the enemy to use them against you.

It is foolish to be beaten over the head by the police when you can own the police force and use them to help your fight along.

Why keep capitalist judges in office when you can put in *yourselves*—workingmen—who will stand ever ready to do any and everything under the heavens

to advance the interests of the working class?

You workingmen know that life is one great big fight! We Socialists call it the Class Struggle. We know the more the boss gets the less there is left for you and me. And we don't want to overlook one single thing that will help us win out.

We know why the boss IS a boss. It is because he owns the mine, the mill, the farm or the factory. That is why we work for him. If you or I owned the mill, we would be BOSS and he would be begging us for a chance to work.

Socialism proposes that the working CLASS shall own the mines, the mills, the land and the factories. We want the people who work to own these things in common. Then we will all work for ourselves. The things we make, the bread we bake, the shoes we sew—will belong to us. We will get the full value of our products and there will be no bosses, for we will own the mills and factories and mines.

Under Socialism there will be no unemployed. All men and women will cooperate to use the best machinery to get done the necessary work of the world in the shortest possible time. There will be plenty of the good things of life for everybody and everybody will have time to live and study and enjoy himself.

Of course you cannot win out altogether by voting. You will have to organize in the factories and mills and mines, too. You will need industrial unionism—REAL unionism—in the shop, but you will need YOUR men in political power—in office to SERVE you and back up the fights and struggles you will have to make IN the shop and against the capitalist.

If you are a workingman, think over the aims of Socialism and read up on the subject and you will be with us for we are the only people in the world who mean to make each man a joint owner of the factory wherein he works—and the man that owns the factory owns the job.

EDITORIAL

The Beginning of the End. A year ago the working class of England seemed in a more hopeless condition than that of any other great capitalist nation. In no other country did the ruling class seem to be fortified by such a mass of stolid conservatism on the part of the more highly paid workers or by such abject and helpless misery on the part of the common laborers. Yet even in England the Machine has been silently making revolutionists, and the ruling class of the world gasps at the glimpse of what the working class can do when once aroused. We will not repeat on this page the story of the great strike of English transport workers, told elsewhere in this issue. Enough to say that it is a triumphant vindication of the new tactics of revolutionary unionism and industrial socialism. If the immediate material gain for the strikers is slight or doubtful, the reason is that they carried the handicap of conservative leaders chosen in advance by the old craft organizations. These leaders were easily duped (if nothing worse) by the agents of the capitalist class, and as we go to press the immediate outcome of the strike is still uncertain. But the great and glorious result of this uprising of the workers is that they have at last realized their own strength that grows out of solidarity, and have made all the world realize it. This lesson once learned will not be forgotten. The movement toward ONE BIG UNION has received a mighty forward impulse, and not in England alone but in the whole capitalist world. Capitalism is in full retreat; its magnates and its legislators will gladly yield much to save what they can. And the revolutionary movement of the working class is swelling into a flood that if not turned aside will soon sweep all before it.

The Socialist Party and the Revolution. Upon the hundred thousand active members of the Socialist Party of America today a tremendous responsibility has been thrust. We hold the key to the situation. We are at the parting of the ways. We can have one of two things but not both. Revolutionary sentiment in the mass of American workers is as yet only dormant, waiting for the occa-

sion to awaken it and the channels through which to move. The historic mission of the Socialist party is to develop and organize the awakening spirit of revolution among the American wage-workers—to weld them into a compact, resistless army with one definite aim—to snatch the control of industry from the hands of the capitalists and place it in the hands of the men and women who are doing the work. To this aim all our efforts, political or economic, must be subordinated. Our political campaigns must be carried on with the single purpose of recruiting the army of the Revolution, and if by chance we incidentally win an office here and an office there, then we must see that these offices are administered with the one aim of preparing for the Revolution. This we can do if we will. Or if we will, we can chase after votes and offices and we can get them. We can ally ourselves here with the corrupt machine of the labor fakirs and there with the anti-graft committee of the little capitalists. We can welcome into our membership thousands of people who will evade signing our pledge accepting the principle of the class struggle, or worse still, will sign it with mental reservations and immediately begin doing all they can to nullify it. We can, by such means, elect hundreds of our members to legislative halls, and our bosoms can swell with pride as we see them uniting with capitalist politicians to put through just such reforms as the capitalists need in order to keep the wage-workers half-contented for a few years more, while profits go on multiplying. We can thus see the Socialist party grow into the most efficient machine ever devised to retard the coming of Socialism. We must choose and choose soon.

A Good Beginning.—The National Committee of the Socialist party has recently passed a motion providing that in future neither the National Committee nor the National Executive Committee shall employ themselves, either directly or indirectly. This is an important step toward reorganizing the party in a way to make it really democratic and really revolutionary.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

International Labor Conference.—The seventh conference of the so-called international labor secretariat took place at Budapest, August 10-12. The national organizations of nineteen countries are affiliated with the secretariat. Together their membership counts up to more than 6,000,000. At the conferences, however, each nation is represented by a very small number of labor union officials, most of them by only one. The sessions, therefore, are in the nature of committee meetings. In the choice of subjects with which they deal the conferences of the past have severely limited themselves. The general strike, antimilitarism, the fight for an eight-hour day, and other such vital matters have been considered beyond their range. Obviously, then, the secretariat cannot at present be of much use to the working-class. Its significance lies chiefly in the fact that it exists at all. Barren as its meetings may seem, they are the sign of international solidarity, and out of them will probably grow a really vital and powerful international organization of labor.

One entire day of the recent conference was devoted to the proposed admission of the Industrial Workers of the World. It is the rule of the secretariat to admit only one organization in each country. This rule has been adopted and enforced in the interest of unity in the various nations represented. Since Mr. Gompers made his famous visit to the conference held at Paris two years ago the American Federation of Labor has been admitted. Consequently there is no room for any other American organization. Nevertheless, the delegates of the French Federation General du Travail went to Budapest prepared to fight for the admission of the I. W. W., and the latter organization had Mr. Foster on hand to represent it at this conference. There was a long and bitter argument, partly on the relative merits of the two American organizations and partly on the formal question as to whether it was possible or advisable to admit two organiza-

tions in one country. The tactics of the A. F. of L. were severely criticized. But when it came to the real point of the matter, all the delegates except those of France, held that the old rule of one-nation-one-union, must be upheld. So the I. W. W. was kept out by a nearly unanimous vote.

The next important matter taken up was that of international solidarity in case of strikes and lock-outs. The Swiss delegate introduced a resolution providing that international aid is to be given only to unions affiliated with their national organizations and through them with the international bureau. This was amended so as to provide for certain exceptional cases, and finally passed. It was opposed by the French on the ground that it would increase red tape at the expense of effective fighting.

Two of the most important resolutions presented, deal with the future form of the international movement. One provided for an international labor congress, the other for an international federation of labor. Both were referred to the various national executive committees for further consideration.

Were it not for the fact that these latter resolutions point the way to an effective international organization, one would be tempted to say that the conference held at Budapest was hardly worth the money spent for railway fares.

France. Reorganization of the Railway Workers.—The great French railway strike of last October was in some respects a great success. As an exhibition of the power of the working-class it was supreme. But as a strike for a definite purpose, it was a failure. Ever since it was declared off the union of railway workers has been doing its utmost to gather its forces and arouse its members for new and greater conflicts. Under the circumstances, this has been peculiarly difficult. It is not necessary to repeat here the story of the strike or to try to explain why it was not completely suc-

cessful. But it was not successful, and ever since the fact became known, French Socialist and labor papers have been filled with charges and countercharges against various leaders and factions. The Socialists, especially the directors of l'Humanité, have been accused of bending the course of events to suit their own political purposes. Their answer has been that they acted with the strikers only at the invitation of the latter and that defeat was due rather to inadequate preparation than to any mistake of the committees placed in authority. So much has been said on both sides that it is utterly impossible for one looking on from afar to reach any conclusion as to the rights and wrongs of the matter. But the result of the long and miserable discussion is clear. It has increased the bewilderment and discouragement which naturally result from defeat. The men have seen 2,000 of their most militant comrades left out of a job and facing starvation. They have seen the Socialist attacks on the government remain without immediate results. Many of them have grown skeptical as to their whole form of organization and method of fighting.

It was with the rank and file in this state of mind that the national congress of the railway workers met on August 2. The delegates were divided into two factions, going by the time-worn ranks of revolutionists and reformists. But these names as applied to French railway men have little of their usual significance. The "reformists" are those who believe in legal means of bringing about the domination of the working-class. Most of the Socialists belong to this group. The "revolutionists" are those who believe in sabotage. Most of these have lost faith in political action. The reformists were in the majority.

The debate on sabotage was long and heated. A number of railway accidents have occurred recently which the government is attempting to trace to the activity of saboteurs. The attendant excitement is being used against the railway organization. The reformists naturally wished to re-establish themselves in public opinion by declaring themselves in opposition to acts of violence. A resolution beginning with the following para-

graph was adopted by a large majority: "The congress protests against the monstrous methods employed by the government to discover the perpetrators of the acts of sabotage at Barentin and Pont-de-l'Arche, criminal acts of which we ourselves disapprove."

Though this action was a victory for the reformists, the only other important proposition adopted was introduced and championed by the revolutionists. This was a resolution in favor of replacing the present single national union by a federation made up of unions on the various separate railways. The revolutionists argued that control of all the railway workers in France by one central committee made the organization too stiff and unresponsive to the needs of the various sections of the country. It takes too long to begin or end a strike. The new form of organization is expected to remedy this defect. Simultaneously with this division of control goes the beginning of a closer relationship with the revolutionary Confederation General du Travail. The central offices of the railway organization are to be removed to the headquarters of the federation.

At the Congress of Mines, it will be remembered, the Socialist members of the Chamber of Deputies were directed to vote for the new insurance and pension law and then to begin immediately a campaign to improve it. This represents the position taken from the beginning of the discussion of this law by most French Socialists. They said: "The law is bad, it will take from you a part of your meager wage; but submit to it now, and we will see that it is amended so that in time it will be of some use to you."

Not so the Confederation General du Travail. The members of the federation said: "This law is worse than useless; we will kill it by the simple method of refusing to pay what it requires or receive what it offers." This attitude of the great French union has been so effective that the new law is as yet practically inoperative.

On July 9, after this fact had become evident, the national executive committee of the Socialist party voted to advise Socialists to copy the Federation tactics. Better late than never.

England—Socialist Unity in Prospect.—There comes cheering news from England. The Labor Party goes surely to an unwept grave and a united Socialist movement appears on the horizon. To be sure there is nothing surprising in the news of discontent in Labor Party ranks. Just now when England is stirred by the spirit of revolt this party of labor has fairly effaced itself from the political map. Its support of Lloyd-George's Pension Bill brought it to its finish. Since it went the limit in working for this measure, even going so far as to practically shut off the possibility of introducing amendments, it has been impossible to hide the divisions among its members.

Here we have Philip Snowden and Mr. Lansbury openly breaking with their leader. In a letter to the labor leader, Mr. Snowden comes out with the truth in plain terms: "I have of late become accustomed to the officials of the Labor Party voting with the government under all circumstances and conditions. Mr. Keir Hardie said at the I. L. P. Conference in London that the Labor Party had ceased to count. It has gone beyond that, and its professed independence has become an object for the sneers and contempt of all parties in the House of Commons. And Mr. Lansbury, with the new pension bill in mind, declares: "I am in the House of Commons to preach the doctrine of prevention rather than the theory of insurance."

No doubt Snowden is right. The Labor Party has become an object for sneers and contempt. But Socialists the world over, can see nothing but good in the public announcement of the fact in the party's organ. We may be sure that practical politicians of the Labor type will not be found on the unpopular side. No doubt they have had their ears to the ground and have heard things quite different from parliamentary flub dub.

At the very moment when Labor Party Socialists are ready for revolt, comes the news of a Socialist unity conference. At the Social Democratic Party conference held at Coventry last Easter, it was resolved: "That this conference affirms its desire for a United British Socialist party, and in order to achieve this desire, the Executive Council be instructed to invite

the co-operation of other bodies, such as the Socialist Federations, in the issuing of a circular of invitation to be dispatched to every S. D. P. branch, I. L. P. branch, and to local Fabian societies which believe in industrial and political action." The circular was to ask all the organizations in favor of unity to take part in a conference.

In accordance with the above resolution, the call to a unity conference has now been issued. It is signed by the S. D. P. and a round dozen of other organizations. All of these societies "recognize that the socialization of the instruments of production, distribution, and exchange can alone put a stop to the class-struggle existing in our capitalist society of today, and that independent political action on Socialist lines is necessary as a means to that end." They formally repudiate affiliation with the Labor Party, as a means of attaining unity, for the obvious reason that "Socialist unity can only be brought about by Socialists, and not by those who are not Socialists."

The prospects of the British Socialist Party are not bad. The S. D. P. contains 18,000 members, and the various local Socialist organizations boast 20,000 more. Besides these, there are hosts of unorganized Socialists. One comrade estimates that the new party will start with about 50,000 members. "In six months from now," writes Victor Grayson, "We shall have something to show for our labors. And the capitalist class and the capitalist press will know we have been busy. . . . All hail the British Socialist Party."

At the risk of being premature, the REVIEW offers congratulations and good wishes to our English comrades. In times past, it has criticized the Social Democratic Party. It has never been able to understand the segregation of English Socialism from the direct industrial fight of the working-class. We are still unable to understand it. During the past month, in the midst of the tremendous upheaval of the English working-class, our comrades on the "tight little island" have been so cut up by a defeat at a by-election, that they have hardly felt the revolutionary thrill which the seamen, dockers and railwaymen have sent round the

world. Now, of all times, at the very moment when the capitalist world has been a-tremble in the face of a new revolution, the revolution which is the object of all Socialist endeavors, the old Socialist leaders have been wailing. "Behold how little has been accomplished by all our work."

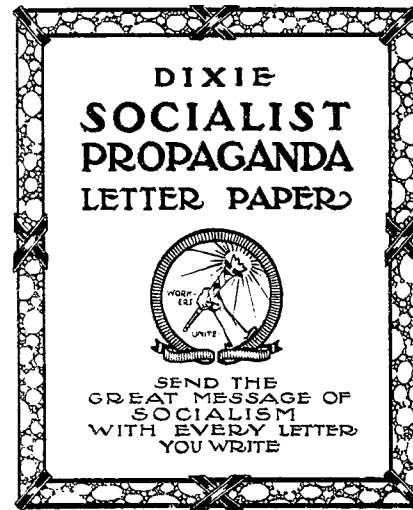
The editor of Justice takes pains to explain that the English Socialists stand far off from the industrial struggle. In an article on the recent great strikes he says: "We Social Democrats, stand by the workers in any conflict in which they may be engaged. We do not advocate strikes, although we support them; but we must never cease to insist upon the truth that, whatever they may gain by a strike, the emancipation of the working-class will never be achieved save by conquest by that class of political power." This is the sort of Socialist thinking that was common in France twenty years ago and in America some ten years back. "Strikes may be very good in their way," we are told, "at least we may as well humor the ignorant working-man in his notion that they are; but votes!—Ah, votes are the thing!"

We feel especially glad at the prospect of a new party, for a new party is bound to be vital. It will grow out of the needs of the present moment. No doubt it will become a real part of the labor movement. Perhaps its members will not "stand by" the workers, but be the workers. And perhaps it will be generous enough to allow to the direct action of the workers on the industrial field some small part in bringing in the revolution.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

A Socialist Newsdealer.—Comrade Edward Weinstein, who runs the Progressive Book and News Stand at the northwest corner of Sixth and Market streets, St. Louis, says he is "probably the only exclusive Socialist newsdealer in the Union." Whether he is right or not, he is the only one in St. Louis just at present, so far as we know, and we trust that our St. Louis readers will look him up and help him extend his work.

Results in England.—Comrade Fred Shaw of Lindley writes: "Marxism is just beginning to tell with our younger brood of Marx students. Your books are responsible for fully 80 per cent of the newer development, and I delight in pushing them. Without "our" books, I should have no interest in lecturing. I have just got back home from Derby. My last meeting was held in Derby Market Place. It was a fine one. The men from the railroad goods yard were out on strike and I gave them a talk on Industrial Solidarity. We sold out all our pamphlets on the subject." Fred Shaw is another comrade that will be heard from. Like Tom Mann and Ben Tillett he goes to the industries—the factories and mines, with a proposition the workingmen understand. Industrialism appeals to them at once. In fact industrial unionism or One Big Unionism is spreading over England like wildfire.

Comrade Pasquorette, a young miner working in Westmoreland County, Pa., writes sending \$5.00 for the REVIEW and books. He says it is his the contents of his first pay envelope. There are some empty houses here owned by farmers, he says, but the company will allow no man to live in them. They must all rent from the company as well as purchase all supplies at company stores. As usual the shacks are good enough for the workers while the employers live in mansions. We are very glad to hear from a young comrade who is able to see the way out for the workers at so early an age. If we had all learned about socialism when we were in our teens, how many years of wasted effort we might have saved!

To Visit America. Comrade R. S. Ross, ex-editor of the Australian Social-Democrat and editor of the Maoriland Worker, Australia, one of the best socialist periodicals in the world, writes thus of Comrade H. Scott Bennett, who expects to visit the United States next year. "He is the orator of the Australian socialist movement. From street speaking he passed to hall lecturer and thence to Parliament. As labor candidate, he put up a memorable fight at Ballarat and wrested from a wealthy Tory a supposedly safe seat. Ere his term had ended he had decided to withdraw from Parliament notwithstanding he could have held his seat and three hundred pounds a year. He became associated with Tom Mann, H. E. Holland and others and formed the Socialist Federation of Australia. Later on he was organizer for the International Socialist Party of Sydney, and was lecturing every Sunday night

to crowded houses. Later on he toured New Zealand, making an extraordinary impression everywhere. At present he is speaking every Sunday night to audiences of over 2,000 and capably editing the Social Democrat. We are sorry to lose Bennett from Australia but the movement here wants him to see the world's movement in operation and it wants the world, America included, to hear the truth about Australia. Scott Bennett is finely equipped for this work and for this message and the comrades in the United States are in for an intellectual treat. In culture and fundamental presentation of facts, he stands among the foremost. He is no trimmer nor opportunist. To his advocacy Industrial Unionism owes much of its growing popularity in these lands 'neath the Southern Cross. He is also an apostle of rationalism and he can reach the crowd. This distinctively Australian socialist has been practically all over both Australia and New Zealand. Has seen its strikes and noted its experiments in compulsory arbitration and other labor legislation. He has met every sociological traveler of note and read the chief world's books of his time. No one in Australia is better fitted to speak to the American socialists on the things being done in Australia and of the problems of working class organization in these parts.

Barred The Review.—A comrade in one of the penitentiaries—a man who has served eight years, and is now only twenty-three years old—writes that he can no longer get the REVIEW or the *Appeal to Reason* because they have been barred from "his penitentiary." "I have been a subscriber to the *Appeal* and the REVIEW for some time," he says. "I must admit that the value of these periodicals has always been underestimated. The *Appeal* was condemned here because of its printed article showing how cruelly the inmates of Leavenworth prison are treated and because its circulation has grown so fast inside the prison walls. THE REVIEW and the *Appeal* has made many socialists in the New Jersey State Prison. Keep on printing pictures in the REVIEW. When the eye has been attracted there is a desire to read what follows. You may print this letter, but do not use my name. You now understand why I cannot work more for socialism."

From Higbee.—Comrade Evans writes: "My funds are very limited but I enclose \$1.00 for another yearly subscription to the REVIEW. I consider the REVIEW the very best magazine published in the interests of those who toil."

From a Soap Boxer.—Comrade W. G. Henry said recently to his soap box audience in a Western city, "If Mary E. Marcy's Shop Talks on Economics could be placed in the hands of 100,000 intelligent, non-socialist workingmen and they would give it a careful reading, it would form a nucleus to an army of revolt that would lead the working class farther and faster from wage slavery than anything yet published in the same number of pages. I have learned much from it myself."

From the Arkansas State Secretary.—Comrade Ida Hayman Callery writes about Shop Talks on Economics, our new 10-cent pamphlet, as follows: "I am not going to let another day slip by without telling you how much I appreciate Shop Talks. It is certainly fine. Just what we need and so clear and simple that a child could not help but understand. Mrs. Marcy is certainly demonstrating that a woman can make good and I am more than glad."

He Got His Time.—A comrade writes: "I am certainly pleased with the REVIEW, for it is the only magazine that speaks the truth about Capitalism. I have lost my job at Somerset, Colo. No reason was given, and I think it was on account of my receiving socialist literature through the post office, which is in the company store. No man can get his mail from that post office until every clerk, the superintendent and the boss have looked at it. The second time I received the REVIEW at Somerset, Colo., I GOT MY TIME CHECK ALONG WITH IT. I am leaving Diamondville, Wyo., today but you may expect another REVIEW subscription from me as soon as I get settled again."—E. H. Potter.

Look at Waterloo, Iowa.—Comrade Esther Edelson reports Waterloo, Iowa, as doing big things. She says the comrades there have discovered the way to hold successful open air meetings. These meetings are usually held in the park. The park being a public place, the socialists claim they have as much right to use it as anybody. It is situated in a working class district and the men and women find socialism brought to their very doors. The comrades rent chairs so that every listener will have a seat. This makes them willing to contribute toward financing other open air meetings. Tired workers are always glad to have a comfortable seat in the park where they can hear a snappy talk on a subject that concerns their own welfare. It is a very good plan and we hope other locals will take it up. And don't forget to sell every listener a copy of the current number of the REVIEW. It will leave 5 cents in your treasury and get him to reading the right kind of literature.

The Naked Truth.—Comrade R. C. Abell of New York writes: "It is with pleasure that I renew my subscription to the REVIEW. It always more than comes up to my expectations. The REVIEW publishes articles no other magazine would dare touch upon. It tells the naked truth."

Wants More Lessons.—Comrade Swerak of Brooklyn says: "I like the REVIEW for its fighting qualities and especially do I value Mary E. Marcy's lessons on socialism. We have had discussions and lectures on them in our branch. And the attendance was always good and the comrades interested. I think it would be a very good idea if the REVIEW would continue to publish such lessons on Socialism or Industrialism or some other subject of interest to the workers."

From a Red.—"Tell them at the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW," said Tom Mann to a

comrade who was writing us from Liverpool, "that for the sake of the deliverance of the workers we are fighting on the principles so often expressed by them—those of INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM."

Annual Socialist Encampment at Grand Saline, Texas.—The great Eighth Annual Socialist Encampment at Grand Saline, Texas, August 7th to 12th was not only the largest Socialist meeting ever held in the south or southwest, but it was the most stupendous gathering of any kind that ever assembled in north or east Texas.

The weather was superbly favorable for the week, bright and clear without an indication of rain, with the moon beaming in the full of its glory, making each hour of every night as bright as day.

By noon Tuesday there were ten thousand people in the park, and stopping room was at a premium, with an incessant procession of pedestrians, conveyances and horsemen flowing in from every direction. Soon there was not room on the grounds to turn a vehicle around; the grounds overflowed and incoming vehicles camped along the sides of the public roads wherever a stopping place could be found. Along the highways traveled the least wagons were camped in rows nearly a mile long. A very conservative estimate places the attendance on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday at 10,000 daily. Probably 50,000 different persons passed through the gates during the week, as the crowd changed up often, the people going and coming incessantly in never ending processions.

The encampment has outgrown the old grounds at Richardson Park and will have to secure larger quarters for next year.

The large water-proof tabernacle with a seating capacity of 2,000 proved too small to seat the audiences which numbered fully 3,000 three times daily during the three heaviest days of the meeting.

After the seats were all taken people stood listening all around the pavilion for 50 feet from its outer edges, beneath the surrounding shade.

From 12 to 20 speakers were on the grounds at all times, among them: A. W. Ricker, associate editor of the *Appeal to Reason*; Stanley J. Clark, that storm petrel of the Social Revolution; Richey Alexander, secretary and general manager of the encampments. These were on the program and many more.

The audiences listened as eagerly to and applauded as heartily the speeches of the young comrades as readily as they responded to the lectures of the masters of the platform.

In the grim determination, profound attention and electrical flames of applause that swept over the great audiences one could almost see the waves of revolt surging in the minds of the workers of farm and factory, and catch the spark and spirit of the coming revolution.

Butte Heard From Again.—On September 5th we received another order from the Butte Miners, Local No. 1, W. F. M., ordering 100

more copies a month of The Fighting Magazine. Perhaps our readers have heard how the working men and women in Butte put socialists in as officers of their unions, their city jobs and as the servants of the labor movement there in general. They don't choose men "to serve ALL the people" but they pick men whom they can trust to serve the working class. The Butte Miners' Union is the largest in the northwest and they are always in the front rank when there is any fighting to be done for the wage workers. And those union men choose, as their public servants, men who are headed for Revolution—men who are socialists through and through. We are glad to hear from our Butte friends again. When such men back the REVIEW we know it is becoming in deed as well as in WORD a Fighting Magazine. Take a tip, you other labor organizations. Look at your brothers in Montana and get wise. You can't educate yourselves unless you read good socialist literature. You can't know about the labor movement if you don't read the right magazine. Get your local to send in \$20.00 and get a bundle of REVIEWS each month for a year. You will be surprised at the result. Our Butte letter came from a comrade who stands very high in the hearts of Union No. 1, but he said: "Don't mention any names as we are all workers for the cause here, and are not looking for any public notoriety. We are just good HUSTLING comrades." It is easy to see why Butte is one of the most revolutionary cities in America. And keep your eye on Mayor Lewis J. Duncan. He is another good man and built of the right timber. You don't hear him talking about being a "leader." Evidently he thinks he is on the job to SERVE the workers. It sounds a little bit new, but awfully good to us.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

The Growth of the Review. During the first eight months of 1910 the cash receipts of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW were \$8,803.64. During the corresponding months of 1911 its receipts have been \$15,022.75. Our book sales meanwhile increased from \$18,218.78 to \$23,856.27. This progress has been made while struggling under a heavy load of debt, and nearly every dollar that has come in above necessary running expenses has been used to repay loans. We are anxious to enlarge the REVIEW at the earliest possible moment, but this can not safely be done while debts remain unpaid.

More Partners Needed. The REVIEW and the publishing house are owned by a co-operative company with an authorized capital of \$50,000, divided into 5,000 shares of \$10 each. Of these 3,668 have been paid in, while 1,332 shares are still for sale. If these can be sold within the next few months it will not only pay off every dollar of debt but will also give us ample capital for enlarging the REVIEW and doubling our output of books. Will not YOU be one of 1,332 to subscribe for a share at \$10 each? You can if you prefer pay for it at the rate of \$1 a month, but it will be better both for you and for us if you can take advantage of the special \$15 offer on the last page of this month's REVIEW. We have never paid and never promised dividends. What you get for yourself by subscribing for stock is the privilege of buying books at special discounts, which are fully explained in our new catalogue, to be had for the asking. If you are with us, let us hear from you now. And if you can't subscribe for stock, at least send a dollar for a year's subscription.

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These are especially good for new readers. Catalogue of other books on request. We will send 100 assorted copies of the books named above by express prepaid for \$5.00; 1,000 for \$40. No discounts to stockholders from these wholesale prices.

Magazine Mail Now Goes by Freight. Beginning with September, the Postmaster General has adopted a system by which magazines mailed from the office of publication are carried in freight cars instead of mail cars. We are publishing the October REVIEW earlier than usual, and if it is late in reaching subscribers, the delay is due to the action of the post-office department.

Socialist Hustlers Wanted. Any competent man or woman now finds it easy to make a good living from the sale of Socialist books and the REVIEW. There is room for a thousand new workers in this field at once. Our publishing house is run not to make profits but to circulate the greatest possible quantities of the best Socialist literature at the lowest possible prices. We can supply you on terms that will make it easy for you to earn good wages from the sale of the books. But we positively can not sell books on credit. If you wish to sell books outside

regular working hours in your spare time, a five dollar assortment will start you. On the other hand we do not advise any one to depend on the book business for a living unless he can pay at least \$50 for a supply. On receipt of this amount we will send by freight an assorted lot of books that will sell at retail for \$125, and a live hustler should be able to sell them in less than two weeks. Many Socialist Locals pay their hall rent out of the profit on literature sales. And far more important than the profit is the educational effect on the working class of your city that comes from the reading of the books the Local circulates.

The National Socialist Lyceum Lecture Bureau.—We have lately received from the National Office of the Socialist Party a sample of the ticket to be used for the Lyceum course. Each dollar ticket is good not only for admittance to five lectures, but also for a dollar's worth of subscriptions to socialist periodicals or a dollar's worth of socialist books. We believe the Lyceum Bureau will be a big success. Comrade Frank Bohn, well-known to REVIEW readers and now one of our associate editors, will be one of the Bureau's lecturers in the Middle West. The Lyceum Bureau will enable each of the co-operating Locals to carry the message and the literature of socialism to hundreds of people who might not otherwise be reached. Take hold and push the sale of Lyceum tickets in your own Local. And when you do so, remember that the purchaser of a ticket will usually adopt your suggestion as to the literature he has to select. If he prefers a book rather than a periodical, don't let him overlook the indispensable books by Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Dietzgen and Kautsky. Don't let him waste time by learning things that he will soon have to unlearn. But if possible, get each new reader to start with the REVIEW. Tom Mann, the greatest labor agitator in the world, the man who did most in bringing the British working class together in its last great labor victory, says of the REVIEW: *It has set the whole labor world talking about ONE BIG UNION. It sowed the seed in Australia and we are carrying on the great work here in England.*

Don't be satisfied with merely selling a Lyceum ticket, but make sure that the buyer of the ticket gets your Fighting Magazine.

The Pyramid of Capitalism.—This eloquent picture on the front page of the October REVIEW is reproduced by permission of the International Publishing Company, 1747 West 25th St., Cleveland, Ohio, the owners of the copyright. It must not be printed without their permission. They publish the picture in post card form at \$1.00 per hundred and size 16x21 at \$7.00 per hundred, with lettering in several different languages. Orders for copies should be addressed to them and not to the REVIEW office.

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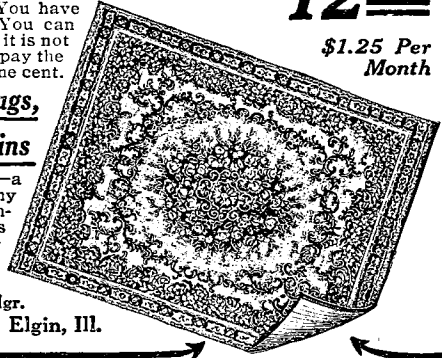
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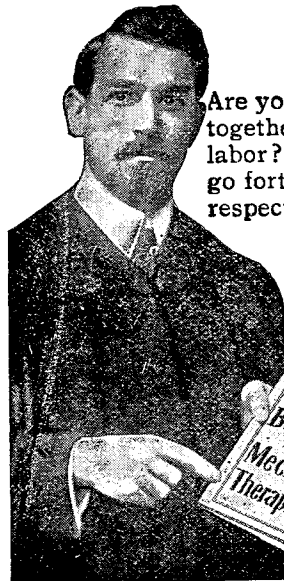
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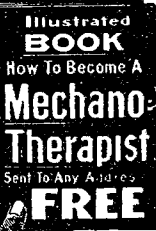
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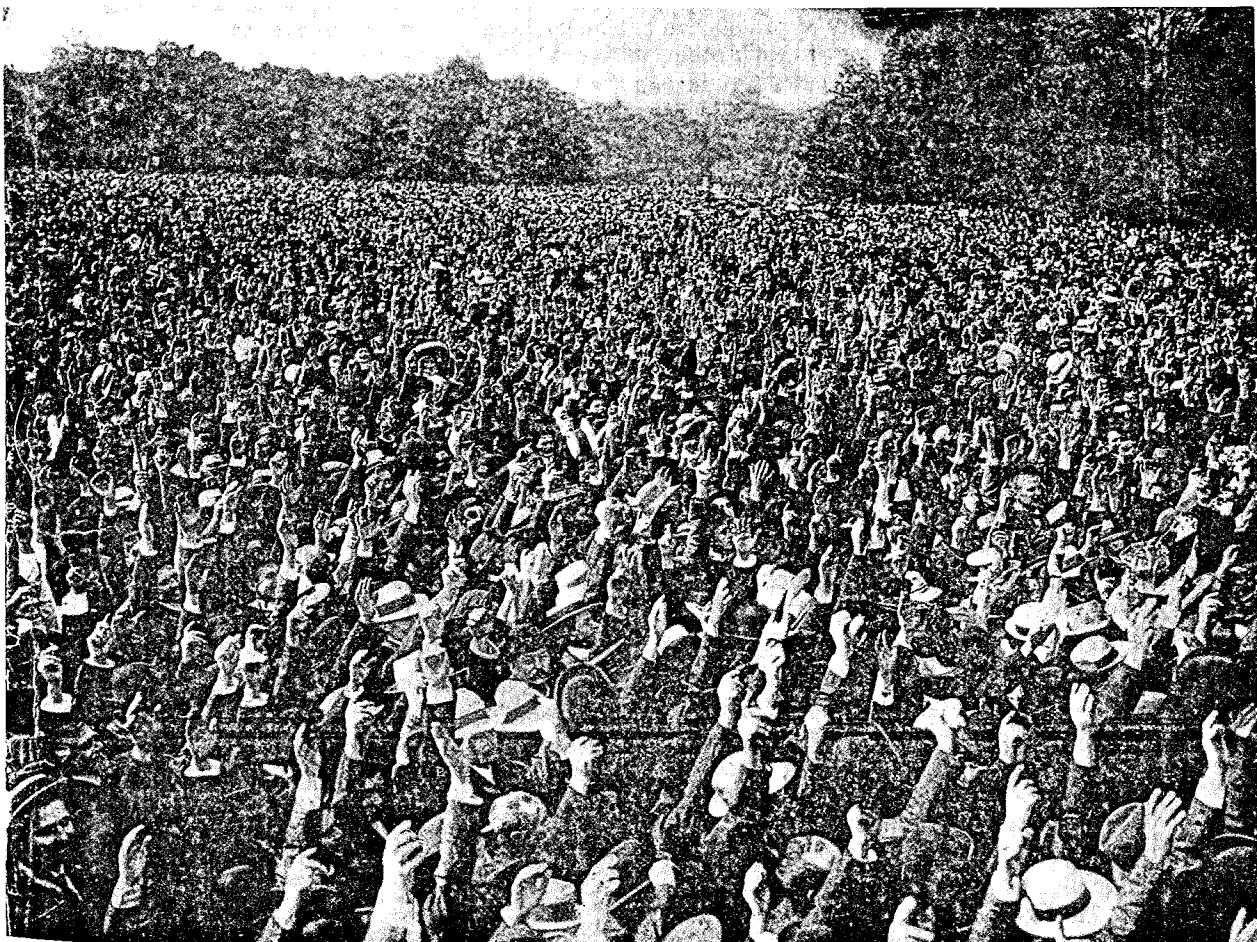
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But the driving of the last spike will be the signal for the real boom to commence, just as has happened in a dozen other cases in this tremendously active and prosperous territory. Things are never done by halves in the Canadian Northwest. When they begin to grow—they grow big.

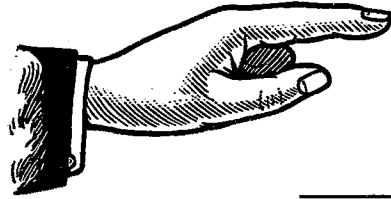
Take, for example, Fort George, B. C. Eighteen months ago lots which are now worth \$1,500 to \$2,000 were sold for only \$100 to \$150. Prince Rupert, B. C., lots which could not be bought today for anything like \$1,000 to \$3,000 were snapped up two years ago by keen men and women for only \$200 to \$500.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives LaMonte, William E. Bohn,
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Entered at the Postoffice at Chicago, Ill., as Second Class Matter July 27, 1900, under Act of March 3, 1879.

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Your Review Comes by Freight.—In September Postmaster-General Hitchcock established a new rule by which magazines will for the most part be carried in freight cars instead of mail cars. This makes a delay of from two to ten days in the delivery of copies of the REVIEW which are mailed long distances. Our readers are requested to keep this in mind and to wait some time before complaining if the REVIEW does not arrive as early as expected.

We Want to Enlarge.—We are already giving far more reading matter and pictures for a dollar a year than any other Socialist magazine in the world. But we want to enlarge again. With your help we can do so. What we need to make the enlargement possible is twenty thousand new yearly subscriptions at the full price of one dollar each. Our actual circulation for the last nine months has averaged 40,—500 monthly, and nearly every copy has been sold, but most of them in bundles at reduced prices. If one-half of those who will read this month's REVIEW would at once send in \$1.00 each for a year's subscription, we could enlarge at once. Are you with us?

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The Militant Proletariat, by Austin Lewis, is the most important contribution to Socialist theory that has yet been produced by any American writer. The scientific basis of the tactics which the REVIEW has long advocated is in this book set forth logically, clearly and forcibly. Every Socialist speaker and writer, whether he is in sympathy with us or with our opportunist opponents, will need to read **THE MILITANT PROLETARIAT** in order to defend his own position intelligently. Take our word for it; this is a book that you should not miss if you have any interest in the work of the Socialist Party. Cloth, 50 cents,

postpaid. Ready December 10. Advance orders solicited.

Puritanism, by Clarence Meily, is another new book that will delight every revolutionist. Its dedication reads as follows:

"To that sorely betrayed and somewhat bedraggled goddess, 'Liberty,' with whom, however, Puritanism has prevented the author's personal acquaintance, this little book is affectionately inscribed." Its chapters are:

- I. What Is Morality?
- II. Class Systems of Morality.
- III. The Origin of Puritanism.
- IV. The Decadence of Puritanism.
- V. Puritanism and Asceticism.
- VI. Puritanism and the Proletariat.
- VII. Abstract Morality.

One of the greatest obstacles to the growth of revolutionary socialism is the fact that millions of working people meekly accept the standards of conduct which are handed down to them by preachers, teachers and editors in the pay of the capitalist class. Comrade Meily's book will prove a help and a stimulus to clear thinking on the part of wage-workers, and should do a world of good. Cloth, 50 cents, postpaid. Ready December 10. Advance orders solicited.

The Socialist Argument, by C. C. Hitchcock, is a volume of essays stating the case for Socialism, and addressed to the professional and mercantile classes rather than to the wage-workers. There is an undoubted field for works of this kind, and especially at the approaching holiday season many Socialists may be glad to obtain a new book along these lines for a holiday gift. Cloth, \$1.00, postpaid. Ready December 10.

As our capital for bringing out new books is limited, it will be an important help if you will remit the price of any or all of these books at once. In this way you will be sure to receive them immediately upon publication.

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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NOVEMBER, 1911

No. 5

THE WORLD-WIDE REVOLT

By MARY E. MARCY

Illustrated with Photographs by Paul Thompson

FROM all over the world come reports of strikes, rebellions and attempted revolutions. There are wars and rumors of war. There are wars upon war. Hunger riots are common occurrences in Spain, France and Austria. The splendid battle of the British workingmen in their recent victory is still making hope in our hearts. In parts of France, Austria and Spain martial law has been declared. In Portugal the forces of democracy and socialism are warring against Privilege and Reaction.

Terrorism is abroad once more in Russia with its massacres, its persecutions and its assassinations. China is struggling to put down the last rebellion. Mexico is seething with revolt as never before. The press in Norway is recommending the disbanding of the Norwegian army because of the GROWTH of SOCIALIST sentiment in its ranks. Thrones are trembling and the fear of panics is in the air!

"What does it all mean? What is going to happen? Are we on the verge of some great step of progress, or are we approaching a time of anarchy?" demands one of the eastern newspapers.

And it is the socialist who is able to reply and to point out the CLASS STRUGGLE growing fiercer and clearer every day.

Every improvement in the machinery of production leaves more men and women out of work and more profits for capitalists. But beside the normal increasing development of Capitalism there has been for the past ten years a constant DECREASE in the wages of the proletariat. This leaves still more surplus value, or profit for the capitalist.

The DECREASE in wages is only apparent in the increased cost of living. When twenty dollars decreases in value 50 per cent it will only buy half as many potatoes. Remember that prices have risen because your

dollars are worth only half as much as formerly.

And so everywhere the men who toil and the women who work are being more pitilessly pinched by poverty. We do not realize that we are now being paid virtually in MEXICAN (half value) dollars and in a frenzy of misery and despair we are rising in hunger riots, rent rebellions, strikes for higher wages and embryonic revolutions.

Every day the capitalist is able to appropriate more of the value you or I have made. He is getting richer. Every day as the value of gold decreases your wages are being automatically reduced. You can usually tell when a dollar falls in value when it BUYS less today than it bought yesterday. Watch the capitalists scurrying about to find ways and means for prolonging their power and your misery. Watch the government's attempt to regulate prices BY STATE LAW in the face of economic law. You will see them enacting statutes for a minimum wage and the value of that wage soon falling below the growing cost of living. And you will see human misery, working class hunger, finding the way out in the mighty revolution that will forever abolish wage slavery and modern capitalism.

IN VIENNA: Vienna has been the scene of demonstrations of an almost revolutionary character the past month. The police and military were called out and killed many persons. These sanguinary scenes usually followed socialist mass meetings combined with the public demonstrations against the high cost of living. Such cries as "Away with Capital," "Down with the Government," and "Hurrah for the Revolution," interrupted the twenty or more speakers who addressed the crowds. At one of the evening meetings when the Hussars and Dragoons threat-

ened to make the encounter a bloody one, the workers turned off the city lights and brought calm. The socialists are doing much for the work of organization. They say nothing on earth could have prevented the riots, which they called "Demonstrations of despair."

"Hunger Riots" are raging all over France, caused by the despair of the workers at their inability to meet the advancing cost of food and high rents. The government had become alarmed and decided to establish municipal slaughter houses and meat markets as well as municipal bakeries to combat the rising prices. But at the first official meeting for the consideration of these measures the trades people appeared in swarms with their lawyers to



HOCH DIE REVOLUTION!
THE COST OF LIVING REVOLT—VIENNA.

point out legal obstacles and professional experts to prove the impracticability of such undertakings.

Everywhere the military were called out to beat back the starving workers who sometimes made savage raids upon the stalls in the markets. Later the men stretched wires across the streets so that when the cavalry dashed into the scene of the trouble their horses were thrown. Banners borne by the strikers bear such illuminating words as these: "We will not pay rent while we have no bread," "Death to landlords," "Down with Capital" and "Hurrah for the Revolution!"

It will be remembered that the General Confederation de Travail voted unanimously for a general strike in case France became embroiled in a war with Germany over Morocco.

Socialists and syndicalists in Italy have been carrying on an incessant anti-war crusade during the late talk of war and the invasion of Turkey. Many of the socialists and unionists declared in favor of a general strike in case war was declared. But the anti-war propaganda had not been carried on long enough to defeat the government. At last reports over 2,000 anti-militarists had been thrown into jail and armed troops were dispersing hostile crowds. Between Anconia and Forli, telegraph poles were thrown across the tracks; tracks were torn up and women threw themselves in front of the trains that transported the reservists to the military stations. But the anti-militarists are keeping at it. They are redoubling their crusade for they recognize the fact that militarism is being fostered and cultivated almost for the sole purpose of keeping down the rebelling wage slaves.

And apropos of anti-militarism, an Englishman recently paid a visit to Morocco. While

there he had the pleasure of an audience before one of the most distinguished Sheiks of the realm, who had traveled extensively and who spoke many languages. The Englishman was amazed when the venerable Moor asked concerning the growth of socialism in Germany and the anti-militarist movement in France.

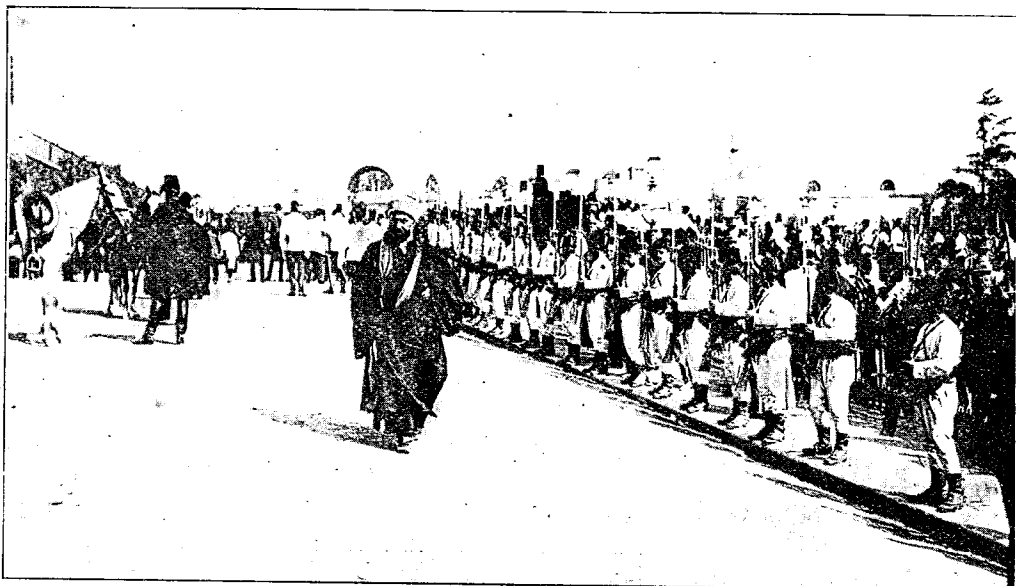
"It is my belief," he said, "that the workmen of England, the anti-militarists of France and the socialists of Germany would refuse to engage in another war of conquest. The hope of Morocco lies in the anti-military spirit that is invading all Europe."

German Socialists for Peace.

William II will have the bitterest oppo-



"TENANTS WHO PAY THEIR LANDLORDS AND LEAVE THEIR CHILDREN WITHOUT BREAD ARE COWARDS."—FRANCE.

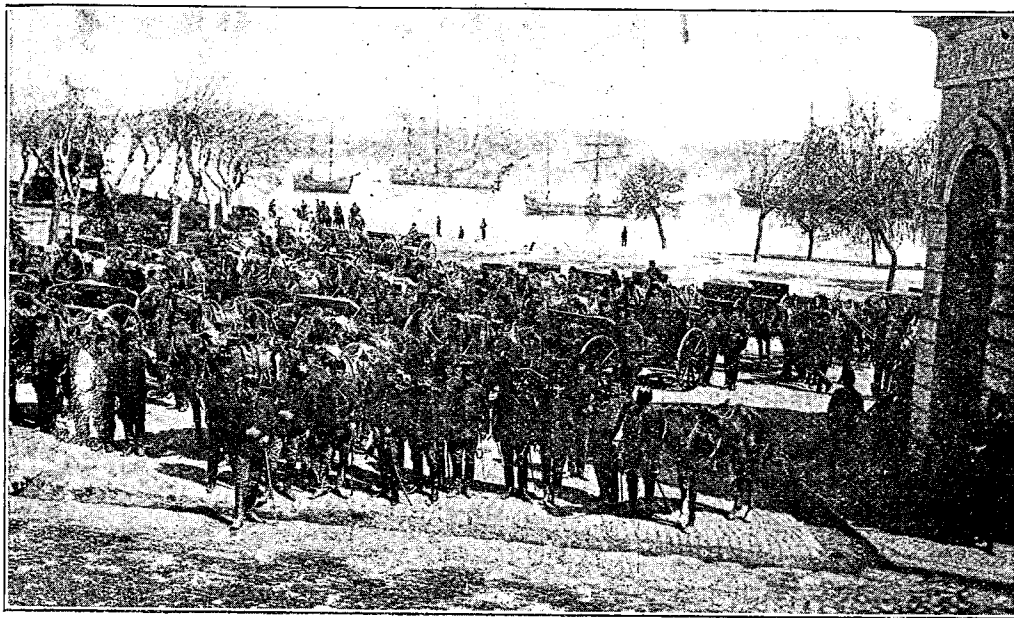


TURKISH TROOPS BEING INSPECTED.

sition of the socialists and anti-militarists in case he embarks on a campaign against England and France over Morocco. August Bebel and the German socialists held a great anti-war meeting recently to announce their attitude toward war and to make known their determination to have nothing to do with it. Said Bebel:

"It is the duty of the proletariat to secure the maintenance of peace and to expose the folly of those without conscience who are trying to represent the people of Germany as approving war. The government takes no action in the matter. The people themselves will take action."

Forward, comrades! War to those who



TRANSPORTING TURKISH ARTILLERY.



SPANISH CAVALRY DRAWN UP FOR DUTY.

exploit and would fool the working class. At the vast mass meeting held in Treptow Park, Berlin, a vote by a show of over 100,000 hands was passed condemning war.

Lord Claud Hamilton, M. P., chairman of the Great Eastern Railway Company of England, has lately been conferring with the Royal Commission. He declared that once the unions, imbued as they now are with a spirit of rebellion, got control of the railroads, they would execute their inflammatory designs of rousing the people into confiscating the railroads. "In such an event," he said, "they would wield a power which even Parliament itself would be unable to contend with."

The Revolutionary Socialists today possess the greatest opportunity ever known in the history of the labor movement. They know the drift of events and how best to use the current to the ultimate victory of the international working class. Strenuous days are coming and the great need of the hour and of every hour is education and organization.

If we are prepared to meet the tide of events with a well drilled army of working men and women who KNOW WHAT THEY WANT and HOW TO GET IT, if we are big enough to demand and to take much in the days of terror that are coming instead of snapping up reform sops, there is no height to which the proletariat cannot attain during this period of storm and stress.

Let us put on our armor. Let us remember that the literature of socialism is our greatest ammunition. Let us keep at it all the time. The greatest achievement any working man or woman can accomplish today is the making of another INTELLIGENT REVOLUTIONIST.

Let us be prepared for the coming opportunity. So that when thrones are tumbling and dynasties are at an end, when Capitalism seeks to inaugurate a reign of terror, of blood and massacre to uphold her dying power, the calm-eyed proletariat shall be ready to take control of industry and to bring order out of chaos, and joy and peace and freedom to the toilers of the world.



THE WORKER'S SHARE

BY

T. EDWIN SMITH

IN THE WESTERN CLARION

THE capitalist hires a man when he sees a chance to make a profit off his work and turns back to the man enough of his product in the form of wages to enable him to come back the next day and produce some more. He also pays him enough to enable the man to reproduce himself when he is worn out. The workers' food in his eyes is exactly the same as the gasoline or the coal that he gives his engine. The workers' children are the same as the sinking fund that he provides to buy new machinery when the old is worn out.

In another respect the worker is like a machine. As soon as a piece of machinery wears out or gets smashed in an accident the capitalist throws it aside and buys new. As soon as the worker gets too old to do the fast work required by the employer or is injured in an accident so that he will be no good he is discharged and left to look after himself.

You are a living, breathing human being with hopes, desires and aspirations. Yet you are treated like a mass of iron and brass. You have higher feelings that you must satisfy. You can love and hate. You can feel pleasure and suffer pain. Yet the present capitalistic system condemns you to the scrap-heap with a thing of insensate stone or wood.

A man is greater than anything his hands have made, therefore we say he is greater than any block of granite or piece of steel.

A wage slave in his economic relations is very much in the same boat with a horse. You know that if one of you owns a horse or hires one, that the horse must make

enough from his work to pay for the hire of him or the cost of reproduction, his feed and care, as well as leave a profit for yourself, or you will not keep it. It is exactly the same with yourself.

The boss treats you just like you treat your horses. You must pay back from the work you do your wages, your share of running the plant and earn a profit over and above all this for him. All that you earn over and above your wages and a proportionate share of the running expenses is called surplus value, and this surplus value goes to make your master rich, instead of keeping you when you are not working as it should do.

Sometimes a horse will produce surplus value for you even when you do not hire him. Suppose you are digging a ditch by contract and get twenty cents per yard for doing it. When using a shovel and wheelbarrow you can move ten yards a day. Then you get \$2 for a hard day's work.

You think up a scheme to beat this, so you buy a team of horses, harness and a scraper at a cost of, say, \$400. The team, harness and scraper, you see, is worth about 13 cents a day. That is, there will be about ten years' work in the horses or 3,000 days. This 3,000 days is worth \$400 or 13 cents a day. When the horses are worn out they have added that much to the value of the work they have done. It will cost you about 60 cents a day to feed them, so the total expenses are 73 cents a day.

With the aid of the team the man can move eighty yards of earth in a day and earn \$16, or \$13.27 per day more than he did before. The horses enable him to earn

this extra money, but they do not get it. All the horses earn above their feed and cost is surplus value and goes to the master.

It is the same with yourself. You must earn your own wages, your cost and all other expenses connected with your job and a whole lot more. All this that is above your wages and your share of the running expenses is the surplus value of your labor and it goes to your master.

Your wage may be \$2 a day, your share of the necessary expenses 50 cents, then all you make that is over \$2.50 a day is surplus and goes to the owner of the factory to enable him to live in a fine house while you live in a hovel. If the product of your labor is \$10 a day, the surplus value your labor creates is equal to \$7.50.

In this respect you are treated like a horse, but in every other way the horse has the better of you. If your horse gets sick you put him in a stall, feed him, doctor him and let him rest until he is able to go to work again. If you get sick your employer turns you out to feed yourself, doctor yourself, and then take chances of getting your old job back again when you are able to work.

When a horse gets too old to do anything the master turns him out to graze in a pasture for the rest of his life or else mercifully puts him to death in the easiest and quickest way. When you get too old to work your master turns you out to die of starvation. If you try to kill yourself in some easier way, he calls it a crime and will put you in jail for it. I would rather be a horse myself.

You think you all deserve something better than that. You do if you try to get something better. If you wish to merely drift with the current and let matters take their course, if you are willing to be the supine slave of your capitalistic master, if you are content to be the equal of a stone, you deserve what you get. If you are struggling to make your conditions better you

T. EDWIN SMITH

deserve to have them better. If you have the courage to stand out against the robbery you will find thousands to stand out with you.

Today we have social production. That is, in the making of any article, no matter how small, there is employed some part of the productive power of every worker in the world. Along with social production we have class ownership. That is, the men who own the factories, as a rule, do not have anything to do with running them or even managing them, while the men who do the work, as a rule, do not have even a small share in the factories in which they work.

The capitalists have carried human development to a higher plane than it was when they found it, but they have gone now as far as they can. The capitalistic system has done its share. Now the workers must carry it one step further until the men who work will collectively own what they collectively use, and they will then enjoy the good things that their labor creates."

Remember, you wage workers, that nobody is going to hand you freedom upon a silver salver. The capitalist class will never step down and abdicate. Leaders can never be trusted to lead you to economic independence. It is your own task. You must free yourselves.

Already there are millions of wage working men and women who are working for emancipation. They may be found in the Socialist Party and in the INDUSTRIAL UNION. Hunt them up. Join them and then—above all else READ THE LITERATURE of SOCIALISM. Get a few books, pamphlets and UNDERSTAND the aims, and methods of the revolutionary army.

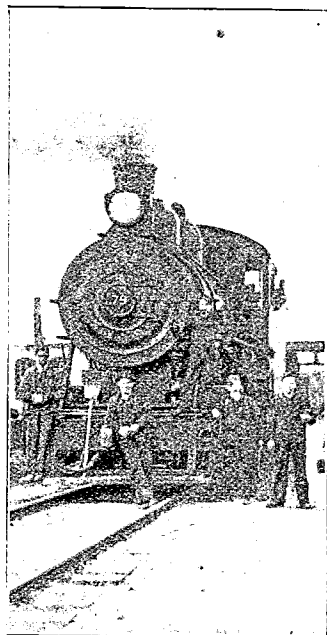
Write to Charles H. Kerr & Co., publishers of this magazine and ask for suggestions on industrial union and socialist books. You NEED TO KNOW before you can successfully help yourselves.



SWITCHED OFF THE MAIN LINE

By

PHILLIPS RUSSELL



ON the last of September, the long-delayed strike of the System Federation among the shopmen of the Harriman lines took place, extending from the middle west to the Gulf in the south and taking in all that territory westward to the Pacific ocean.

The System Federation comprises the shopmen of ten different organizations, the principal ones being the International Association of Machinists, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, International Association of Sheet Metal Workers, the steamfitters, clerks, painters, engine hostlers and members of the Federal Labor Union. The first five mentioned are the leading organizations involved. The international presidents of these unions, having had many conferences with Vice-President Kruttschnitt of the Harriman lines, finally called the strike on three lines, these lines being the Illinois Central, the Southern Pacific and the Union Pacific lines.

The union officials claimed that 25,000 men came out. The railroad heads asserted there were only a few thousand at most.

In this strike there are just two questions with which the men in the ranks need concern themselves, and these are—hours and wages. The matter of recognition early in the fight was made the most of, but of all the issues involved, this was the most insignificant. However, the Federation heads insisted on making recognition the leading demand and pushing the first two fundamentals into the background.

Of all the questions at issue, that pertaining to the hours of labor is supreme. Men on strike can afford to make the matter of wages a secondary issue. It is the hours that count, for it cannot be too often repeated that shorter hours invariably mean higher wages.

Several thousand unorganized workers followed the union men out, and having been given the impression that the revolt was for an eight hour day and bet-

ter conditions, they were eager for the fight.

But on learning that the question of hours and conditions was not going to figure in the struggle, and on hearing the incessant chant of the Federation heads that they asked only recognition for the Federation, the unorganized men soon lost interest and began to drift back into the shops.

Many of these men were foreigners and not residents of this country long enough to become "eligible" for union membership. The result was that they went back to work, bitter against those who had misled them and disgusted with the tactics that forced an enthusiastic striker into becoming resentful enough to become a scab.

Among the most eager and determined strikers were those of the Burnside shop of the Illinois Central, which is just outside Chicago. Crowded shop meetings were held nearly every day. Finally an organization of preachers affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor, saw a chance to get into the affair.

Militant workers who in times past have allowed brethren of the cloth to butt into strikes have in most cases had reason to regret it. A strike is a battle in the continuous war between capital and labor. Preachers and priests have no place in the midst of it. The time for prayer is before or after. Headed by the Rev. C. H. Doolittle, a working machinist, and J. D. Buckalew, District President of the International Association of Machinists, these gentry worked up a mass meet-

ing of Illinois Central strikers by means of pink circulars whose wording was as follows:

AT LAST!

AT LAST! AT LAST!

The Key has been discovered whereby the great problems of the day may be properly adjusted to the satisfaction of all.

That our coming generation may live and let live in happiness and enjoyment of all the blessings that this country affords; to that end a monster

GOSPEL MASS MEETING

of the men and clergy of the Church and the Federation of working men will be held at **TURNER HALL**, 75th street and Dobson avenue,

SUNDAY, OCT 8TH, 2:30 P. M.

Invocation of God's Blessing—Rev. Dr. Worrell, of the Brookline Presbyterian Church.

Scripture Reading—Rev. Dr. Buck, of Lorimer Memorial Baptist Church.

Rev. A. E. Wright will pronounce the benediction.

Rev. C. H. Doolittle will deliver the message.

Special music will be furnished. All free. No collection will be taken.

COMMITTEE OF FOURTEEN,

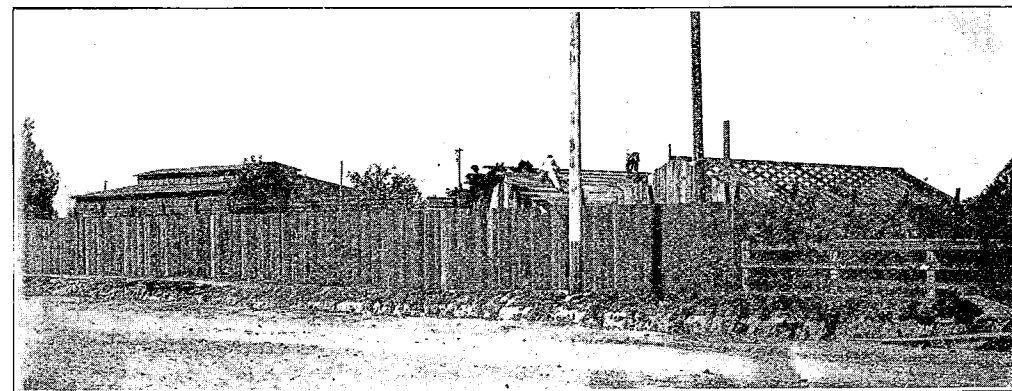
Representing the Clergy and Workingmen's Federation.

J. D. BUCKALEW, Moderator.

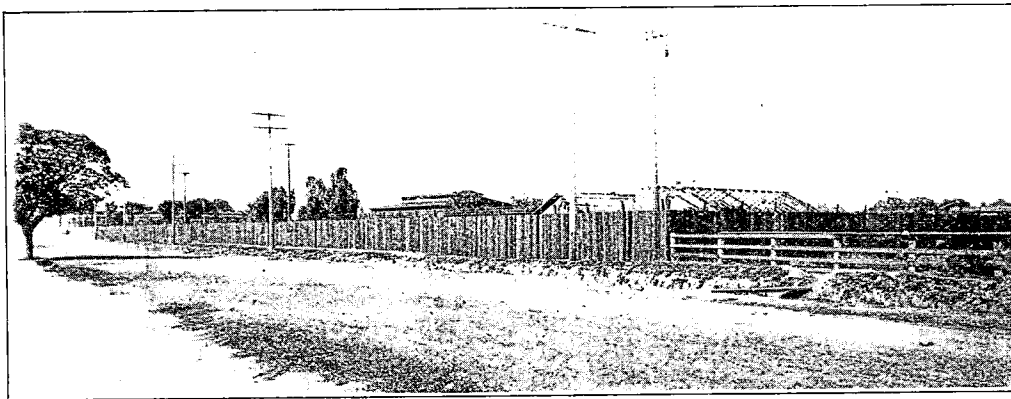
C. H. DOOLITTLE, Chairman.

The meeting was pulled off on Sunday afternoon in Grand Crossing, Turner Hall, Chicago. About 19 religious leaders took part. It was a sort of combined revival and prayer meeting, the speakers holding forth like old-time "exhorters."

The principal result of this exhibition



STOCKADES AT FRESNO.



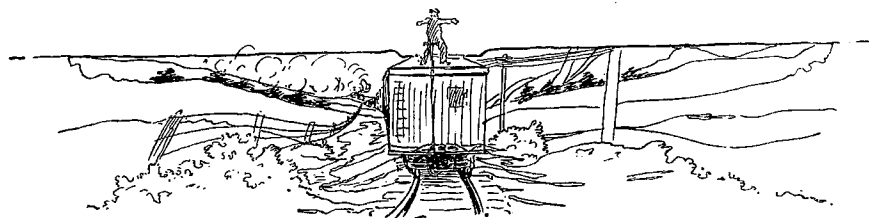
was the stirring up of religious prejudice and over 100 Catholic strikers were so offended that they went back to work the next day.

The strike was mismanaged from the beginning. In the first place it was delayed so long that the railroads had ample time to secure scabs in the eastern cities and hurry them west. Huge stockades were erected at several cities in California and these bull-pens were packed full of strike-breakers.

In Los Angeles, union men helped to complete the stockade, which was built expressly to house scabs! The construction was done mostly by non-union carpenters, but the wiring for lights, etc., was done by members of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Most cruel of all is the fact that the railroad brotherhoods obediently hauled carloads of scabs to various points and delivered them where they were to break the strike of their own brothers in the shops. Railroad men thus furnished scabs for the company while ostensibly lending their "moral support" to the strikers.

Almost the only encouraging feature of the strike was the news from California that many Mexican and Chinese laborers, though despised and unorganized, were prompt to strike with their American brethren. In comparison with this notable exhibition of class consciousness the action of the railroad "brotherhoods" in staying at work is too contemptible for words.



WHY THE SANTA FE RAILROAD SENT ONE MAN TO PRISON

ON OCTOBER 30, 1903, a wreck of one of the Santa Fe passenger trains occurred. We are told that many persons were injured and killed and prompt suits for damages against the railway company were instituted. As long as the blame for the accident could be laid at the door of the company there was danger of its having to pay out thousands of dollars in damages. And so the company produced a "goat."

Now every proletarian knows what a "goat" is. He is the man who takes the blame without deserving it. He is the man who suffers for the crimes of another, or the man at whose expense somebody else or some corporation rises to greater financial heights.

John Devine, a hobo, was convicted of wrecking the Santa Fe train. He was sentenced to life imprisonment in the penitentiary. From the day of his incarceration until the time of his death, six years later, we believe, he never spoke one word. He was known as "the silent prisoner."

And then, the story runs, a man dying in another state confessed to knowledge that positively exonerated Devine of any complicity in the accident whatsoever.

It seems that the State Board of Pardons of Colorado wrote to Thomas R. Hoffmire, attorney for the Santa Fe Railroad, asking whether there was any possible doubt of the guilt of the tramp, who had already served several years in the penitentiary. We give below a copy of Mr. Hoffmire's letter, which, we believe, outrivals anything for diabolical capitalist cold-bloodedness in the whole annals of modern industry:

Thos. R. Hoffmire, Lawyer, Opera House Block, Pueblo, Colo.

July 27.

Mr. Wm. Thoms,
Secy. State Board of Pardons,
Denver, Colo.

Dear Sir:—Yours of the 24th of July at hand and contents noted. At the time I was quite familiar with all the facts and circumstances con-

nected with the wrecking of Santa Fe passenger train No. 6, October 30, 1903, as I was specially employed by the company to take charge of the case and to prosecute John Devine, who was convicted and given a life sentence in the penitentiary.

You ask for my advice upon the certainty of John Devine having committed the crime and I must be frank and tell you that I am not certain, nor have I ever been, that a crime was ever committed by any one in connection with this wreck. I prosecuted the case upon the *evidence furnished by the special agents of the company* (the italics are ours) and as public sentiment was very much aroused against the defendant, it was not much effort to obtain a conviction. Devine was a typical but inoffensive hobo and seemed to think that as far as his personal comfort was concerned the penitentiary would be about the best place for him. There are a *great many circumstances from a moral point of view that would raise a very serious doubt as to the defendant's guilt* (the italics are ours), or even as to the corpus delicti.

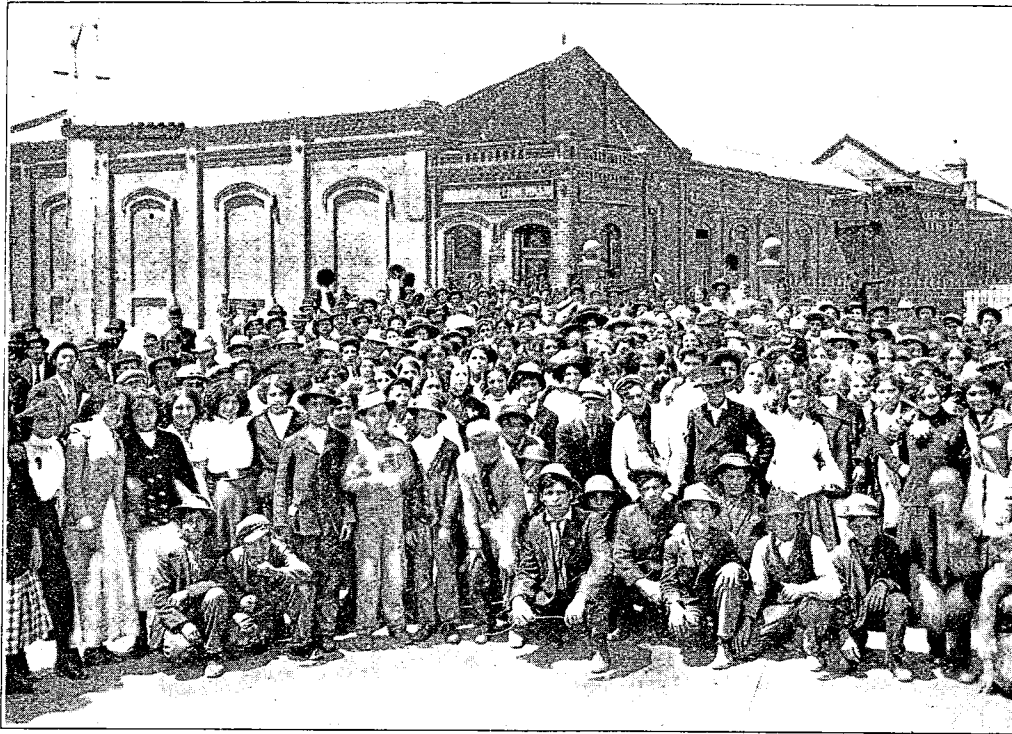
I might say in conclusion that *the conviction of Devine saved the Santa Fe Railway Company a great many thousands of dollars as several damage suits had been instituted against the company by those who were injured in the wreck.* (Again italics are our own.)

Very respectfully,
(Signed) THOMAS R. HOFFMIRE.

John Devine died inside the prison walls.

In the wonderful days a-coming future generations will read the history of capitalist society with horror and amazement. They will refer to the twentieth century as the Diabolical Age of PROFITS. They will marvel that men could sink so low as to send innocent unfortunates to life-long imprisonment for the sake of a few filthy dollars.

But by whatever Gods there be or may not be, a day of reckoning is coming and coming fast. Let not those professional prostitutes marvel when the fury of the deceived, the starved and suffering working class is aroused at last! The death of John Devine shall be avenged.



COTTON MILL STRIKERS--CALIFORNIA.

THE DRIFT IN CALIFORNIA

BY

AUSTIN LEWIS

"THE direct results of the activities of the unskilled proletarians may seem unimportant, nevertheless it is these activities that bring about the moral regeneration of this division of the working class," says Kautsky, in somewhat patronizing terms, which, however, state but a small part of the actual truth. As a matter of fact, the activities of the unskilled proletariat never seem unimportant to the student of industrial movements, and the moral regeneration proceeding from them is by no means confined to their own section of the proletariat. To these movements are due all that is fresh, vigorous and strong in the labor movement.

This arises from a variety of causes, economic and otherwise, not the least being the fact that the great, rich and powerful trades unions tend naturally to become conservatives and static, finally, indeed, reactionary, and part of "the system" itself. Under such circumstances an "uprush from below," as Ben Tillett described the last English demonstrations of the unskilled proletariat, becomes not only healthy, but necessary. It tends to put that zest into the fight which disappears so ignominiously in face of the sordid bargainings that mark an established trade union organization, as part of the capitalistic arrangement.

California, though by no means an industrial community, has for some time been

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in the throes of labor conflicts. These have produced distinct types. The result is that a perspective of the present labor struggle can be had in California perhaps more completely than elsewhere. Rich conservative unionism is in San Francisco; militaristic (in the sense of being organized from above), scrapping unionism is also well represented in the same city. The word "scrapping" is used advisedly for seldom does the aggressive element rise to the dignity of an actual fighting body, so that the struggles attendant upon the existing state of the labor fight are for the most part insignificant and uninspiring.

An example of what is meant in the latter connection appears from recent occurrences in Oakland. There has been a strike in the mills of the Sunset Lumber Company which has employed armed scabs. The armed scabs were allowed to parade the streets of the city upon the ground that the constitution gave them the right to bear arms. This went on for some time until some half dozen or more union men were shot. Then the union decided to arm its representatives. It did so. Thereupon much public indignation and the scrapping union agreed to lay down its arms upon condition that the scabs laid down theirs. Some sixteen policemen were next detailed to protect the scab wagons and the Sunset Lumber Company gets its protection for nothing out of pocket; at least, that is how it appears. Such are the tactics of the scrapping unions, the chronicles of which would make many disgusting volumes.

Several manifestations of movement on the part of the unskilled proletariat have occurred during the past year in this state. A restless spirit has pervaded the masses who have hitherto been neglected by the American Federation of Labor. Men began to respond to the I. W. W. teachings, or to put it more correctly, the I. W. W. began to interpret the mind of the unskilled and nomadic laborers. Such practised observers of labor phenomena as Andrew Furuseth and O. A. Tveitmoie sensed conditions and issued their famous call for the organization of the "Migratory laborers," which was followed by the formation of the "United Laborers." It is worth noting that both of the proponents of this notion are engaged in the California movement.

There arose, however, almost spontan-

cously, an organization of Mexican unskilled laborers, in Los Angeles. They came into being as the result of a street labor demonstration in that city last November and were subsequently marshaled in the United Laborers. They do not seem, however, to flourish in the A. F. of L. for reasons which will hereafter appear, and it may be noted in passing, that those responsible for the formation of the union were not members of the A. F. of L.

The point worth noticing, however, is that this unskilled union was practically the first movement of a particularly abject part of the population of a notoriously scab town. The movement has, however, not spread to any extent in the A. F. of L., the I. W. W. making a more direct appeal to the particular element and eliciting a more ready response.

For reasons which appear more fully in my pamphlet, "Proletarian and Petit Bourgeois," I am inclined to think that the A. F. of L. cannot serve as a rallying ground for the migratory laborers and that such as are organized in the A. F. of L. may be used for factional rather than general ends. Already there is a complaint that Greeks enrolled in the United Laborers are scabbing on rates in the raisin fields in Fresno, and that they are actually volunteering to work more cheaply than the Japanese. In view of the active steps being taken by the I. W. W. to organize the nomadic laborers in farm and camp, the existence of the United Laborers may be regarded almost as a menace. The conditions in the Southern lumber mills where there is some fear that the A. F. of L. may supply the laborers which the I. W. W. refuses are in point, and the experience may readily be duplicated in California.

In fact the tendency undoubtedly inclines that way. Recently Italians who were employed in propagating I. W. W. views in San Francisco and in organizing the French and Italian bakers as industrialists were beaten by the police. Some reason must have existed for an act so unusual in San Francisco. The Italian colony was soon ablaze with indignation and such amends were made as could be made under the circumstances. Industrial organization was probably the source of the trouble, and with the advance of that form of organization among the Latin peoples there will probably

arise a series of clashes between the two forms of organization. It would be much better all round and tend more to the steady advance of the labor movement if this friction could be avoided, but, as far as this state is concerned, present appearances seem to indicate that the A. F. of L. will not welcome any other organization and a sulky acquiescence in its existence is the best that can be expected.

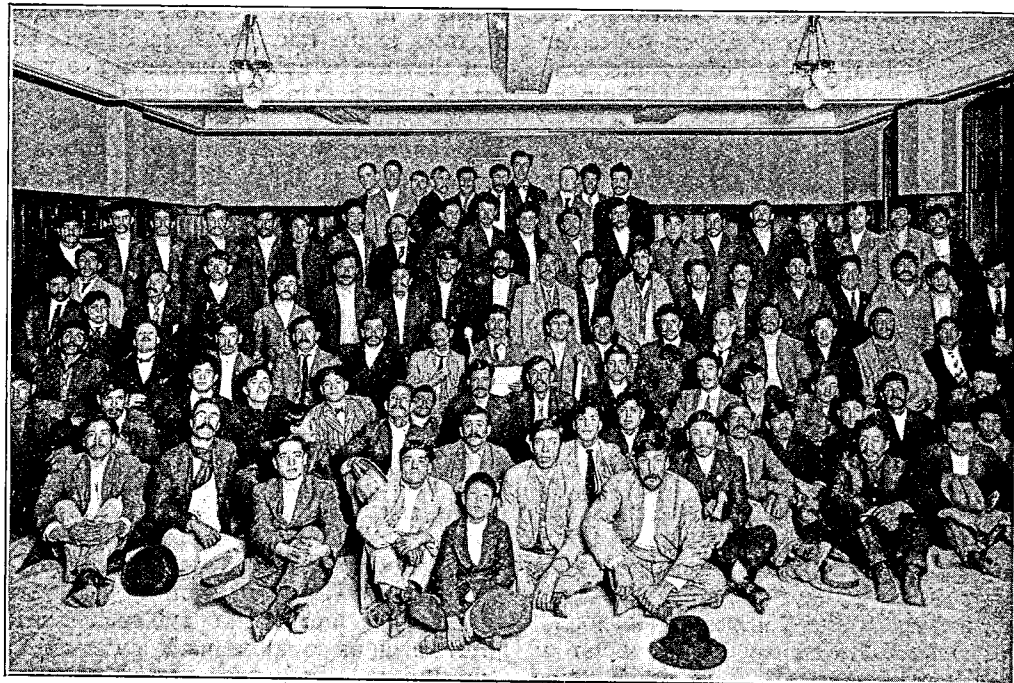
Another sudden "uprush from below" was that of the child and women employes of the California Cotton Mills. This strike was as much a surprise to the labor world as to the employers. The extreme youth of many of the workers came as an unwelcome shock to some even of the middle class who, living in a state where it is uncommon, have a humane dislike of child labor. Even on this occasion the two economic working class organizations made themselves felt and both the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W. took part in the struggle. This culminated in the defeat of the workers. The children were really defeated by their own parents, whose cupidity was seconded by the pressure of the capitalist and the persuasion of the

priest. Actual want moreover in many cases compelled surrender and as there was no means of sustaining the strikers, abandonment of the struggle became necessary.

This manifestation while by no means of first-class importance is interesting as showing a spontaneous movement on the part of a portion of the population which has been most slow to respond to stimulus, the Portuguese. Many of the children have come here via the Hawaiian Islands and have practically been reared in the slavery system.

The above are only straws showing the trend of the current, and by no means display the great mass of work which is being accomplished in the organization of the unskilled. The work of the I. W. W. in the Sacramento Valley alone among the up-to-now hopeless farm laborers is worthy of an article, while the personal adventures of individual organizers in this field make some of the most fascinating stories.

N. B.—In view of the upshot of the Mexican revolution this picture of the Mexican unionists is exceptionally interesting.



MEXICAN UNIONISTS.

Top row beginning right: (1) Antonio Villareal, (3) Austin Lewis, (4) Juan Ramirez, Organizer of United Laborers. Fourth row back in the middle, the President and Secretary.



THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF CITIES

BY

FRANK BOHN

A NATION governed by its profit seekers is a nation accursed. Such a one cannot produce a civilization. It has what "art" it buys. It develops whatever science it needs in its business. Its temples are filled with money changers. Its common schools are devoted to turning out wealth producers. Its higher institutions of learning are supposed to furnish such information as each of the profit grabbers thinks his son or daughter requires in order to hold and increase his or her "fortune."

A shopkeepers' society, from the very nature of its life and form, must develop large cities. In Europe two influences have worked to make these great modern urban communities civilized at least in their outward aspects. By far the most important of these has been the fact that the mediæval towns, the progenitors of the modern cities, were ruled by their guilds. The government of the mediæval town was an entity. It had an existence apart from the overshadowing power of the monarchical state. This freedom from interference, with its resultant social responsibility, formed the basis for the political governments of the cities of modern Europe.

The second factor in the life of the

European cities which has been absent in America has been, on the one hand, the socializing power of the European working class, and on the other, that of the aristocracy. A nation ruled by its profit takers is a nation accursed, because, while the brutal and vulgar capitalist leeches exploit the producing class more intensely than do the aristocrats, they have absolutely nothing to give to society in return. Each particular sponge squats beside the others and soaks up what it can until the currents of social progress are choked and slimy.

The corruption of municipal government in America needs no describing here. The exposures of the past ten years have filled the magazines with facts and figures a little worse, to be sure, than was previously surmised. But the American working people have always rightly despised the city governments. The water hose would not put out the fire. Epidemics of preventable diseases have raged. Public buildings have fallen to pieces before they were completed. The tribe of politicians, from those who rule the smallest towns up to the organized gangs in control of Chicago and New York, have probably been, during the past generation, the most contemptible class

of social parasites on the face of the earth.

As Socialists, we have not expected much from the American capitalists; but in the government of the cities and states we see them at their worst. Nationally, they have been forced to maintain a federal government whose power the world would respect. In the government of cities, however, the wolfish pack has shown that in any case it will do as little as is possible. Their life business is to gobble up whatever they can lay their claws upon. Hence why bother with the government of cities when a little graft induces some one else to bother? Graft is the portion of the worker's product stolen in the industries which the capitalist gives to his political lackeys. A political grafter is no worse than his master, the capitalist.

In Europe as the working class becomes conscious of its historical mission it finds the cities well organized politically. It realizes that much of a social and civilizing character has been accomplished. Give one enough to live upon without work for a period of time and Paris, Vienna, Munich and Florence are abiding places fit for civilized human beings. The very worst that can be said about our ignorant and greasy plutocrats is that after they have cut the workers of Chicago and Pittsburg to the bone in the shops and debauched their municipal government, they run off to some European capital, there to make the very name "American" a by-word for all that is apish and indecent.

So, as regards the government of cities, the working class of America comes upon the stage of affairs to find that it has to begin at the very beginning. Socially almost nothing has been accomplished really worth while. Great industry there is and this, the foundation of working class growth, must be the motive force of all our social progress. During the period of the social revolution in America the workers must perform a double task. They must first revolutionize the government of industry and then proceed to develop the means of social life and culture.

A Crucial Period for the Socialist Party

During the past eighteen months the Socialist Party has captured the governments of Milwaukee, Butte, Berkeley, Flint and a number of smaller towns. Needless

to say, the officials elected by the party have almost universally given entire satisfaction to their comrades by the earnestness and integrity with which they have laid hold of their Herculean tasks. The coming November election will witness numerous other victories. Half a dozen cities and towns in Ohio alone, probably including Columbus, will be swept along with the tide of Socialist progress. Yet amid all the joys of victories past and to come thoughtful comrades find cause for very serious alarm.

Danger does not spring from a lack of ideals in the Socialist Party. Its great mission in every way is quite clearly understood. The danger arises from a blunder common, indeed, to reform politicians, but which should threaten neither the integrity nor the progressive development of our party. Almost everywhere, our comrades are in the habit of making large pre-election promises, which, their officials having been elected, they are absolutely incapable of fulfilling. If the working class is not to lose the faith of our movement which they are so rapidly developing we must call a halt and take stock of our political possibilities.

A very common error is to promise that "as soon as the Socialist candidates are in office we shall have public ownership of public utilities." For instance, in the campaign which won Milwaukee, our comrades emphasized their intention of building a municipal electric light plant. A year and a half has now passed and but six months remains to the first Socialist administration in Milwaukee. However, the workers of that city are still reading the *Social Democratic Herald* by the light of Standard oil at twelve cents per.

We shall not here go into the effect of public ownership of public utilities upon the working class. This has been often enough threshed over for the understanding of even the most heedless social reformer in the ranks of the Socialist Party. In Johannesburg, South Africa, the city government owns every social utility in sight, except the gold mines, yet the workers' standard of living has not been raised an iota. They are simply exploited so much the more fiercely in the mines. If the government of the city of Milwaukee, for instance, should furnish to the workers all

the necessities of life except clothing, they would get enough wages to purchase clothes and no more. But to return to the pre-election promises. It is only natural for the party nominee to hopefully describe what he intends to do. Now what can he do and what can he not do in an American city.

A Socialist city government will do exactly as much as the capitalist government of the state will permit it to do. In Milwaukee the Socialists cannot fulfill their promise of an electric light plant, because the government of the State of Wisconsin will not permit it. The tax rate is limited. The debt limit is fixed. Above all, the city charter indicates just what the city can do and what it cannot do. This charter is a law of the state. So long as a state is ruled by the Democratic and Republican parties we can easily foresee the limitations of a Socialist city administration. A reform administration might secure the support of a reform state government. As long as the states are capitalist ruled, home rule for cities is a reform to be won, not by the Socialist movement, to which capitalism is opposed, but by a reform movement to which it is friendly. All this is so obvious as to require neither proof nor emphasis.

In most states the farming population is still proportionately so large as to make the capture of the state governments by the Socialist Party quite impossible during the ten years to come. There are a few far western states, such as Montana, Nevada, California and a few eastern states, among them Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Pennsylvania, which may soon be carried by the Socialist Party; but we shall probably be unable even during the next fifteen years to capture half of the forty-five state governments. So the cities which fall into our hands will find their governments hemmed in, nailed down and prevented from being of any large use to the working class. It is a part of wisdom as well as of honesty to tell this to the working class NOW.

If the Socialist Party in the past had devoted more time to teaching sound Socialist economics and the public law of the United States and less to constructing municipal platforms and programs out of

cobwebs, the thoughtful portion of the party membership could face the immediate future of our movement with stronger hearts.

We make sky scraping Socialist speeches on the subject of "City Planning," and then, when the street cleaning department in a Socialist governed city wants a new wheel for the water wagon it is forced to borrow one from the hose cart. Let us repeat the facts over and over to ourselves and to the working class until all have learned them by heart and then we may fear no evil consequences of our "victories." Home rule for the cities should have been won by the capitalist reform party a generation ago. As it was not then accomplished it is now too late to expect much from the immediate future. We will do what the capitalists permit us to do and no more. If a Socialist city government becomes stubborn what will happen? Suppose it makes use of the police force to the injury of the property interest in time of a general strike, as, of course, it would do, the capitalist government of the state would bind and gag that city administration within twenty-four hours.

Immediately following the Milwaukee victory I wrote a series of articles for the *New York Call*, from one of which the following quotation is taken:

"In 1900 'Golden Rule Jones' became mayor of Toledo. Jones was an excellent fellow—a sort of utopian Socialist. He knew little of Marx, Engels and Kautsky, but he swore by the Bible, Walt Whitman and Bellamy's 'Looking Backward.' He did his utmost during his six years in office, to fight the fight of the working class. But after his first term his wings were clipped. Every power of the executive was taken from him by the state legislature and lodged elsewhere in the municipal government of Toledo. Finally the poor fellow was permitted to do nothing but act as a sort of justice of the peace and dismiss drunks and street women without fines. To perform this service the working people elected him term after term. When the good man died the government of the city of Toledo was again made to assume its normal form by the Republican state legislature.

"Some years ago war broke out between

Senator Quay's Republican legislature and the Democratic machine which ruled the city of Pittsburg. The legislature ended the matter by passing a statute abolishing the office of mayor of Pittsburg and practically placing the city government in the hands of appointees of the Republican governor. (A few months ago this same trick was again worked upon the poor defenseless politicians of Hell's capital city.)

"Just one more example, and this not the case of the destruction of a weak and statute-created municipal government by a state legislature. In 1894 was fought the great American Railway Union Strike. The 'Sovereign' state of Illinois had as its governor a genuine Democrat of the radical school, Altgeld. He refused to call out the state militia to shoot the strikers. The Constitution of the United States distinctly provides that the President can send federal troops to quell a riot or preserve the peace within a state only when requested to do so by the governor of that state. But contrary to the expressed wish of the governor of the state of Illinois, President Cleveland sent regular troops into the city of Chicago to 'preserve order.' A distinguished Republican newspaper at the time, one which has bitterly fought Cleveland throughout his whole career, congratulated him for 'driving a crowbar through the rotting coffin of state's rights.'

"If a Socialist working class government succeeds in being a 'good,' 'peaceable,' 'orderly' affair, doing exactly what reform governments do whenever they periodically assume the reigns of power, it will be let alone by the state; and likewise a Socialist government of a state, for similar reasons, will not be assailed by the federal government.

"But woe be unto such a Socialist administration if it use the police and local militia against the capitalists in case of a

strike. In the Colorado labor war of 1894 a sympathizer of the Western Federation of Miners was serving in the capacity of county sheriff. He took the side of the miners. The Citizens' Union appeared at his door one night, seized him and dragged him off to a dark room. There they tied a rope around his neck. A pen was handed him. A dark lantern flecked a spot of light at the bottom of a sheet of paper. 'Sign here,' sounded a guttural voice of the leader of the citizens' posse. It was the sheriff's resignation. He signed."

Municipal political campaigns furnish the greatest possible opportunity for Socialist agitation and education. The organizations built up during these campaigns can later elect members to the state legislature. A proportion of, perhaps one-third, Socialist members in a legislature can do much to prevent the use of the state government against the working class. The election of the Socialist administration in Milwaukee was probably the greatest single piece of Socialist propaganda work ever accomplished in this country. Furthermore, a Socialist city administration can undoubtedly advance the cause of public health. It can develop the public school system. That is, it can do some of the things which reform administration should have done a generation ago. Beyond this, the great mission of our Socialist city office holders is to go in, do the best they can, and then come out on the city hall steps and tell the working class what they can NOT do and why.

Fortunate indeed for those comrades, who, having been elected to municipal offices, are sufficiently discreet to go into the city hall with heads bowed and mouths closed. To bring capitalism to its knees—that will take sterner measures than we have here under discussion.



WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD.

PAGES TORN FROM "THE CLASS STRUGGLE" AND OTHER HAYWOOD LECTURES

YOU will all remember with me the 22d of Jan., 1905. It is recorded in history as Bloody Sunday. On that day there occurred a terrible massacre in St. Petersburg, Russia. It seems that the people of that country had

been ground down to such terrible conditions that they could no longer stand it. Families were living in single roomed huts or hovels, sleeping on the bare floor. Bedding and clothing were scant. They ate out of a common bowl. Their only food

was a coarse mush. To improve these conditions they determined to appeal to their Little White Father. They called the Czar of Russia their Little Father. But these peasants had never learned to write. So it must needs be a living petition.

The word went forth and thousands upon thousands of them gathered in the city of St. Petersburg. They marched toward the winter palace and as they marched they carried aloft the holy Cross of Christ. They bore upon their breasts their sacred icons. They were singing religious hymns. They were a religious people. They came within a hundred feet or less of the palace gates when a volley rang forth from the guns in the hands of the Czar's soldiers. Hundreds upon hundreds of these peaceful supplicants fell dead in the snow, their warm red blood mingling with and melting the white mantle that covers Darkest Russia at that season of the year. And when you heard the echo of that volley you heard the echo of the world wide class struggle.

When you heard the echo of the volley that killed the Russian peasants at St. Petersburg you heard the shrieks and groans of the Russian girls exiled from home who were burned to death in that terrible factory fire in New York City last winter. The same people, the same conditions, the same anguish, the same struggle everywhere.

* * *

Across the sea from Russia in Finland our comrades are protesting because the constitution of their country has been abrogated by the authorities of Russia. They are protesting because the youth of that land are compelled to serve as soldiers in the Czar's army or to pay a tribute in gold.

Their protest is a voice in the class struggle!

* * *

It has only been a few years ago since the unions of this country were sending money to assist the workers of Sweden who were involved in a great general strike. I visited Sweden while across the water and while there met many who took part in that great struggle. The workers who were on strike were not asking for an increase in wages or a reduction in hours. They had ceased to work in sympathy with thousands of their members who had been locked out

because they dared to organize. They were opposed by the employers' association who were backed up by the capitalists of the continent and the world. The Swedish workers were beaten to their knees. Women and children were compelled to subsist on black bread and water but they were not vanquished. As I was leaving Stockholm they said to me:

"Comrade Haywood when you return to America, tell the workers of your country that we will be fighting with them in the vanguard until the working class of the world are victorious!"

They are doing their part in the class struggle!

* * *

From Sweden I went to the Latin countries and while there learned something of the conditions in Spain. It seems that certain French capitalists had made investments in the gold mines of the Riff Country. It is well known that the capitalist class does not confine its operations within the borderlines of any nation. The capitalist goes to any locality where he can make profit out of the sweat, blood and tears of the workers. The capitalist has no country, no flag, no patriotism, no honor and no god but Gold. His emblem is the dollar mark. His ensign is the black flag of commercial piracy. His symbol is the skull and cross bones of little children that are ground up in the mill. And the pass word of Capitalism is graft.

The Moors objected to their lands being exploited by capitalists, so the French bankers called upon the King of Spain to protect them in their vested interests. The King of Spain being one of the ruling class and a capitalist himself, called upon the young men of his country to go to war and he called upon the people of Spain to furnish the sinews of war. At this period, the Socialists combining with the labor unions of Spain declared a campaign against war. The Socialists of all countries are opposed to war and when we get just a little stronger in Spain, just a little stronger in the United States, just a little stronger in the nations of the world, the time will forever have passed when one workingman will shoot down another workingman in the interests of the capitalist class. And so declared the workers of Spain.

The building trades of Barcelona declared a general strike against war. At that time there lived in Spain a great educationalist. One of the foremost men of letters in the world. Like all humanitarians, he was opposed to war. He wrote, he spoke, he contributed a little money toward the general strike. And because of this, he was arrested as a revolutionist. They called him an anarchist. He was thrown into prison. His trial was a travesty upon justice. He had no lawyer. He was allowed no witness. He neither heard nor

saw the witnesses that testified against him. In spite of these conditions, he was convicted and sentenced to be executed. As this brave man stood at the open ditch that was to be his grave, he looked the twelve that were to take his life square in the eye and said:

"Long live the modern school."

When the volley rang out that sounded the death knell of Francisco Ferrer, it sounded the death knell of Capitalism in Spain.

It was the class struggle!

AGAINST OLD AGE PENSIONS

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

OLD Age Pensions are of no material benefit to the working class. Remedial legislation of this brand has been and will be used by the capitalist class to keep the workers from revolt.

That the inmates of penal institutions should be excluded from the benefits of any working class measure is past our comprehension. It is an undisputed fact that ninety-five per cent of the convicts in this country are offenders only against private property interests. It is the purpose of Socialism to abolish private property in the means of life, and not to condemn those who refuse to recognize its sacredness. The workers have a right to live.

To advocate Socialism is an offense in the mind and eye of the capitalist class. In some communities it has been made a misdemeanor to carry on the propaganda of Socialism on the streets. If it is a misdemeanor to advocate Socialism, it can, by the ruling class, be made a felony. And all who persist in working for the cause would not be eligible for the Old Age Pension.

The Illinois Central Railroad, among other capitalist institutions, provides a pension for employes who have been with the company for a period of twenty-five years.

Eligibility for the pension, under capitalist institutions, does not date from the time a man takes out his citizen's papers but

from the time he becomes a worker in the industry owned by one of these philanthropic companies. It must be conceded then that there are some Captains of Industry who are broader and have a more liberal conception of humanity's needs than are to be found embodied in the pending Old Age Pension Act.

The effect of such measures as pensions has been clearly demonstrated in the strike that is now being waged by the System Federation against the Harriman lines. Employes of the company who have toiled unceasingly for years at small wages have now been threatened with having their pensions cut off if they take part in the strike for better conditions.

Pensions by governments create serfs. Pensions by capitalists make unwilling slaves. In either instance they must violate some manly principle. Give to the worker the full product of his toil and his pension is assured.

There can be no merit to Old Age Pensions, but if there were, the age limit is such that it will not apply to the working class. The average age of the American worker is thirty-five years. But a small percentage will live to attain the age of sixty. The beneficiaries will come from that class of persons who have never contributed to society by nerve racking and blood sapping toil.

LABOR RULE IN AUSTRALIA HOW STRIKES ARE SETTLED

BY

ARCHIBALD CRAWFORD

TWO years ago a strike occurred among the Newcastle coal miners. Newcastle, New South Wales, is the scene of the largest coal mining area in Australia.

A capitalist law, known as the "Industrial Disputes Act," made striking a crime. The strike leaders were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, Peter Bowling, the leader, receiving the highest sentence of two years.

This made Bowling a "first class" prisoner and as such he was privileged to wear leg irons and undergo, during a certain portion of his incarceration, solitary confinement.

The working class became indignant. The Australian Labor Party waxed wroth. State and federal elections were pending. Enthusiastic politicians jangled Peter Bowling's leg irons and to the tune thus struck, the labor party of Australia, riding high on the crest of a great wave of working class indignation, carried the state of New South Wales and the commonwealth itself. In the elections of 1909. Australia consists of six states with separate governments. In 1901 the states relinquished certain rights and vested them in a federal government, since when the federal government has sought to extend its powers and the states have resisted the attempt to take away their "rights." Even where both state and commonwealth are ruled by labor, this antagonism exists, and at this very moment as I write, may have split the party in New South Wales.

The first and third states in order of importance—New South Wales and South Australia—are today ruled by labor as is also the Commonwealth Government. One

would expect, therefore, to see labor rule properly tested in the two labor states. My personal observation attaches to the government of New South Wales during the months of February to April of this year.

About the time of my arrival in Sydney a strike had been in progress among the Sydney gas workers. Secretary Kerr of the union had been victimized. A charge of "drunk on duty," had been preferred against Kerr by the company, but on investigation, the union proved it to be a "frame up" and decided that an injury to one being the concern of all, Kerr should be taken back or a strike declared.

It happened to be strike and in a few days the men were on the point of putting the whole city in utter darkness and confusion. Two labor ministers, however, arrived on the scene at this juncture. They had already consulted the bosses, and being "Labor" men, they easily gained access into the union meeting.

"Look here, boys," said they, "it sounds bad in other lands to have strikes under a labor government. If you will go back to work and agree to have the matter arbitrated upon, we will see to it that the employers agree to the appointment of Chris. Watson.

Now Chris. Watson is the biggest man in labor politics. Good, old Chris! Big hearted Chris!! The first labor premier of federated Australia! Why, of course, the men went back to work!

* * *

A few days after Chris. Watson, ex-labor premier of the Commonwealth Government of Australia, had decided in favor of the bosses, the directors of the Syd-

ney gasworks held a board meeting.

Before proceeding to the ordinary business for which the board had gathered, the chairman arose and said:

"Gentlemen, before proceeding to the ordinary business for which we are gathered here this afternoon, I consider it to be the duty of this board to express its hearty thanks to Mr. Beeby, minister for labor and Mr. Carmichael, assistant treasurer, for the excellent services rendered by them in the recent strike"!!!

* * *

Meantime the labor government was to have ample opportunity to exercise this seeming chief function of smashing strikes. Amongst other places, trouble was brewing at Carcoar, where the workers were not content to mine iron ore for the miserable pittance of \$1.75. Mr. Hoskins, the owner of the quarries, would not grant an increase and in defiance of the law the Carcoar men came out on strike.

The ore mined at Carcoar was taken some 35 miles east to the ironworks at Lithgow, also the property of Hoskins. Lithgow is 95 miles west of Sydney and is a typical manufacturing town. Its population of 8,000 is sheltered mostly in a few miserable hovels. The ironworks and blast furnaces at Lithgow are the only ones in the Southern Hemisphere.

The blast furnace men discussed the strike at Carcoar and finally decided not to touch the loathsome product of scab labor. Hoskins was notified accordingly and smiled. "Wait till the time comes," said he.

And when the time came in the course of a few days, when the first wagon load of scab ore came to the blast furnace, the men refused to "tip" it. It might have been already molten and produced no more profound effect upon the blast furnace men. "Come on, Jack, tip this ore," said the foreman, looking with astonishment at the disgusted countenances of the men on this particular shift.

"We'll do anything in the world but tip that scab material," said French and Donaldson and Ballantyne, the three men on the shift.

"Put your coats on," said the foreman, and he had to repeat the order to every man on the works, and finally with the

aid of "young" Hoskins, succeeded in saving the firm thousands of dollars by doing the tipping himself.

Thus Hoskins felt he could scrape along until the labor ministers came on the scene. Meanwhile the men were going great guns. Even the engineers came out to a man. Hoskins would surely be beat!

But no. Beeby and Carmichael happened to be at a banquet with Hoskins, without any design. Of course!

And over the glasses matters were arranged. Hoskins is a real fighting capitalist and insisted on certain terms. No amount of flattery or guile could budge him.

First, his scabs had to remain on the job.

Second, he would only take back the men he required in addition to the scabs.

Third, he would concede the labor demand that the men might ballot for jobs on the condition, however, that Dickson, the Blast Furnace Men's Union secretary, should not be taken on under any consideration.

Fourth, the labor government must promise to prosecute the strikers under terms of the "Industrial Disputes Act."

Now this was a hard task even for unscrupulous politicians. The Labor Party had, before gaining power, promised to repeal or amend the Industrial Disputes Act under which Bowling had been legironed for standing by his class. The Labor Party had not fulfilled its promise in this regard and here was a demand that they should serve the workers the same medicine as their capitalist predecessors in office. It was a hard task, but Hoskins was adamant.

So the work was done.

* * *

The summons shown with this article charges the blast furnace men with having refused to handle "non-union" ore. The word "non-union" is used because the word "scab" does not appear in the court dictionary. "Scab" is meant. The Carcoar men were not all unionists. Only "scab" and not "non-union" labor was objected to.

A labor party financed by trade unionists and elected by their votes, prosecuting trade unionists, for refusing to handle the product of scab labor! It is scarcely believable, and less understandable.

Summons.

Divisions 1 and 2, "Justices Act, 1902"; "Industrial Disputes Act, 1908."

To F Ryan,
of Lithgow in the State
of New South Wales.

WHEREAS in pursuance of leave granted by the Industrial Court on the ninth day of March, one thousand nine hundred and eleven, information hath this day been laid before the undersigned, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the State of New South Wales, for that you on the fourteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eleven, at Lithgow, in the said State, did unlawfully take part in a strike, that is to say, a cessation of work by a number of employees, to wit the blast-furnace workers in the employ of G. and C. Hoskins, Limited, such cessation of work being in a certain industry, to wit, the employees of the said G. and C. Hoskins, Limited, engaged in the iron trade, acting in combination with a view to enforce compliance with a certain demand, to wit the demand:—That the said employees should not be required by their said employer to handle iron ore obtained by non-union labour made by them on their employer, the said G. and C. Hoskins, Limited, such cessation of work not being for any cause not constituting a strike, contrary to the Act in such case made and provided:

These are, therefore, to command you in His Majesty's name, to be and appear, on Wednesday, the twenty-second day of March, one thousand nine hundred and eleven, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, at the Court House, Lithgow, in the said State, before the Industrial Court, to answer to the said information, and to be further dealt with according to law.

GIVEN under my Hand and Seal, this fourteenth day of March, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eleven, at Sydney, in the said State.

James Campbell
Justice of the Peace.



†91506 (1)

The Printed Summons issued by the Labor Government.

Yet that is what happened.

* * *

About 2 a. m. one morning, Harry E. Holland, general secretary of the Australian Socialist Party and editor *International Socialist*, Sydney, and myself, journeyed to Lithgow, arriving there at 10 a. m., in time to hear the opening proceedings of the prosecution before the Industrial Court.

For three days I sat and listened and my blood boiled all that time, and often I could have cried out. Never have I seen labor so humiliated. A hundred and thirty-five men were charged.

Had the men cared to hamper the Court, they could have demanded each a separate trial. Instead of doing this, they resolved to be tried in batches, according to their different pleas and defense. Even with this aid the proceedings hadn't gone far at the conclusion of the first day.

Hoskins became alarmed. These men had mostly come from his works. Unless they attended to the blast furnace, it would become cool and he should lose thousands upon thousands of dollars. He confided in the judge, who said:

"Yes, Mr. Hoskins, I can sympathize with you. Let's see—I say, you men go back to work in the morning, and if I want you I'll send for you." And most of the men were actually tried in their absence.

Those who said, "Your Worship, I am a scab, I would not belong to a union, I don't believe in unions, I was just sick that day and couldn't come to work, I don't mean ever to strike," got acquitted.

Those who said the same, but were not believed, were fined five dollars, with an alternative of seven days' imprisonment.

Men who said, "We are guilty and have nothing to say except that we didn't come out until a week after the strike started," were fined fifteen dollars or twenty-one days.

Those like Bob Donaldson were fined twenty-five dollars or thirty-one days.

"What made you come out?" Donaldson was asked.

"Principle," was the curt reply.

"Whose principle?" said the prosecutor, in a bullying tone.

"Bob Donaldson's principle," was the immediate reply, and Donaldson straightened himself and stood his tallest, looking fearlessly at his cross-examiner.

That look was enough. No more questions were asked.

* * *

Holland and I held nightly propaganda meetings and advised that no fines be paid. A week had been given for payment, but at the expiration of a week the fines were still unpaid.

The time was extended for two more weeks and still the workers did not avail themselves of the opportunity to pay their fines. The legislators were perplexed. The court proceedings had had a profound effect throughout the length and breadth of Australia, and already the big unions were passing resolutions in condemnation of the New South Wales Labor Party.

The Amalgamated Miners Association (Broken Hill), passed the following resolution: "That this meeting of the Amalgamated Miners Association condemns the traitorous action of the McGowen (labor premier) government in prosecuting, fin-



HARRY E. HOLLAND—DORA B. MONTEFIORE.

ing and attempting to jail unionists at Lithgow and Carcoar under the infamous Industrial Disputes Act, for refusing to handle scab iron ore, and we are astounded at this act of class tyranny seeing that the McGowen government pledged themselves to repeal the act."

The Amalgamated Miners Association is one of the most powerful unions in the country and other unions were following their lead. The Labor Government commenced to feel very uncomfortable.

On the eve of my departure for America a labor member of the Legislature confided in me. As the Labor Premier (McGowen) had gone to London to assist George Wetton to put his jewelled hat on straight, it was impossible to call a special session of parliament for at least three months. The payment of the fines had been again extended for that period. Meanwhile a special session of parliament would be called and the Industrial Disputes Act amended or appealed. Under this scheme the fines would never be paid.

* * *

With experiences like these is it any wonder that working men turn to direct action methods to achieve their emancipation?

Here is a striking instance of the workers gaining by direct action what the political party which represented them promised to concede but failed to carry out.

A new Industrial Disputes Act is to be introduced. The Labor Attorney-General and Acting Premier Holman outlined this

new act at a recent meeting. It will provide for workers being fined without an option of going to prison, and fines will be collected by the capitalist employers from the wages of the offending workers.

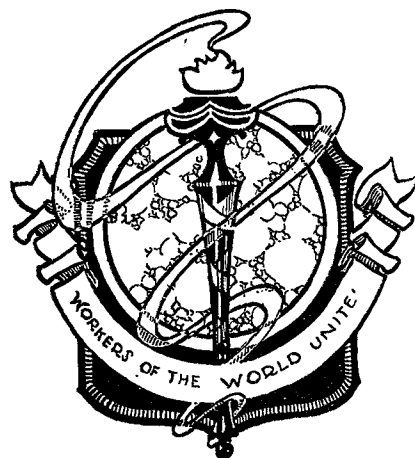
Evidently the New South Wales Labor Party is determined to quell the rebellious instincts in the breasts of working men. But can they?

Perhaps they want further demonstration of the workers' power when direct action is forced upon them. They will certainly get it if they try to enforce such a law.

The experience of the Labor Government and the capitalist class in the Lithgow strike ought to teach them a lesson of the workers' power when they are driven too far and forced to fold their arms and dare their masters.

As workers required in the workshops of Messrs. Hoskins & Co., they could not be sent in such large numbers to prison. The boss who so determinedly insisted on prosecution and the Government, which undertook the prosecution, could not in the end inflict punishment upon the workers without punishing themselves much more.

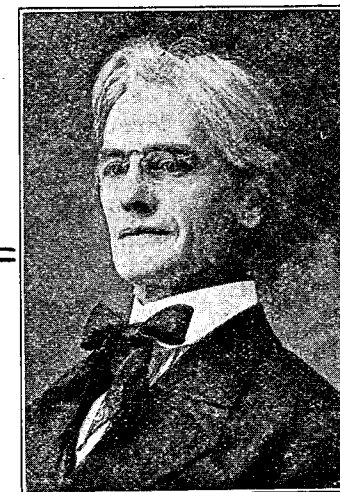
There is a lesson to be learned in this story. The superior power of all is power to produce wealth. A labor or socialist party in parliament is not Socialism. The collective mind of the working class determines the nature of government. Our business is to educate towards revolution!



SOCIALIST POLITICS IN BUTTE, MONTANA

BY

LEWIS J. DUNCAN
MAYOR



WHEN, last April, the Socialists in Butte, Montana, carried the city election, it was the greatest surprise the citizens of this place ever experienced. Even we, who were on the battle line and expected to win, did not anticipate such a landslide. The candidate for mayor received a majority of over 500 more than the combined votes for the democratic and republican candidates. The candidate for city treasurer did nearly as well. The aldermanic candidates in five out of eight wards were elected by very close pluralities and a change in the other three wards of from

five to twelve votes would have elected the three Socialist candidates who were unsuccessful. The police magistrate received 2,793 votes, electing him against two popular competitors for that office. This vote for police magistrate probably represented our legitimate city strength, and had the candidates for mayor and city treasurer received no more, it would have been sufficient to elect.

That our vote this year was larger than ever before in the history of the party in Butte is due to several causes. Chief among these is the fact that the capitalistic nature of the laws passed by the

state legislature last winter opened the eyes of even the most conservative trade unionists to old party perfidy and to the necessity of united political action on the part of organized labor for its own class interests. The Socialist candidates received the almost unanimous support of organized labor. The second important factor in this result in *The Butte Socialist*, which was started last December and distributed freely to every house in the city at bi-monthly intervals throughout the city campaign. Besides this, other literature was distributed most judiciously, and, although we held but three party rallies, every meeting of the working class organizations was vocal with Socialist oratory, and the members always went away plentifully supplied with our campaign literature.

Once in office we were immediately confronted with the practical problems of city administration. None of us had had previous experience of this nature but we went at the job fearlessly and with wise caution. We realized that something more than holding office was required; that it was up to us to show that Socialists are as capable of sound political action as they are sound in political theory; that working men can run a city government as well as "business" men.

We have already proved that thesis. We are running the city better than it has ever been run by either democrats or republicans, and are doing it at lower cost.

Our first problem was the selection of persons for the appointive offices. This has been done on the basis of special fitness in the one appointed to perform the particular duties of the position to which he is appointed. Not all offices are filled by socialists, though, when they can be had with equal abilities, Socialists are preferred. Not one office has been filled with a view to political expediency or for political reward. Before any appointment was made, it was considered and endorsed by the city central committee. This method prevented much after-election soreness and has resulted in a completely harmonious official household. Furthermore, every appointee was required, whether party member or not, to conform with the party rule respecting undated

resignation before receiving the appointment.

Our inheritance from former administrations consisted of filthy, long neglected streets and alleys, a long list of law suits connected with grading undertaken by a former republican mayor, and other law suits connected with the police department through the attempt of the democratic mayor, my immediate predecessor, to get around a metropolitan police law. Our legal department is handling all this litigation with signal ability, though many of the cases were hopeless from the outset.

The dirty streets and alleys were so vigorously attacked and the cleaning so thoroughly accomplished that within a month it was town talk that never before had the city been so clean. We have steadily maintained this record in the street department and our thoroughly efficient sanitary inspection and the swift and impartial prosecution of offenders have resulted in a showing of fewer cases of infectious and contagious diseases and a lower death rate than has ever before been the case during a similar period. Our scientific and relentless inspection of the milk supply of the city has brought that product up to the statutory standard, and the inspection of meats and other food stuffs is bringing the same result. All this we consider distinctly beneficial to the working class.

Another inheritance from former old party mal-administrations is a city treasury practically, though not actually, bankrupt. The municipal debt last May, when we were inducted, was over \$1,250,000, which is more than \$800,000 over the city's legal limit of indebtedness. All supplies, labor and other obligations for years past have been and are still paid in city warrants, and these, because of the financial condition of the city were selling at from 10 per cent to 25 per cent discount. The oldest city warrants were about two years past due and drawing 6 per cent interest. The city tax assessments for long years have been notoriously discriminatory against people of small means and in favor of the mining, banking and other large capitalistic concerns. As the assessments are made by the county

assessor, the city administration has been powerless to correct the evil, and we are equally powerless so far as valuations are concerned. Owing to this condition, for many years the municipal income has been about \$100,000 less per annum than the municipal expense. Former administrations have done nothing to correct this, but have gone on piling up the debt.

To meet this condition, to restore the credit of the city and the value of its warrants, the Socialists proposed, besides reducing the expenses, to increase business licenses. Especially were we in favor of raising the licenses of big corporations. Right at the outset we encountered state laws which limit to relatively low rates the amount of license that may be required of public utility corporations. The old license rates for these, low as they are, were up to the limit allowed by law. It was discovered, however, that state banks were not thus protected; neither were mining companies. So we made rates which would require of the mining companies doing business in Butte a license amounting to about one per cent of their annual net profits. "Mining companies in Butte pay license?" It was an unheard-of piece of impudence, but we proposed it. (By the way, licenses paid by small stores in this city amount to *about one per cent of their gross sales.*) Our ordinance also proposed raising licenses on banks and the large department stores considerably above the former rates. Needless to say, when it got into committee our ordinance was strenuously opposed by republican and democratic aldermen. The minority of the finance committee recommended that it be not passed and when it came to the council, a majority of the aldermen, being old party representatives, adopted the minority report and thus defeated our plan.

The issuing of ten-twenty bonds to the amount of \$400,000 and bearing 6 per cent interest was much favored by bankers, as the solution of the city's financial problem. This was also favored by the old party aldermen. The Socialists, after carefully weighing the proposition, decided against it. We planned and carried out a program by which the "big interests" should line up the old party alder-

men in support of an ordinance increasing the present rate of taxation on city property from 12.1 mills to 16.2 mills. Hearing their master's voice, the republican and democratic members of the council proposed and voted for this ordinance. This increase will add enough revenue to the municipal income to make it certain that by December 1st of this year, seven months after we took office, the city will be more than \$100,000 inside its legal limit, and city employees will no longer have to discount their warrants in order to get cash.

About six years ago, the republicans, being in office and having effected a pretty clean sweep of the democratic employees, secured the enactment by the legislature of a metropolitan police law. This law was designed to build a wall around the police force, as then organized and officered, which should prevent democrats at some later time from making a clean sweep of the republican policemen. The law provides for civil service examination of applicants for admission to the force, a six months' probationary service before permanent appointment, discharge only for cause on charges proven before a trial board (appointed by the Mayor), an eligible list from which only appointments shall be made, and makes the mayor the executive head of the department subject only to the provisions of the Act itself.

When, four years ago, the republicans were defeated in city election and democrats came in, the fireworks began. The democratic mayor, seeking to avoid the law and to get his party friends on the force, effected numerous discharges for cause, but being unable to get vacancies enough that way he discharged a number of others without trial and on pretext of reducing the expense of the department. The men thus discharged sued the city for damages and, one month after we took office, the supreme court issued a mandate requiring that thirteen of the men discharged by the democratic mayor, for purposes of economy, be restored to active service in the department. We had no alternative but to obey.

This restoration made the force much larger than our necessities required and seriously interfered with our policy of re-

trenchment. Under the supreme court's decision, the city council has concurrent power with the mayor in reduction of the force, when such reduction is for purposes of municipal economy, and the mayor may only make such reductions when authorized by the council. When, therefore, the thirteen discharged republicans were thus reinstated by the court, we at once got the council to pass a resolution reducing the active force by sixteen. The mayor submitted a list of that number to be retired from the active to the eligible list, and the council confirmed his action.

Meanwhile several discharges, for cause on charges proven before the present trial board, had been made by the mayor and the vacancies thus occurring were filled from eligibles passed by the present examiners. Three of these new appointees are Socialists. This raised the ire of some of the aldermen. They claimed that, before any others on the eligible list were appointed, those previously active, but retired to eligible list, should be exhausted. Of course, the motive was merely to keep Socialists off the police force, and the coarse work of the police at the last city election in behalf of the democratic candidate for mayor—the chief of police under the last administration—fully explained this anxiety. This effort to restore former democratic police to active duty, was supported by republican aldermen.

The Socialist mayor's answer to this effort was the appointment to active service of a negro from the eligible list. This man had been an unsuccessful candidate for a minor office before the last republican county convention. His appointment raised a storm of protest, but it also opened the whole subject of race, color and creed distinctions inside the working-class movement. The controversy on this subject resulted in better education of non-Socialist working men. The Socialist support of the negro appointee demonstrated the sincerity of our party on the race question and our debates silenced all criticism inside the ranks of the working class organization. Seeking to make political capital out of the incident, the old party aldermen held up the salaries of

the Socialist and the negro policemen, hoping to force either their resignations or retirement. This plan did not succeed. Later two republicans came over to the help of the Socialist aldermen and the salaries were paid. The next move of the opposition was to introduce a council resolution to retire from active service on the police force five men, "for the purpose of economy." This was passed by the aldermanic majority. Immediately another motion was made naming, as the five men to be retired, the Socialists, the negro and one other appointee by Mayor Duncan. The mayor ruled the motion out of order, but his ruling was not sustained, and the motion carried. The mayor, at next meeting vetoed the action. In the meantime, he had laid off five other men in compliance with the first resolution of the council. In the meantime also, public opinion had convinced the majority aldermen that they were going too far and that the mayor was strictly within his rights under the law. Accordingly, his veto was sustained almost unanimously. The Socialists and the negro are still in active service, the police department is short by five old party men, and the pay roll will be smaller by about \$500 per month.

In every department we have reduced the working force by eliminating every unnecessary person formerly carried on the pay rolls; thus the maximum of efficiency is secured at minimum of cost. Every employee is working eight hours—actually doing the service for which he is paid—and the results are very gratifying to the public. Our police magistrate—famous old warrior—Tom Booher, is giving admirable demonstrations of justice as seen from the Socialist view-point. "Best man ever in that office," is what an old party politician voluntarily confessed after studying Booher's methods. Another compliment, wrung by facts from one of the old party aldermen is this: "There is one notable thing to be said about this Socialist administration, no matter into what department you go you are met by 'gentlemen' and treated with courtesy."

The Butte Socialists are all revolutionists; not mere reformers or parlor

Socialists. We realize fully that, under capitalism and capitalistic laws, little more can be accomplished than superficial reforms. But our realization of that fact does not mean we are content to stop at that point. We are as determinedly revolutionary in office as we were before getting political power, and we hold mere political success very cheaply. Not for an instant do we relax our efforts for the entire revolutionary program. Not in a single particular have we compromised the revolutionary principles or entered into trades with our political and economic adversaries for the purpose of maintaining political office or of securing future support. We do not believe such surrenders even necessary or expedient. On the contrary, it is our conviction and our fighting tactics that only along the road uncompromising fidelity to the principles and tactics of revolutionary Socialism lies the "road to power," and every man and woman of us, in office or out of it, would rather fail along this road than win temporary success along any other. But, being in a position to demonstrate the spirit and purposes of the Socialist movement, we also feel that it is up to us to show the bourgeoisie not only that working men can carry on the business of a municipality as efficiently and as economically as men of the other class, but that we can do it better and more honestly. Doing this, and we are doing it, we believe we are strengthening the party and the entire working class movement,

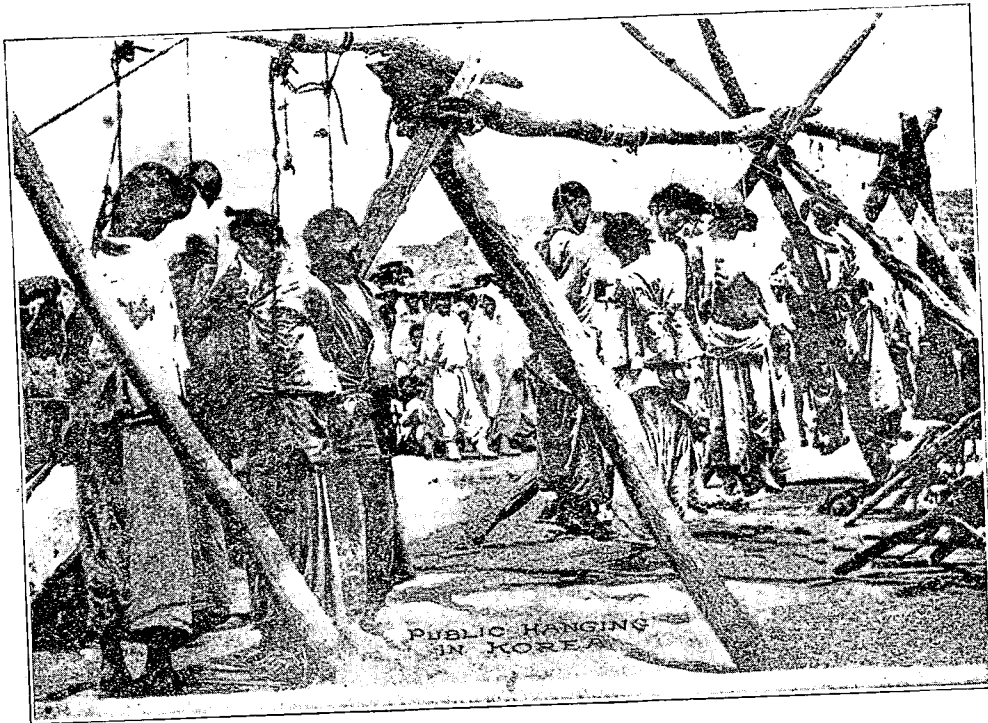
by banishing bourgeois fears, by winning the confidence and respect of all classes, and thus paving the way, not as Russell says has been the case with the laborites in New Zealand, "to keep in," but the way to future success which shall enlarge the field of our educational method.

That we are succeeding by this purpose and tactic is beginning to be apparent. The "interests," meaning the Amalgamated Copper Company, public service corporations, old party politicians and the corrupt and grafting social elements of all sorts, are already showing signs of alarm. They fear, with excellent reason, that we shall carry the county next year. To carry the county will mean twelve Socialists in the next legislative assembly. This will mean, possibly, a balance of power in that body, and this will mean repeal of a number of laws that now protect exploiters, and the passage of other laws to protect the workers.

We believe this result to be more than a possibility, and our slogan is, "Silver Bow County in 1912 and the State of Montana for Socialism in 1916."

While we have no illusions respecting the evanescent value of mere office getting, we are by no means insensible to the value of education by political deed. Our comrades, everywhere, may feel well assured that the Socialists in Butte and Silver Bow County may be depended on to exemplify clearly what is best in the principles and most vital in the tactics of the Socialist party.

From Akron, Ohio.—We want to tell you how much we appreciated Haywood's address here. It was simply great. We knew he was an able comrade, but his splendid lecture was a surprise even to us. He made many friends and we hope to have him here again in the near future.—Marguerite Prevey.



REBELS IN JAPAN

BY

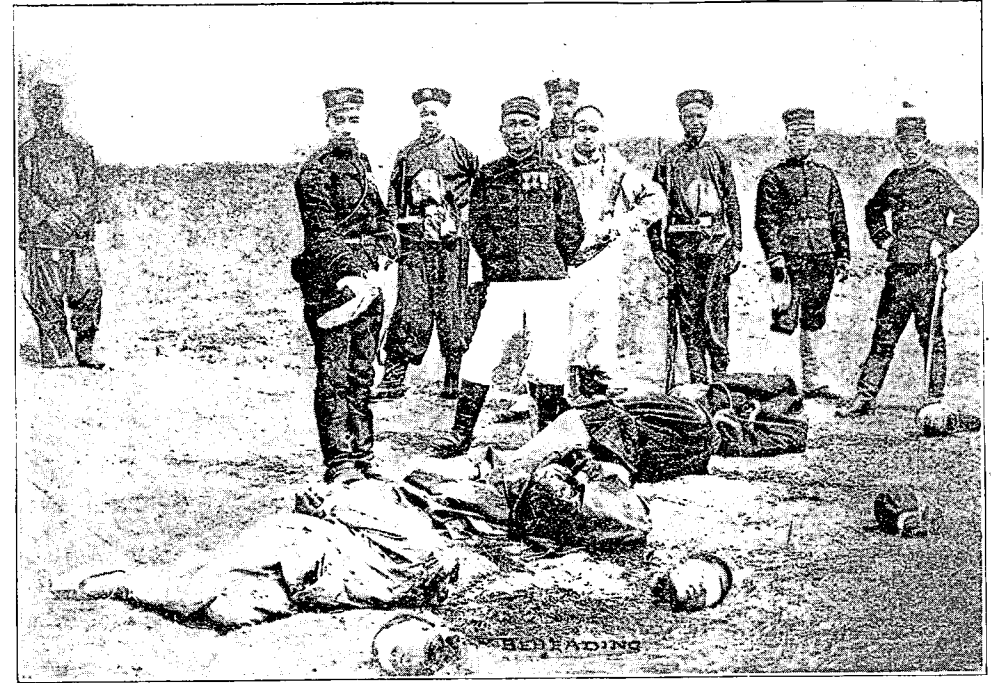
L. LODIAN

CAPITALISM is developing very fast in Japan. And the writer has noticed the discontent springing up among the working class and their hope for something better.

We have not yet forgotten the eight Socialist men and one woman who were executed in Japan last year because they taught the workers how to free themselves. At that time the Japanese government gave out to the world that these martyrs were anarchists, but the writer who knew all about them personally can vouch for their Socialism.

At that time the edict went forth throughout Japan for the suppression of Socialism and Socialists in the empire.

When His Excellency, one Togo, invaded Korea and annexed the island to the Mikado's realm, he crushed out all rebellion against the Japanese dictators with an iron hand. When the farmers of Korea, having just paid the home taxes, were levied upon by the new government, they found themselves in a desperate situation. The pressure of the Japanese stripped them absolutely bare. Those who rebelled or agitated against the "foreign invader;" those who were unable to pay the additional taxes, or who were known to be Socialists were promptly executed by order of the strutting little egotist, Togo, whom America's Four Hundred



have been dining the past few months.

Big Capital, flying the Mikado's banner, has captured and annexed Korea. All those who have raised their voices in protest have had their voices silenced. But

Capital cannot silence the voice of the whole working class and the rising proletariat in Korea will soon join the great army of the revolution to emancipate the whole working class.



SYMBOLS OF CAPITALISM.

Wall Street
Aids the First,
Abets the Second,
in
Fleecing the Third
By
CAPT. JAS. F. McFARLIN



CAPTAIN McFARLIN.

THE laws protecting the seaman are just as stringent as those that enslave him. He is in a vise. Slavery in his condition, both by the natural laws that keep him bound to his ship while it is out at sea and by the governmental laws which compel him to remain near it while on shore. Added to this, he is preyed upon by endowed institutes such as "The Seamen's Church Institute of New York," its assistant "The Breakwater," a hotel; the "Christian Association for the Benefit of and Spreading of the Gospel Among American Seamen," a name as long as it is false and misleading; and others of smaller beaks and claws. These organizations are in league with the shipowners and it is understood that

the men are to patronize them if they wish for another job. It is not long after the institutions take them in that they need the job, and so the institutions allow them to go into debt to them; in that way exacting a part of future earnings of the men before the fellow on the other side of the ocean is able to get at them.

The Socialist always goes to the cause for evil effects. How do the Missions secure their legal right to live? Perhaps the Socialist can go down and obtain a strong-

hold, a place where they may teach the sailors to see the truth about the society to which they come back every once in a while to live. We will write to the office of the treasurer of the state of New York and receive this answer:

Albany, July 8th, 1910.

James F. McFarlin,
46 Catherine St.,
Care N. Y. Port Society,
New York City.

Dear Sir:—Referring to your letter of July 6th, 1910, we beg to advise you that the state does not license sailor boarding houses, as stated by you and would suggest that you address all inquiries to the city authorities instead of the state.

Yours respectfully,
(Signed) T. B. DUNN,
State Treasurer.

We embrace him, mentally, and immediately write to the city authorities, and receive the following reply:

Mayor's Office,
Bureau of Licenses, City Hall,
New York.

August 24th, 1910.

Mr. James F. McFarlin,
Chief Stewart, care N. Y. Port Society,
46 Catherine St., New York City.

Dear Sir:—I beg to acknowledge your letter of July 18th, making inquiry in regard to licensing of sailors' boarding houses, and in reply, to say that the license is not paid to the city of New York, but to the state.

Respectfully,
(Signed) E. V. S. OLIVER, JR.,
Chief of Bureau.

And this is the way our worthy politicians shift their burdens.

The Seamen's Church Institute is an organization supported by seven of the richest men in the country and many next to them in wealth. Since Wall street is concerned in all the undertakings of international importance, and since the means of national intercourse are the ocean and lake steamers, it does not take very much reasoning to conclude that Wall street will have the greatest desire to have a submissive sea-faring crew. This is proven in fact by the list of contributors to the missions which includes the names of Rockefeller, Morgan, Schiff, the Astors, Carnegie and other dollar-minded men of Wall street. John D. Rockefeller is reported as having donated \$10,000 in one lump.

The Rev. Archibald R. Mansfield is head of the Church Institute. Prior to its in-

ception, the sailors catered to hotels and lodging houses that came within the means they felt they could afford. The Church Institute was ostensibly started as a protection to the sailor against the Crimps who were ever ready and waiting for him to land. But the sailor has enough of mystery while out at sea, so that when he gets back to land he prefers to stay away from prayer meetings. The church felt that it was time to call them back. Again, a destitute sailor is the most hopeless creature on the face of this earth. To take advantage of him in this condition is a simple matter; to do so in the name and under the cloak of religion is a cinch.

So instead of attempting to help the seamen by doing away with the Crimps, they have simply monopolized the field and installed themselves in the place of the individual sharks. If these organizations were there for the sailors' benefit, what purpose could they have in compelling them to obtain employment through their offices? All that would be necessary would be to see that no one else was there to be a drain on the seamen. Not only have they taken hold of most of the ordinary traffic, but they have, by virtue of pious faces "full of devotion for the noble purpose," succeeded in obtaining the honorary sanction of a misled and ignorant public.

Has the United States government become an institution of charity that it sees fit to pay the Seamen's Church Institute \$2.00 for every man recruited for the Naval Auxiliary Service in spite of its own laws making it unlawful for any person to accept money from a seaman for securing him a position? Perhaps this is in line with Mr. Mansfield's claim that the interest of many steamship companies in the sailor's welfare is so great that they insist upon paying them, through this church institute, graduated sums for the same services.

Will the Institute answer the question, why it secured the aid of "crimps" to help it drag the slimy bottom of the Bowery for destitute men, men desperate in the misery of unemployment, so that the S. S. Drummond Castle, whose charter had expired in New York, might sail back to England? Why it drew on the wages of these men, knowing that the men would not be needed after they reached England and would be

stranded there? Did they think that London and Liverpool were in greater need of such men, or was it that the organization was in greater need of the dollars that these men had earned?

In 1908, the S. S. Daghestan was wrecked off Sandy Hook. The owners instructed the captain to retain his men as witnesses at their expense. Mansfield nearly fell over himself to do an act of charity by taking these men into his hotel, "The Breakwater." This is the place that is run by the Seamen's Church Institute for men who have money to pay. Those who have none, are there sometimes induced to go into debt, so that the Institute may violate the law and draw in advance on their wages. But soon the time came when the company in England had no more need of these men and discharged them. Mansfield was paid by the company for boarding them for two weeks. Now that they had no more money, Mansfield had no charity in his soul. He turned the men out—out upon the mercy of whom?—why, the crimps. And what did these rascally crimps "against whose crimes the organization was formed," do? They took these men into their own care until they had obtained employment and could refund the cost.

Mansfield is at the head of a religious organization, but even a religious organization is without a soul. The "Crimps," bad as they are, own boarding houses individually, and no matter how hard pressed men may be by the conditions around them, there is yet the possibility that a little sympathy may have been left in their hearts to rise to the top, the bit of cream in the whole can of milk. But an organization is an immense machine in which no single part is able to act without the consent of the whole.

I have given consideration to the apex of this triangle of hypocrisy: fraud and violation of the law. I shall now turn to measure the angle of its base, for surely, the difference is only a matter of degree between the American Seamen's Church Institute and its two great rivals, the Christian Association for the Benefit of and Spreading of the Gospel Among American Seamen and the American Seamen's Friend Society.

The Christian Association for the Bene-

fit and Spreading of the Gospel Among American Seamen is superintended by Mr. Stanford Wright. Mr. Wright may be a personal friend of Mr. Mansfield, but what's a friend in business. Evidently, they have forgotten that they are working for the same God. It is Mr. Wright's business to see that the American Line Steamship Company is never in want of seamen, and the steamship company has conceded to Mr. Wright all the privileges the law denies him in the way of shipping men. Mr. Wright is not as frank as his worthy rival in admitting the amount he receives for each man he secures. But Mr. Wright has the right, and gets as much as he can without setting a price. He is no more afraid of punishment than is the company for which he endangers himself.

The American line has a large subsidy for the carrying of mails and still an additional sum for which the company agrees to carry a certain number of American seamen on each trip. Not only does this company neglect to live up to its agreement, but it even violates the federal law which declares for an open port to seamen who are in want of employment. At the gate of this company stands a servant of God—S. S. Company, serving in a similar capacity as the good old Peter. He demands that you show your reckonings before you may enter the kingdom of Uncertain Employment. Have you been good slaves? Then yours is the glorious opportunity of doing the dirty work for God-S. S. Company. If not, you find yourself in the lower regions of Unemployment. Then, if you are an American, you are in a worse predicament even than a heathen attempting to enter the real "Kingdom."

Once there was an awakening in the offices of "justice." The Government at Washington saw that the ports were opened. Then it went its way. The American line soon saw that the ports were closed again and is still going its way. And the men who are ever on the alert for a job are still compelled to go the same way as before the government opened and shut its eyes to what it did not care to see.

One would think that the sums exacted from the helpless sailor would satisfy any heartless man, but not so with men of the make-up of those we are exposing. They are religious men, however, and must

not permit the possibility of being suspected of such low actions. And so, to cover up the fact that they are flushed with money from such unworthy sources, they must make a pretense of poverty. Poverty is a condition that all people fear. We are usually sympathetic with the poverty stricken. Here is an organization that is begging "for money for the sake of helping the men of the sea." It is a worthy cause. Let us help. And the cry of the organizations for gold is heard and people from unapproachable places give heed and give aid.

The Rev. Carl Podin, a very dear friend of Mr. Mansfield knew who dared to tell all he knew about the thwarting of the Mission's mission. He called upon me with a request. He wanted me to make an affidavit to be presented to the board of managers placing the blame of the exposure in the *New York Call* and other local papers upon the American Seamen's Friend's Society, claiming that the Seamen's Friend Society had maliciously conspired to take action against the organization he represented. I took the hint and went down to interview Rev. McPherson Hunter, the secretary of the latter organization, intending to use the statements of both against each other. "But the Rev. Hunter decided otherwise," says the *New York Call*. "He lit out of New York like a shot, and didn't stop until he came to the Pacific Ocean. He had no intention of having his society dragged into the public gaze." Why not at this particular moment? Why do they flirt with the public gaze when they want the public's money?

This organization was founded by Mrs. Russell Sage, and is still being maintained by her. It is a statistical fact that the greater part of the money given over to charity is expended in supporting the officials that have themselves elected to carry on the business of the institutions. Out of \$11,005.59 received by the Christian Association, \$5,426.95 of which comes from the steamship companies, the record of that association shows that \$6,001.36 went for "Salaries"; \$1,378.08 was spent in maintaining the building; \$455.00 for expenses to annual concert and Hope Circle; \$1,300.66 for "refreshments" on holidays; \$53.86 for newspapers and magazines; and \$37.00 for lodging for seamen. And it

must not be forgotten that out of those expenses entailed in "entertaining" the sailor, there were expenses necessitated in having the stuff doled out. There is still an amount of \$1,491.22 waiting to be milked. This is from a report sent to me by that association dated "March 31, 1911."

Furthermore, it must be known that the amount for the building expenses does not mean that the sailor gets the full benefit out of the building, for, in the first place, small fees are charged for the use of certain parts of the building, such as 10c for use of the swimming pool. The rooms at the American Seamen's Friend Society are five feet by eight feet and cost \$1.75 per week. They are furnished at the cost of fifteen dollars. But there are eighty-dollars worth of furnishings in the room used by the hired "servant." Another point as to who gets the cream of the "charities for the poor." The prices of food in the institute's restaurant (run by a private individual), are so exorbitant that "only the better class of seamen" patronize it.

The society claims to be like a lighthouse, not only saving life but giving it. There was a case of a seaman sick with typhoid fever who came and asked for a glass of milk. The servant notified Muggford and was told to see that the man had a nickel or he, the servant, would have a pay for it himself. Shortly after that, the ambulance took the man to the hospital where he was "entertained" in another charitable institution.

Nor do they neglect the intellectual life of the seamen. These organizations brag of the number of libraries put aboard ships, but when the question was put to them, the only case they could think of mentioning was the "Roosevelt," the one that took Peary on his trip to the North Pole. And it is a common fact that whatever other libraries do reach other steamers, never get to the sailor, but into the captain's cabin, or the few men immediately under him.

And what, after all has been said, can be charged to these organizations: that they are peculiarly barbarous and parasitical? No. We can only look about us and see that everywhere there are the same pilferings and filchings imbedded in the structure of society, that form, in fact, its very foundation.

"MURDER" IS AN UGLY WORD

BY

CLOUDESLEY JOHNS

LIZZIE WOLGETHAN, aged 17, slain by terror, the brutalities of the "third degree" and neglect in a dungeon of the Oakland, Cal., city prison, was a daughter of a Socialist party member. This fact made a difference to Walter J. Petersen, captain of detectives, in charge of the illegal "detinue system" in Oakland. It made a difference to the police government of that city; to the Supreme court of the sovereign state of California, and to other institutions and men, including our Comrade Harry C. Tuck.

Comrade Tuck, having served in the jail where Lizzie Wolgethan was murdered, a ninety-day term for "libeling" Captain of Detectives Petersen by means of a cartoon in *The World*, Oakland, of which he is editor, was released in the dark hour before dawn on the morning of October 16. The time was well chosen to avoid any tremendous demonstration of welcome to Comrade Tuck as he left the prison where he had been confined three months for giving an ugly name to an act which jail officials are wont to look upon as one of "duty" or a means of permissible recreation. The term "Murder" rankled in the warped minds of Captain Petersen and his crew, and they shrank from the thought of a cheering multitude to greet the man who put the brand upon them too deeply ever to be removed by judicial opinions or the verdict of a selected jury.

Two or three of the undermen of the police government—men who had shown Tuck some kindness in prison—seemed ashamed of the part they have had to bear in the persecution.

It should be noted that there are policemen who deeply deplore the necessity which has driven them to accept the badge and uniform of shame; who cherish always a hope of finding some less disreputable means of obtaining a livelihood for themselves and families. As a rule it is only

the cold blooded and infamous that remain and win promotion, and usually the worst of all that "rise" to be captains of detectives.

The reception which he should have received would have warmed Tuck's heart, but the joy of coming from the darkness of a prison cell into the living daylight would have been denied him in any event, for he is and long has been stone blind.

History of Tuck's "Crime."

One night in October, 1910, in Melrose, a suburb of Oakland, a house burned down. The police, prone to suspicion where the poor and uninfluential may be made the objects, decided the fire was of incendiary origin. They arrested the woman who had owned and occupied the cottage.



H. C. TUCK.
Editor *The Oakland World*.

However, suspicion is not evidence or proof, even to juries refusing to recognize the true character of the police and insisting on respecting the trained brutes in uniform. "Evidence" must be manufactured where it does not exist.

In the neighborhood of the burned house was the home of William Finkledye and his wife, a working class couple. With them at the time, on a visit, was Lizzie Wolgethan, a sister of Mrs. Finkledye.

Women, especially at frequently recurring periods of physiological disturbance, commonly offer the best subjects for the gaining of "evidence" under terrorism. Mrs. Finkledye and her young sister, the police decided, must have been acquainted with their neighbor and might have heard her say something of a "damaging character." Nothing so delights the cankered imagination of the average policeman as something of a "damaging character."

So they broke into the Finkledye home at 2:30 o'clock on the morning of October 10, dragged the frightened Lizzie Wolgethan out of bed and placed her and her relatives under arrest as "witnesses." What they were supposed to have "witnessed," or why they should be arrested for it in dead of night, they did not know.

The three prisoners were placed in "detinue" in the city jail. Later Finkledye and his wife were released, for Miss Wolgethan, ill and almost hysterical under the torture of the "third degree," seemed the most desirable possibility for the making of "evidence" against the neighbor whose house had burned down.

The first session of the "third degree" ended, the girl was thrown, fainting, into a cell, where she was left lying on the slimy iron floor.

Later in the day Comrade G. Wolgethan, father of Lizzie, learning of the arrest, hurried to the jail. He was permitted to see his daughter. He found her delirious, and she could not recognize him. In his grief and anxiety he forgot that the police government must not be criticised, and demanded that his daughter be released at once. He offered to give bail. He was hustled out of the cell and into the presence of the captain of detectives. *Captain Walter J. Petersen informed Comrade Wolgethan that there was no charge against his*

daughter, and therefore she could not be admitted to bail.

Helpless in the face of brute force displayed by blue-coated makers of law in violation of statutory law,—which is bad enough,—Comrade Wolgethan left the jail in search of legal advice. Below, in the reeking cell, his daughter was passing from spasm into spasm.

At 6 o'clock in the morning of October 10, Sadie Robertson, prisoner and cellmate of the dying girl, appealed to the jail officials to call a physician. It was not done. Again and again, in the hours that followed, she repeated her appeal, and was told to "shut her damned head."

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the following day, October 11, 1910, while Comrade Wolgethan was trying to start habeas corpus proceedings, Martha Wolgethan and Mrs. Wagner, sisters of Lizzie, called at the jail to see and try to comfort the innocent prisoner. *Captain of Detectives Walter J. Petersen told them that their sister was released and had gone home.*

Three hours later, unattended except for the ministrations of poor Sadie Robertson in the dark cell, Lizzie Wolgethan's conscious part in the tragedy ended in death. Her father, returning to secure her release, found her body on a slab in the morgue.

Editor Tuck said she was murdered, and named Captain of Detectives Walter J. Petersen. For that Tuck served his term of ninety days in jail.

At the time of Lizzie Wolgethan's death, *The World*, edited by Comrade Tuck, already had begun an attack on the detinue system, especially on account of its employment in the cases of miners, members of the Western Federation of Miners, thrown into the Oakland jail on suspicion of knowing something about dynamite, following Otis' gas explosion in Los Angeles. Articles on the Wolgethan case appeared from week to week and then, in the issue of January 12, 1911, Youngloves' cartoon was published.

Younglove is a Socialist and an artist. His cartoon effectively depicted Captain Petersen, uniformed, in a prison cell, a long knife labeled "Cruelty" in his hand; in front of him a shrouded Death bearing the white-robed body of Lizzie Wolgethan.

in its arms; on the wall a framed portrait of George Washington draped in the American flag. The cartoon was captioned, "Murdered!"

On Monday, January 14, Tuck was arrested and charged with criminal libel. A jury, selected by the Oakland police to try the case, listened restlessly to the testimony of Wolgethan and other relatives of the murdered girl, and of Sadie Robertson, but did what was required of it. In the evening of February 9 the verdict of "guilty" was brought in. On February 11 Tuck received his sentence from Police Judge Mortimer Smith, and went to jail pending habeas corpus proceedings before the state supreme court of California. The result of the proceedings was that three of the justices voted "not to consider" the petition; two declined to vote, and Chief Justice Beatty filed a dissenting opinion declaring that the matter might have merit and should be heard. *This arrangement left the way open for the supreme court to reverse itself, in case of necessity, in future cases of Socialist editors, by a change of only one vote.*

Tuck was released on bail after fourteen days of imprisonment during which the

supreme court justices were making their little arrangement, and appeal from the police court judgment was taken.

On Saturday, February 18, the cartoon appeared again in *The World*, but with Captain Petersen's cruel face blotted out and a black question mark put in its place surmounting the uniformed figure with the knife of cruelty in its hand.

Late in July Superior Judge Sayre decided the appeal, sustaining the judgment of the police court.

Tuck was not ordered to jail at that time, and an intimation was given that he was to be permitted to "serve the remainder of his term outside." Captain Petersen's vindictiveness, however, set aside this wise plan, and on Wednesday, August 2, Tuck was called on to pay the full penalty for his "crime."

So was the murder of Lizzie Wolgethan accomplished, and so was Comrade Harry C. Tuck punished for naming the man who seemed to be responsible.

Tuck's offense was a technical one, of course. . . . Technically, captains of detectives cannot commit "murder." "Murder" is an ugly word.

SIXTH I. W. W. CONVENTION

BY

B. H. WILLIAMS

EDITOR OF SOLIDARITY.

NOT long since, a very pertinent question was asked by Frank Bohn through the columns of the *Review*. That question, "Is the I. W. W. to grow?" has gained an affirmative force in the minds of many of us who attended the sessions or reviewed the proceedings of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, which adjourned its ten days' sittings in Chicago on September 28.

A number of disquieting rumors were afloat prior to the convention. One was

to the effect that the "antis" as they are familiarly called would be there in full force and with the avowed purpose of so amending the Preamble or changing the Constitution, as to make the I. W. W. once and for all an "anti-political" organization. Another had it that the supposed "antagonism between the rank and file and the general administration" would result in a split at the convention, and thus again interrupt the constructive work of the organization. Other rumors went the rounds, all tending to the conclusion in the minds of those who

circulated them, that "something was going to happen at this convention," to show that the I. W. W. did not understand itself or the problem it was aiming to solve.

None of these predictions were verified. The question of "politics," a burning question up to and including the stormy Fourth convention (1908), was not discussed at all by the Sixth convention. Some local had proposed the following amendment to the I. W. W. Preamble: "Realizing the futility of parliamentary action, and recognizing the absolute necessity of the industrial union, we unite under the following constitution." Although it is safe to state that a large majority of the delegates were non-parliamentarians, the above proposition was voted down without discussion.

The question of the "general administration and the rank and file" was not so readily disposed of. Many proposed constitutional changes were brought before the convention, chiefly emanating from local unions in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific states, all with a view to modifying or minimizing the power and privileges of the General Executive Board and the General Officers. Debate on these proposals lasted for several days. The relations of the different parts of the organization to each other were thoroughly threshed out. Misunderstandings were cleared up. All of the proposed amendments were voted down. Several delegates who came instructed by their local unions to vote for them, admitted that after due consideration and more enlightenment on the questions, they were opposed to their instructions, but none of these voted contrary to the wishes of their constituents.

As above stated, nearly all proposed changes in "behalf of the rank and file" came from western locals. In order that this may be clear to readers of the *Review*, it may be well to point out here some of the sectional differences between the East and West.

That portion of the West between the Rockies and the Pacific is still an undeveloped country, vast in area and very thin in population. The principal industries are agriculture, lumbering and mining. All three, though more or less trustified, are undeveloped. Jobs are far apart. Workers, classed as unskilled, are compelled to

shift constantly from one section to another and from one industry to another. As a consequence, "mixed" or recruiting locals become a necessary feature of I. W. W. organization in the West; while INDUSTRIAL unions proper are difficult to form and still more difficult to maintain on account of their shifting constituencies. Moreover, the rough and ready life of the migratory worker tends to self-reliance and individualisms, which are far more pronounced in the West than in the East. Every member becomes an agitator, and many "soap-boxers" have been developed to carry the message of industrial freedom into every nook and corner of that section.

Strange as it may seem at first thought, this tendency to individualism has given rise to an undervaluation of individual initiative in the administrative affairs of the organization. It is apparently a case of being unable to see the forest for the trees. Since there are so many capable individuals in the West for secretaries, organizers, editors, etc., it follows logically in the minds of some that the I. W. W. everywhere should have a complete change of officers at least once a year in order that no individual may be tempted to usurp too much power. Again, the necessary "mixed" local form of union—on loose geographical lines—has stamped its character on the minds of our western members, and caused some of them to question the industrial form of organization with its proposed centralized administration.

Thus we see in the West, individualism in practice, combined with a theory of collective action that scoffs at individual or group initiative by general officers and executive boards, and conceives the possibility of "direct action" in all things through the "rank and file." Hence the proposal from several western locals to abolish conventions and inaugurate a system of legislating exclusively through the initiative and referendum. Hence also the proposals for rotation in office and for minimizing the power of the general administration.

On the other hand the eastern delegates bring to the convention different ideas acquired from a different environment. The East is a great beehive of industry highly developed and centralized. The worker in

a steel mill in Pittsburg, for example, knows that his employer is a gigantic corporation, which also employs miners in Minnesota. He does not, however, think of Minnesota or of Pennsylvania in a geographical sense. He thinks only of the steel trust. Locality is of little significance to him, though he may be anchored in one spot for life; the industry is everything. And since that industry is a trust, with centralized administration, the eastern worker naturally demands a similar organization among the wage slaves. He sees no chance for quick and effective action through the unwieldy method of legislating by referendum. Without the individualistic spirit himself, the eastern worker nevertheless recognizes the value of individual initiative in promoting mass action and in executing the mandates and requirements of the organization.

The problem before the Sixth convention was to preserve the balance between these two sets of ideas. In that, the convention succeeded admirably. While recognizing the need of local initiative and freedom of action, at the same time the convention insisted upon the equal necessity of preserving the integral organization, through a proper understanding and adjustment of the relations of one part to another—of the individual to the local, of the local to the general administration; and vice versa. The sum total of its conclusions along this line was that few constitutional changes are now necessary; that the I. W. W. is on a working basis and should direct all its energies toward organizing the One Big Union of the Working Class in the industries of the nation. On that basis the East

and the West came to a common understanding. Moreover, for the first time in an I. W. W. convention, they found fraternal delegates from the South, who were in enthusiastic accord with the same purpose. These were the representatives of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, who in only a few short months of experience in unionism have developed splendid fighting qualities in their combat with the lumber trust in Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas.

Little need be said of the personnel of the delegates to this convention. There were few striking contrasts among the men. Although here were fellow workers who had been active in the struggles of the old Knights of Labor, the Western Federation of Miners and other militant unions, and had gained much practical experience by the way, still in the eyes of the world at large they are "unknown men." "Intellectuals" were conspicuous by their absence. Most of the delegates were young men full of the fire and enthusiasm of youth; somewhat crude as to their knowledge of parliamentary usage, but very much in earnest in debating the welfare of the organization. They were I. W. W. men first, last and all the time, with a singleness of purpose that augurs well for the future of the economic movement.

Without presenting any marked contrasts or any striking incidents, the Sixth convention nevertheless has marked a distinct epoch in the development of the I. W. W. It has shown that the stormy periods and internal struggles of past years have not destroyed the vital principle of the organization; and that from now on the I. W. W. should move forward with increasing numbers and power.

Robert M. Lackey, secretary-treasurer Brotherhood of Machinists, writes: "I wish to commend you on the supreme excellence of your September issue. The REVIEW has been improving wonderfully with each issue. Your last number surpassed all the previous ones. Every one of the articles was timely, some right up to the minute and full of live interest."

CAPITALISTIC "SOCIALISM"

BY

WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

SUPPOSE things don't happen *ex-actly* the way we thought they would ten years ago.

Suppose the trusts decide that instead of swallowing up *all* the small capitalists it will be safer, after reaching a certain point, to check the extension of the trust principle on the economic field and apply it to politics.

Is it not highly probable that an effort is already being made to apply the "get together" idea to politics, and that the more far-sighted among the regular Republicans and conservative Democrats in private conferences are saying to "insurgents" and "progressives":

"We have the banks, railroads, mines, forests and leading industries; you have the votes and you will soon have the political power. Yet we are all capitalists. Why not get together? The thing to do now is to consolidate the capitalist class. What we need is a new combination wide enough to embrace all capitalists.

"As competitors we have you beaten. You will have to give up your dream of entering into business against us as independent competitors. Yet you may remain capitalists as investors. You may still be landlords whether in the city or country and have your tenants. As capitalist farmers, store-keepers or business-men, in those few branches we leave in your hands (because we are used to higher profits than they will yield), you purchase from us your tools and some of your materials. As small miners, lumber men, or farmers you sell us some of our raw material.

"Why not recognize that we have a monopoly in transportation, banking, smelting, steel-making, etc., etc.? Why should we not appoint special government boards to fix rates, prices, dividends and wages, and control these boards in common. Instead of restoring competition, protect us from competition and just look what we can offer in return.

"You will be protected as capitalist consumers (not ultimate consumers) against high tariffs, monopolistic prices, high transportation rates and high interest.

"When we are united we can trust the government to go into banking without monopolizing it. This means that it will lend us the people's credit at low rates.

"Such a safe and stable government will also use its credit, sovereign power and right of eminent domain to build us canals and roads, improve waterways, undertake billions of dollars worth of investment in reclamation by drainage and irrigation of waste lands, scientific utilization of water power, mines and forests, etc. We may even find it more profitable as they have in Germany to entrust it with the railroads, workmen's insurance, etc.

"We will be glad to allow such a government to protect your interest as investors. This will insure us a steady stream of capital to build up the new system and will guarantee us your political support. Indeed there is no reason why the government cannot *guarantee* all the securities of business over which it has such firm control.

"Some of you are well paid professional men and corporation or government employees. We can act together through such a government to see that retail prices also do not rise. This will also protect the recipient's fixed incomes from investments. In other words we are willing to protect all the ultimate consumers from a rise in prices. We can take it out of the wage-earners by lowering wages, but you are protected from excessive competition among yourselves by the increasing need of a higher technical education in your occupations and the increasing cost of obtaining it. We will furnish free schools, but the courses will be so long that it will be utterly impossible for the working people to support their children there until they are 20, 25, or even 30 years old as is sometimes necessary (if we add to the school years the several years of unremunerative experience required in hospitals, laboratories, etc.).

"Then we are all taxpayers. The new government enterprises will be so profitable that we can soon relieve all your taxes altogether. If there is any difficulty the government can take the *future* increase in the value of city lands—as they already are doing in Germany and England. This will bring in billions every year and will hurt nobody.

"When we are all working together it will be useful to install a little more "democracy"—not industrial, you understand, but political—for example the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. We may even call a constitutional convention and abolish the political power of the Supreme Court.

"Of course we can't have a majority of the *people*, but we can easily get a majority of the *voters*. With negroes and foreigners disfran-

chised, the poll-tax requirement, the law that the workers must live several months in the place where they vote, and the educational test, 50 per cent of the adult male workers are already without votes. It is now proposed to make naturalization more difficult while Dr. Lyman Abbott in the progressive *Outlook* wants the Southern laws disfranchising the negroes turned against the northern whites, and Prof. E. A. Ross in La Follette's insurgent weekly wants workingmen to be required to read before they can vote. We run no danger from labor in a single state of the Union and if they capture a few minor cities we can easily deprive those of such home rule as they now enjoy. By rounding out this kind of democracy we can give you small capitalists the best possible pledge that we will not deceive you. The political power will remain largely in your hands.

"As to the labor policy—are we not already agreed that what we want is a scientific combination of the principles of Civic Federation and the Manufacturers' Association, such as has already been adopted by the railroads and the Harvester Trust?"

Can any close observer doubt that the Insurgents and Regulars, progressives and conservatives are already getting together on the platform of capitalistic "State Socialism"? This combination is now taking place in France and Germany and it will soon take place here—whether under Woodrow Wilson, in 1912, or Roosevelt or La Follette, in 1916, is a secondary question.

The above is not an imaginary conversation. It is very nearly what is actually occurring in the private conferences between Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson and what they call "the good trust magnates." Already they have announced half of the program in their speeches and it is only necessary to read between the lines to see what the other half is.

Now what does this mean to Socialists? It means that while we were formerly fighting individualist Capitalism, competition on one hand and the trusts on the other, we are now fighting collectivist capitalism, "State Socialism," that is the capitalist class for the first time consolidated, and for the first time in complete possession of the government. It means, therefore, that however much we feel that the carrying out of this program will facilitate our own action, it is none of our business. We watched anxiously and with approval the formation of the trusts, but we did nothing and could do nothing to help them along. The same is true of the economic and political consolidation of the capitalist class that is now

taking place. *Our task is not to bring about capitalist collectivism, but to convert it into Socialist collectivism.*

But this is the negative lesson we are taught. There is also a positive one. I have purposely touched only lightly on the State Capitalist (or "State Socialist") Labor program. At this point we have not only a program, but a whole new capitalist philosophy to guide us. The "State Socialist" policy towards Labor is entirely summed up in the "Gospel of Efficiency" of which "Scientific Management" is only one branch.

This "gospel of efficiency" is representative of the capitalism of the future. Formerly we heard only the gospel of success: let each individual rise from his class and leave nobody except despicable inferiors behind. But the sun of individualism has set, and now even the capitalists are becoming "Socialists." The working people are being advised by their very masters to seek their salvation *without* endeavoring to leave their class, i. e., they are to look for favors from a benevolent capitalistic government.

It is not the advocates of "Scientific Management" alone that are now preaching the gospel of efficiency and class salvation. All the "Socialistic" reformers are off on the same tack. Workingmen's insurance, a minimum wage, government employment for the unemployed, a shorter working day by law, etc., are all advocated on the ground that it can be shown that though they lead to an increase of wages, they lead to a more rapid increase of profits. The new "Socialistic" Capitalists have made up their minds, apparently, that the time has come to allow wages to rise slowly—faster even than the cost of living. The reason they have reached this conclusion is that a greater efficiency of labor, even if it can be obtained only with a *real* raise of wages (i. e., faster than prices), is the best remaining way by which profits can be further increased.

Another purpose of this new capitalist doctrine is to shelve all measures that really aim at the redistribution of wealth and democratisation of society by increasing the political and economic power of the masses when compared with that of the capitalists. The reformers argue that any plan that can be devised which will increase real

wages 5 per cent and profits 10 per cent will surely decrease strikes and bring about relative peace between capital and labor.

"The science of management" is a proposal that labor should be systematically and scientifically studied and directed, like the manufacture of steel or of chemicals. Its advocates say that the new methods are "as revolutionary in increasing output as the introduction of machinery was." And it seems to be a demonstrated fact that, in many instances, the product of each laborer has, by these methods, been increased by two or three fold.

National attention was first called to the matter when the very latest and most fashionable "reformer," Louis Brandeis, argued last year before the Interstate Commerce Commission that by these means the railroads could save a million dollars a day. Perhaps the most enthusiastic advocate of this reform, which it is hoped may weaken labor union agitation and distract attention from the labor question is Mr. Roosevelt's organ, *The Outlook*.

"With the introduction of scientific management," writes Mr. Ernest Abbott in *The Outlook*, "the relation between employer and employe is transformed. Their mutual interests become identical."

Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that it is really a technical revolution in industry that we are facing. We have already passed through a number of technical revolutions without the interests of the employer and the employe becoming identical or in any way closer than they were before.

Scientific management and the gospel of efficiency do not necessarily imply more speed, overstrain and an earlier death for the laborer. On the contrary, if the labor supply continues to be limited, as it is now by keeping Asiatic labor out of the market, there is no reason to doubt that the whole capitalistic attitude towards labor will soon be revolutionized. While land or coal or labor were cheap the capitalist policy was to use up all of these raw materials without regard to waste. But as soon as the supply is nearly exhausted, a diametrically opposite policy, that of conservation, is pursued: the land or the coal or the labor, as the case may be, begins to be saved. *The time has come in nearly every country where not only the saving of labor while in the fac-*

tory, but the saving of the labor supply, i. e., of the laborer, is a good capitalist policy.

This saving of the laborer is the essential element of the gospel of efficiency. If the laborer becomes at all scarce, the capitalist will take precious pains to save him, just as the slaveholders saved the slaves, not only while he is at work but throughout his whole lifetime. Mr. Hyman Strunsky has pointed out (in his article on Welfare Work in "The Coming Nation") how the factory inspector of Rhode Island and other authorities have shown the capitalists that the time has come when they must save their working people just as they have always saved their "cattle and horses."

One of the leaders of the new movement, E. P. Stimson, guaranteed to show a committee of the House of Representatives that under the new system a four-hour day could be established and still the profits of capital be increased. Most of its advocates favor an eight-hour day on the ground that it would increase the working life of the now valuable laborer. All of them favor workingmen's insurance, since they know that all the government does for the laborer enables them to pay that much less wages (though the decrease is not sufficient entirely to negative the worker's benefit), while it removes innumerable individual grievances which interfere with efficiency. All of them, of course, favor industrial education. As to the taxes required to support such sweeping reforms, the capitalists will not grudge them if they are certain to get the benefit—for which they must wait until the children are grown up or until the time arrives when "conserved" workingmen would have been thrown on the scrap heap—a period that is from ten to twenty years.

Mr. Brandeis calls Workingmen's Insurance "The Road to Social Efficiency," i. e., it is simply the principle of industrial efficiency applied by the government. He argues that "if society and industry and the individual were made to pay from day to day the actual cost of sickness, accident, invalidity, premature death, or premature old age consequent upon excessive hours of labor, of unhygienic conditions of work, of unnecessary risks, and of irregularity of employment those evils would be rapidly reduced"; and he proves his point by showing

the rapid decrease of fires where the manufacturers have established mutual fire insurance. In other words the government established a law by which employers are automatically penalized when they try to take advantage of the employing class by wasting the labor supply.

The Civic Federation and reformers all over the country favor the establishment of a minimum wage by law in the sweated industries. In England the law is already in successful operation. It enables the large manufacturers, the owners of power machinery, to put their foot-power competitors out of business, as the latter can't afford to pay the minimum wage.

In Great Britain the government also proposes to solve the unemployed problem. Those who can't be used as servants, soldiers or sailors, according to the new Development Bill and other schemes are, with the consent of the Labor Party, to be compelled to work on roads, re-forestation, etc. Thus money will be saved in almshouses, work-houses, jails and hospitals, while the wages paid will not be high enough to raise the general level. There will be not only as many but more scabs furnished by this semi-convict employment as come now from the army of the unemployed. In fact it has been proposed in Hungary that this new army of labor be loaned to the farmers in harvest times. Would this idea not be popular in Kansas and Iowa? Moreover if desertions are common in our regular army, which spends part of its time on parade, would they not be wholesale from any army that works every hour—especially when the prices of strike-breakers ranged high?

But the heart of the whole "benevolent" labor policy is best seen in its effect on wages. There is no more doubt that it will raise them than that the introduction of machinery had this effect. But machinery increased the strength of capitalism ten-fold and scientific management and "labor reforms" will have the same result, unless they are accompanied by the better political and economic organization of labor. The great scientific manager, Frederick W. Taylor, showed the pig-iron handlers how to increase their output of labor 362 per cent and gave them a 61 per cent increase in wages. In other words one-sixth of the

benefits of the reform went to labor and five-sixths to capital. That is the economic superiority of capital over labor was made five times greater than it was before. Similarly if we figured out the ultimate results of all the labor reforms proposed by the capitalists (say after ten years' trial) we would probably find similar results. And even if some reform should chance to give a little more to labor than to capital we would find that a dozen others had been enacted at the same time which gave several times more to capital and proved the rule.

It is a conflict, a class-struggle. Labor advances sometimes more rapidly, sometimes, less, but Capital is all the time gaining on Labor and will continue to gain more rapidly than ever under the "State Socialist" regime I have been describing—*except as the labor unions and the Socialist Party grow stronger*. This will not mean that these organizations can win anything of importance now—*beyond these reforms that the "State Socialists" will introduce without a struggle* (though not without some discussion and polite disagreement). It will mean that the day when a successful revolution is possible has drawn that much nearer.

As a part of the labor reform program, as suggested by both La Follette and Woodrow Wilson, the rights of labor organizations will be *somewhat* extended. Boycotts will be allowed and injunctions and "conspiracy" practically abolished—as in England—where, after all, the unions don't seem to be much freer or more advanced than they are here. At the same time compulsory "investigation" and, if necessary, compulsory arbitration, will be extended from the railways to the mines and all other industries where the stoppage of work would seriously inconvenience *the capitalist class as a whole* (i. e., including the Progressives and Insurgents). Unions will be permitted among Government employes as Mr. La Follette demands, and as is already the case in France. But, as in France, they will not be permitted to strike. As to the boycott, it can't do much harm to the capitalists as a whole—so much less meat sold, so much more fish and eggs. As a weapon against the meat trust it might do, as a weapon against the capitalist class as a whole it is not very deadly (though it can

be very useful against small shop-keepers, professional men, etc., with whom we deal and who must be disciplined when they try to desert our cause). As to labor organizations then there will be no backward step, merely the substitution of a more or less compulsory arbitration for the injunction and the Sherman law—greater freedom in small strikes, less in large ones.

It is difficult to see why Labor should be alarmed at such a revolution in the capitalist attitude as now confronts us. Better conditions generally ought immensely to strengthen the labor movement in every way—*unless the working people are such slaves at heart that they will not revolt as long as their conditions improve slightly from year to year*. Assume that the science of labor management of the gospel of efficiency and capitalistic "Socialistic" reform double *real* wages and increase profits four-fold. According to the Civic Federation argument and that of Mr. Gompers, this would be sufficient ground why labor and capital should be absolute friends during the whole period while this was being brought about. Such a progress, would, indeed, destroy unions resting on the old basis, for all they demand, as Mr. Gompers has often said, is "more"—and from his actions no one can doubt that what he meant was "a little more." If they get this from year to year he will be satisfied.

Those unions, on the other hand, which ask for a fairer *division* of the product and aim steadily at *the overthrow of capitalism in government* will use the new strength they may gain from such reforms and technical revolutions to strengthen their demand for industrial democracy and economic equality. As long as capitalism is getting a larger and larger *share* of the product, it will be a matter of entirely secondary importance to them that their income also is increasing slightly from year to year. For they will realize that as long as the percentage of the total product going to the capitalists rises, it is their political and economic power that increases and not that of the workers.

The possessors of capital and of an expensive education will continue under capitalistic "Socialism" as at present as long as this system lasts to enjoy an income many times as great as that of the

laborers. They will continue, directly or indirectly, to control the government, and though they form less than a third of the population, their children will continue to monopolize 99 per cent of the better positions in society, to enjoy grossly unequal incomes, to direct the community according to their own interests and ideas, and to pass these powers and privileges on to their children after them.

No revolution in industry, and no revolution in government (even a constitutional convention) can protect us from a constantly hardening caste system unless it is consciously directed to improving the condition and increasing the power of the exploited mass *more rapidly* than it adds to the wealth and power of the ruling class.

The coming political trust, the consolidation of the capitalist class in politics, will teach the workers far better than would the swallowing up of the small capitalists by the large. Until now many workers have believed that the enemy was not the capitalist class as a whole but the trusts, or the big employers or those capitalists who happened to be employers. The small capitalists or even the "middle-sized" (merely millionaires, not billionaires), the competitors of the trusts used labor for their purposes. Each group of capitalists persuaded the workers to look for their enemies "higher up." This deception is no longer possible.

As long as the capitalists were divided reforms were delayed. Now that the large and small capitalists have got together in France and England and are getting together in this country under Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, *the reforms will be put into execution instead of being held out to the laborers as rewards if they voted "right."* No reform has even obtained a public hearing which does not offer more to the capitalists than to the workers, but the workers were afraid they might not get even the little they were offered. The capitalists had not yet agreed on a political policy and all reforms were delayed.

But now that all such reforms as government ownership, workingmen's insurance, the eight-hour law, and government work for the unemployed are being actually carried out, the workers will see that the capitalists are getting the lion's share from

every one of them. They will understand that *even if the workers were disfranchised, without labor organizations, or in actual slavery it would pay an organized capitalist class to introduce these reforms.*

With the *economic and political* consolidation of the capitalist class the workers are restored to their position under chattel slavery—with the sole difference that they are now slaves of no individual, but of the consolidated capitalist class and government. *They have become the most valuable property the capitalists have—more valuable than either their slaves of yesterday or their mines, railroads and mills today. They must be better bred, better educated for industry, better managed, less wasted.*

Every reform which improves the condition and efficiency of the workers is good capitalist policy provided it does not improve the position of their economic and political organizations.

It might be thought that what aids the worker aids his organization. But this is an illusion. All over the world the workers' condition is being gradually improved. But everywhere his organizations, economic and political, are being more and more restricted—as to their power of achieving results under the present system. This restriction is possible because, though the workers are

slowly getting more, they are getting a smaller share of the product, Capitalism is strengthening itself economically at five or ten times the speed.

Here, then, is the benefit of "State Socialism"—as an object lesson!

Every reform that is enacted will teach the workers that while they are moving forward they are losing in the race.

They will take their eyes off their grievances and rivet them on their employers' gains.

They will cease asking the employer to make good their losses and will concentrate their attention on forcing him to divide up his profits.

They will remember that there is no end to the amount of capital a good breeder will invest in his horses or the reforms he will undertake as long as they continue to become more valuable and their working efficiency continues to increase.

They will see that all economic reforms apply equally well to working cattle as to men and that manhood begins with self-government.

They will learn from actual trial that the only measures that advance us towards Socialism are those that take industry and government out of the hands of the capitalists and hand them over to the workers.

Bisbee Miners' Union No. 106.—The October REVIEWS to hand and I assure you that it has been commented upon by all of the comrades and in their estimation it is one of the best pieces of Socialist ammunition that has come before their notice in some time.

E. J. M., Sec'y.

Northville, Mich.—The REVIEWS are beginning to do the business in this locality and we expect to organize a local here in a very short time. Send 25 October numbers at once.

L. C. C.

Warren, Ohio.—Enclosed find \$5.00 for 100 October REVIEWS. We had a good meeting today and sold all of the REVIEWS in five minutes.

G. S.

EDITORIAL

Capitalistic "Socialism."—In the article under this heading which will be found elsewhere in this month's REVIEW, Comrade Walling has rendered a distinct service to the Socialist Party. His detailed analysis of the industrial and political situation confirms our conclusion expressed in the editorial department for September. Our old propaganda against competition and individualism has done its work, and to continue it is a waste of breath. Competition and individualism are dead and no one knows this so well as the successful capitalist. *The time has come for a radical change in the tactics of the Socialist Party, to meet radically changed conditions.* Our platform of 1908 was adopted by referendum with only a few dissenting votes, because to most of us it seemed in line with our economic interests at that time. Fortunately it embodied an analysis of capitalist society in the light of the writings of Marx and Engels, and the swift developments of the last three and a half years have made the truth of this analysis more evident than ever. But it also contained a "Program," at least half of which has been taken over bodily by the up-to-date politicians of capitalism.

Some of Our Demands Out of Date.—We must wake up to the fact that the capitalists through THEIR government will, in their own interest, put through many of the reforms which we advocated in 1908. If knowing this we still emphasize these demands rather than the class struggle, we shall be turning our backs on the historic task of the Socialist Party, and we shall merely be making votes. And the joke of it is that if we are foolish and cowardly enough to take this course we shall not even succeed in making votes for ourselves. The votes will go to LaFollette or Champ Clark or whatever old-party politician happens to head the new movement toward state capitalism. Let us briefly review the numbered demands in our program of 1908, and see how they have stood the test of three and a half years.

1. The United States government is already making immense expenditures on the Panama Canal and preparing on a gigantic scale for the development of Alaska. Labor conditions for Americans in Panama are fairly good. We must keep our emphasis on the demand for better working conditions and we should add an explicit demand for the right to organize.

2. Capitalist politicians are already uniting in support of a parcels post bill and it is probable that the express business will soon be operated by the government. Meanwhile Hitchcock is exploiting the postal clerks as mercilessly as any trust magnate. To our demand for the collective ownership of the transportation industry we must add a demand for its control by the workers.

3. President Gary of the steel trust has given out a significant interview showing that he and his fellow magnates would welcome regulation by a capitalist government, so far as prices go. But this same steel trust crushes relentlessly any attempt on the part of its laborers to exercise the slightest control over working conditions. Here again collective ownership without democratic control by the people who do the work will be a hollow sham so far as the workers are concerned.

4. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power is an assured fact. The important question is, what will be the condition of the wage-workers who develop and exploit these natural resources?

5. The same may be said of timber lands and swamp lands. It makes very little difference to the working class whether these lands are worked for the benefit of a few robber magnates or for the capitalist class as a whole. The important question for us is: What do WE get?

6. Freedom of press, speech and assemblage is and will continue to be a demand so important that we can not possibly emphasize it too much.

7. A shorter workday is a demand that is fundamental and revolutionary, and it has not yet had the attention in our propaganda that it deserves. We shall have more to say of this in the near future. Factory inspection will for the most part be a farce till the workers choose the inspectors and these work with the unions, but any more stringent laws along this line may be useful later and are well worth demanding. Child labor laws are good, but they need the help of strong industrial unions to enforce them. State insurance and old age pensions will soon be proposed by the capitalists in their own interest. We should not fall over ourselves with delight at the first proposal of this kind, but should scrutinize every measure and try to safeguard in every way possible the right of the laborers in each industry to a voice in the details of any such scheme.

8. A graduated inheritance tax in so far as it hastens the "dividing up" of great fortunes, would help make the new feudalism stronger and more stable, and would probably operate in a decidedly reactionary fashion. We should drop it from our list of demands.

9. The same may be said of a graduated income tax. This whole question of taxation is something over which we may well leave the various sections of the capitalist class to wrangle.

10. Woman suffrage is undoubtedly coming, and all socialists favor it, but it is not necessary for us to emphasize it to the exclusion of the class struggle. The working woman should remember that her interests are identical with those of the working man and diametrically opposed to those of the capitalist woman.

11. The initiative, referendum and recall are coming, yet we may well insist on them. We tried a crude form of proportional representation in our own organization, and then repealed it instead of amending it. We should either introduce this principle into our constitution or take it out of our platform.

12, 13 and 14. To abolish the senate, to take away the supreme power of the supreme court and to make the United States constitution amendable by majority vote, will all be incidents of the proletarian revolution when it comes, but they will not be possible until the workers are strong enough to "seize the whole power of government." The constitution of the United States is the greatest bulwark of international capitalism; with capitalism it will stand or fall.

15. A federal health bureau may save much

suffering among workers. But federal control of education would be welcomed gleefully by the capitalists if we began to control some state and local governments and to introduce any teachings into the schools that were opposed to capitalist ethics. Half of this demand should be cut out.

16. A department of labor with its head appointed by an old-party president, would, if it became active at all, be a dangerous enemy to the working class. Why we ever let this demand go through is a mystery. Perhaps some of our delegates at the convention scented a possible job, and the rest of us were asleep.

17. The election of judges and the abolition of injunctions is a blow at a weak spot in the capitalist government and this demand is worth keeping.

18. "The free administration of justice" sounds well but means little to the wage-worker. To make it mean something, let us demand, for example, that every jury be selected by lot from the polling list, instead of allowing bailiffs as at present to exclude workmen from juries when a workman is being tried.

Our convention next spring must wrestle with the platform question, and it is none too soon for the rank and file to begin discussing it. We can make a platform that will attract "all the people," especially petty capitalists, or we can make a clear-cut, revolutionary platform that will stir the fighting spirit of the workers. Which shall it be?

Cleveland, Ohio.—Fighting Magazine is our favorite here. We recognize its great value to the movement and have put it on sale everywhere. T. C.

Toledo, Ohio.—Last three numbers of the REVIEW are fine! "What Comes of Playing the Game" raises the author about 100 per cent in the estimation of many. J. B.

Elyria, Ohio.—We sold 275 October REVIEWS at our Debs meeting, which was the greatest gathering of people ever assembled in Elyria to hear a political speaker. E. E. R.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

Capitalist War and Socialist Theories.—European statesmen may not be interested in Socialist theories. They certainly do not go about their business for the purpose of proving the truth of Marxian formulas. But if this were their chief purpose in life they could do little better than they have been doing during these past three months. Marx said that governments are committees for the guarding of capitalist interests. And international wars, he maintained, are carried on for the sake of serving the interests of the big business men of one nation as against those of another. This is Socialist theory.

Here are the capitalist governments. Some thirty years ago France and England both had "interests" in Egypt. England took Egypt for her very own and gave to France Algiers and Morocco. These latter countries did not belong to England, but that didn't matter. France had the right of way within their borders. The Spanish had "interests" on the west coast of Morocco. Finally French and Spanish "interests" clashed. By this time the Germans had cultivated Moroccan trade, and the German government was quick to see that the "interests" of the fatherland did not suffer at the hands of foreign powers. So the agreement of Algeciras was signed. According to this sacred agreement France had a sort of protectorate over a part of Morocco. The French companies, in their eagerness to get the most out of the bargain that had been made for them, got outside the territory allotted to them.

This was Germany's chance. A gunboat, the property of the German nation, was sent to Agadir. "Conversations" were immediately started. It was finally arranged that Morocco was to be turned over absolutely to the mercies of French capital and that German capital should have a large slice of territory out of the Soudan country. All the war talk, all the excitement, all the manipulation of government machinery, was for the purpose of getting for the capitalists of each na-

tion as big a place as possible for the exploitation of defenseless natives.

But now the wily Italian saw a chance to get in his work. While all the world was thinking about Morocco he slipped his hand over and grabbed Tripoli. It was easy. Poor old Turkey had hardly the ghost of an army to put up a defense. It cost little and will be immensely to the advantage of Italian interests. Tripoli offers five well worn routes into central Africa. More than this, along the coast are rich lands which offer an inviting home to poor Italian emigrants. Every year 20,000 Sicilian peasants have been coming to America. Here they are exploited by American capital. If they go to the shores of Tripoli, and Italy controls Tripoli, they will be exploited by Italian capital. It is all very easy and very profitable.

The strange thing is that all this great, charitable, enlightened world of ours has looked on without protest or wonder. All the countries involved send representatives to the Hague conferences and only recently signed the great arbitration agreement. But no one suggested the possibility of arbitrating the conflicting interests of big business. It was taken for granted everywhere that the strongest would get what he wanted. American papers even poked fun at the Italian government for killing so few human beings in their inhuman business.

Marx is in his grave. Bourgeois economists tell us that his theories have been buried deeper than his bones. But they live again in every deed of the capitalist governments of Europe.

But in all this scene of inhuman selfishness there are unmistakable signs of hope for the suffering nations. The working-class has not been carried away by the war fever as it was in 1871 or even as late as 1898. Millions of workers in Germany, France, and Italy declared for peace. At the congress of Jena the German Social Democratic Party called upon German workers to use "every possible means to

prevent an international war." And the governments heard the call. The capitalist class the world over realizes that it faces a new situation. A few more years of agitation and education and there will be no more wars in the civilized world, for the working-class will refuse to fight.

Germany, The Social Democratic Congress.—The German Social Democratic Party has near a million members and an organization which cannot find its equal in the world. The ability of individual members and the discipline and energy of the membership as a whole long ago made this organization the ideal of hosts of Socialists the world over. But of late more than one American Socialist has begun to fear that the Social Democracy is too much like other things German; too bureaucratic; too much ruled from the top down. And it must be admitted that there has been some basis for this fear.

To many American Socialists, then, the accounts of doings at the last German Socialist Congress must have come as a welcome relief. For at Jena, where this congress was held, it was proved that German Socialism is more than an petrified embodiment of Marxism. It was proved that German Socialists do not believe, at least not all of them, that we have the revolution all prepared in our platforms and programs ready to apply at a moment's notice. It was proved, moreover, that German Socialism is very much alive; alive, in particular, to new ways of thinking and acting which the working-class of the world is hammering out for itself in the heat of its gigantic conflict with capitalism.

"Never in recent years has a Socialist congress gathered in an hour so big with fateful issues," says *Vorwaerts*. And this statement is not beyond the mark. The delegates had little time for idle theorizing. They had to consider the possibility of a war and the certainty of an imperial election. The peculiar state of affairs within the party, moreover, gave to the discussions and decisions of this congress more than usual importance.

At last year's congress, it will be remembered, there was a sharp division between revolutionists and revisionists. The former gained their point in the matter

of the Socialist attitude toward capitalist budgets, and the latter withdrew for a time from the convention hall. The executive committee of the party, containing many of the old war-horses, was, of course, on the revolutionary side.

This year the chief conflict was along a new line of cleavage; or at least along a line which has only recently come to be of equal importance with that between revolutionist and revisionist. During the past year Comrade Rosa Luxemburg has been carrying on a vigorous campaign in favor of the general strike as a weapon against international war. She has accused the party leaders of cowardice, of old-fogyism, of parliamentary fetish-worship. Comrade Carl Kautsky replied with all his usual learning and skill in argument. For many weeks their battle raged in *Die Neue Zeit* and other journals. The weight of numbers seemed to be against Comrade Luxemburg, nevertheless she carried her fight, on a new point which had just arisen, into the Jena congress. At Jena, then, the representatives of accepted German Socialist theory and tactics found themselves pitted not so much against revisionists as against ultra-revolutionists. The old center had to defend itself, not against the extreme right, but against the extreme left.

The point at issue was the part which the executive committee played in relation to the Moroccan war scare. The committee was charged with failing to make the most of the opportunities presented by the danger of war. It was said that the moment of real danger was allowed to pass before mass meetings were held or literature distributed. And the chief leaflet prepared was said to be weak and inadequate. At the bottom of all this, it was charged, was fear of losing votes in the coming election. These charges were supported by Comrades Clara Zetkin, Ledebour, and others.

The committee, led by Comrade Bebel, replied that Comrade Luxemburg had acted disloyally in entering upon a criticism of the committee's work at the time when the anti-war agitation was at its height. It was contended, moreover, that the committee had acted wisely in waiting till it could see whether war was

actually imminent. And as for the anti-war leaflet, it was intended for outsiders and was written to win them rather than to repel them.

The discussion lasted two days. At the conclusion of it the resolutions against the executive were withdrawn. The opposition comrades announced that open discussion of party affairs was all they desired. The whole affair was, of course, displayed in the capitalist papers. It was prophesied, as it always is, that the Socialist movement was about to die of internal strife. But the result cannot be other than a good one. In fact, before the congress adjourned a motion was carried to appoint a commission to consider the advisability of a general reorganization of the party.

The action taken with regard to the Moroccan danger is recorded on another page. The only other matter of equal importance on the program was the approaching Reichstag election. It seems tolerably certain now that the great electoral battle will occur in January next. In 1907 the Social Democracy gained votes and lost seats. So uneven is the distribution of seats in proportion to population that it has now only about half the Reichstag places to which it is entitled. The Liberal-Conservative bloc, the so-called Hottentot combination, which resulted from the election of 1907 soon went to pieces because there were represented in it several irreconcilable groups of society. Retrograde feudal lords and modern business men could not get on together. There followed this bloc one dominated by the Clericals. So reactionary has been the Clerical rule, so deaf to any demands of the people, that every new local election has meant a victory for the Socialists.

And now all eyes are turned toward the election of a new Reichstag. All signs go to show that the group of comrades in the German lower house will be doubled. All the forces of reaction are worked overtime. Slander and coercion are resorted to. It is anything and everything to beat Socialism. Our German comrades, for their part, are fully alive to the situation. Ruthlessly they are showing up the class legislation put through by the present

Reichstag. The high tariff law, the new police code, the huge naval and military appropriations are being unmasked and displayed in all their capitalistic ugliness.

Upon the annual congress devolved the duty of marking out the lines of the campaign and starting off the momentum of a great national enthusiasm. This duty was performed in a way which promises brilliant success all along the line. The resolutions on this subject were introduced by Comrade Bebel. They laid down in detail the tactics to be adopted at the polls. There is to me no compromise or amalgamation with any other party whatsoever, at the first elections. At second elections, in case Socialist voters are forced to choose between two capitalist candidates, they are to cast their ballots for the one who will sign a pledge to support certain advanced measures. In case no capitalist candidate will consent to do this Socialists are to refrain from voting.

When Bebel closed his great speech with the words: "Forward to battle! March! On to victory!" his voice echoed from one end of Germany to the other. The next three months will see in the old fatherland such a political battle as the working-class has never fought before.

England. Trade Unions Learning Their Lesson.—The forty-fourth conference of English trade unions met at Newcastle early in September. The working-class of England still felt flushed with the sense of power which it discovered during the great railway strike. The bourgeois world had hardly recovered from the state of panic into which it had been thrown. All eyes naturally turned to the congress for a sign. The workers expected, or had a right to expect, some new recognition, some adequate formulation, of their new fighting spirit. The capitalists looked eagerly and fearfully to see whether this new spirit was to become the regular thing, whether the revolutionary strike is to become the settled program of the English working-class.

The REVIEW will not be guilty of betraying any secrets when it records the fact that all parties were disappointed. The new fighting spirit was evident in the deliberations of the congress. But

the delegates did not definitely embody this new spirit in any revolutionary action. They seemed timid. Or perhaps they were confused by the magnitude and suddenness of the things that had happened. At any rate they did not rise to the occasion.

One good and clear action the conference did take. It denounced unreservedly the new Labor Disputes Bill recently introduced into the House of Commons by Labor member Will Crooks. In doing this it was following the lead of the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions, which recently proclaimed that "nothing worse could have emanated from the most bitter enemy of trade unionism." This precious measure is practically a denial of the right to strike. Just now when all the powers of capitalism are determined to wrest the most effective weapon from the hands of the working-class such a bill from the hand of a labor parliamentarian is the worst kind of class treachery. It is refreshing to know that the working-class

of English is alive to the issues involved. The spirit of the delegates found expression, too, in a resolution on the great strike. The railway men were congratulated on their success and workers everywhere were encouraged to follow their example. But this is where the matter ended. It was said in more than one form and on more than one occasion that what is needed is the strike by industries rather than by crafts. There were good words in plenty. But as for reorganization or a definite change of tactics,—well, that will come sometime. Englishmen pride themselves on not learning too fast.

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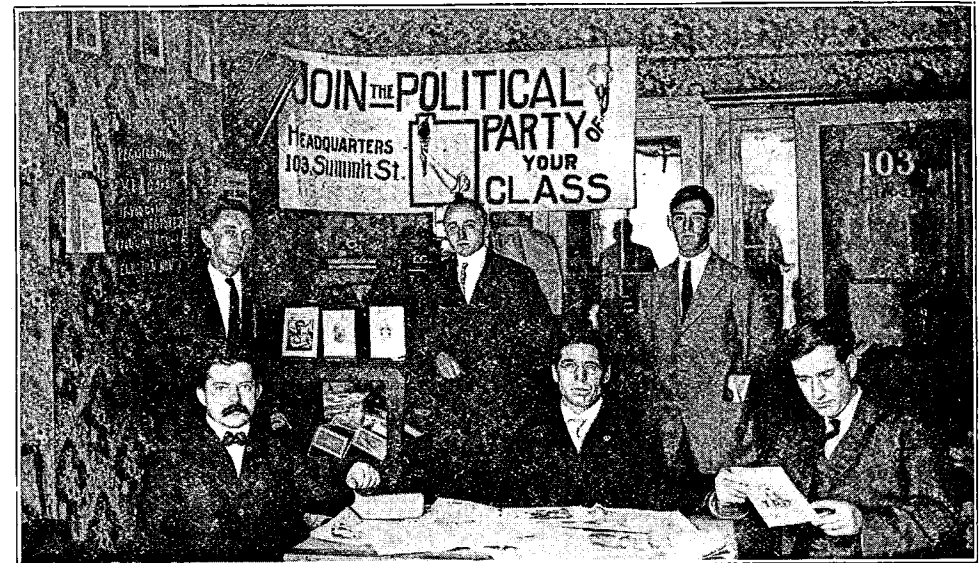
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NEWS AND VIEWS



SOCIALIST HEADQUARTERS—TOLEDO, OHIO.

Socialist Politics in Toledo.—The growth of the Socialist movement in Toledo has been normal and steady. There has been nothing spectacular about the campaign conducted by the party in Toledo. We are not the kind that march to the blare of the trumpet and the beat of the drum, but little by little the working class is being educated to the meaning of the class struggle, its class interests and class solidarity.

Less than ten short years ago the Socialist Party here consisted of a group of ten or twelve men who met in a doctor's office. At the last state election we cast more than 13 per cent of the total vote cast for governor and this fall we entered the primaries.

Our problem is peculiar to ourselves. We live in Golden Rule Toledo, whose mayor is a philosophical anarchist and mistaken for a Socialist. It is strange, but true, that the workers have to be shown that their condition is not a whit better under the independent administration than it has been under former Republican and Democratic administrations. We are constantly asked, "Isn't Brand Whitlock a Socialist?" Then we are obliged to show the difference between a man who holds good private views but must be conservative in order to keep in office and an administration by, of and for the working class.

Three years ago the Toledo Labor Congress, a delegated body of trade unionists, endorsed the Socialist legislative candidates. The clearest heads in the party said that Socialists had no right to work for the election of certain candidates, that our mission is to educate the

workers to want Socialism rather than to catch their votes for four candidates. The clear heads advised letting the trade unions alone in their endorsement, but some of our members thought that they could be vote-enticers and educators at the same time. Shortly before election the union leaders began to inquire, "Who is going to get the credit if these men are elected?" These same leaders were telling the people on the street corners that they wanted to elect these men for the benefit of the working class. The clear heads kept preaching away that the Socialist party is not a mere vote-catching machine; that the labor congress should be allowed to endorse if it saw fit, but that Socialists in the unions could not consistently aid in a campaign that stood for four Socialists on one hand, endorsed the record of a Democratic congressman on the other and failed to mention any candidates for the other offices. Such teaching as that offended the politicians in the labor congress, but by another two years it had taken root, and when the labor congress endorsed James P. Egan, president of the C. L. U., for the state legislature on the Independent and Democratic tickets and Fred Shane for state senator, the rank and file of our party was ready to declare the labor congress a capitalist political party and to request Socialists who were delegates from their unions to withdraw. The labor congress then challenged the party to debate with Shane and Egan on the question, "Resolved, That the Toledo Socialist Party is not a political party, but is a mere school room for the study of economics and as such can

never effect any remedial legislation for the working class." The day set for the debate came and the hall was packed by trade unionists. Socialists, old party politicians, doctors, lawyers, in short, men and women from every rank and profession and political party. Mr. Shane dealt in personalities and told the audience how he had been abused by certain members of the party. Mr. Egan tried to read his speech and failed; the unfeeling audience hooted. The debate helped to defeat these men and increased the Socialist vote.

Local Toledo conducts a local paper, the *Arm and Torch*, published by the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Company of Findlay, Ohio. Several years ago, when *The Socialist* was published here, we found that the capitalist papers were very careful about criticising the party, or its methods, because we had a medium through which to answer back, but as soon as the paper left the attacks began. We find it highly essential to the local situation to maintain a paper.

Toledo Socialists lay great stress on the importance of literature distribution. Ohio will have a constitutional convention in January and Local Toledo initiated a referendum proposing that the Socialist constitutional program for New Mexico be made the program for Ohio. It carried. Toledo will distribute more than 10,000 copies of this program. Our municipal platform will be distributed by the thousands.

We expect to elect councilmen from several wards that are distinctly working class in their population.—J. B.

From the New York Call.—Comrade Frank McDonald, editor of the *New York Call*, writes to the REVIEW denying the accuracy of a statement made in last month's issue by Comrade Robert J. Wheeler, to the effect that articles written for the *Call* by the late Comrade Duchez were censored. Comrade McDonald states that during his term as Sunday editor he did not subject Comrade Duchez's writings to censorship or mutilation in any form. If the REVIEW has caused any misapprehension in regard to the splendid work Comrade McDonald is doing on the *Call*, we take this opportunity to assure them that he is one of our ablest and most efficient workers and that, as editor of the *Call*, he is trying to make that paper a reflection of the whole socialist and labor movement, irrespective of the tactical differences of opinion entertained by the two wings of the party. We are also assured by our friends in New York that Comrade Duchez was not tried there for "heresy" and we are glad to correct this error.

Saginaw, Mich.—Enclosed find another dollar for another bundle of October REVIEWS as early as possible. We certainly appreciate your tribute to our late Comrade Louis Duchez, as he also lived and worked for humanity in this city.
E. W. L.

Muskegon, Mich.—I enclose \$1.00 for 20 more REVIEWS. Rush.
J. W. W.

Hamilton, Ohio.—Send 25 more REVIEWS at once. This makes my third order.
J. H.

A Letter from Comrade Hyndman.

Dear Comrade, the following statement appears at p. 183 of your REVIEW for the current month:

"It will be remembered that at its Easter Conference the Social Democratic Party (of Great Britain) passed a resolution in favor of 'maintaining an 'adequate' navy. This resolution was obviously the result of the long campaign waged by comrades 'Hyndman, Blatchford and certain others. Immediately after the Conference it was seen that the action of the Conference was unpopular with party members. There were numerous resignations from the party as a result of it. Finally a referendum was taken on what has come to be known as the Hackney Resolution, and the action of the Conference was definitely reversed. The S. D. P. is now on record in favor of the 'international solidarity of the working class.'"

A more disgraceful series of misrepresentations than this I have never seen even in the most virulent pacifist organ, and that is saying a very great deal. I never entered upon any campaign in favor of an "adequate" navy. I stated at a time when the British government was reducing our navy that such a course was calculated to provoke war and not to check it, and I did state at that time, and I do now, that a powerful navy for this country is an absolute necessity and stands upon precisely the same basis as a National Citizen Army for Continental powers, which has been voted at International Congress after International Congress. Since I wrote the two letters to which I refer—do two letters constitute a "campaign"?—Mr. Lloyd George, the principal pacifist in the British government, has come round entirely to my opinion, and the Labor Party in the House of Commons actually voted in my sense!!

The action of the Conference was not "definitely reversed," nor could it be by such a very small number of branches as those which took part in the ballot. The position is precisely that which it was, and I stand precisely where I did.

The absurdity of stating that the Social Democratic Party of this Island, which, for more than thirty years has distinguished itself among all the Socialist Parties of the world by its action in an international sense is obvious. That we should be told that the Party "is now on record in favor of the international solidarity of the working class," is therefore a combination of ignorance with insult, upon which I cannot congratulate your contributor.

As a matter of fact, the Social Democratic Party of this country had more to do with the establishment of the International Bureau than any other, and in that work I am proud to say, as would be freely acknowledged by all comrades who know anything about it, I was more active than anybody else. More than this, I can, and I do, claim that there is no man living who has done so much to oppose English imperialism and militarism, in India, in Egypt, in Ireland, in South Africa, and elsewhere as I have.

When also matters became serious between Germany and France and England, owing to the

persistent jack-bootery and brutality of the Prussian clique that dominates German foreign affairs, I, being then a member of the International Socialist Bureau, two or three times in succession strongly urged on behalf of the English Social-Democrats that the International Socialist Bureau should call a special meeting of the Socialists of the three countries involved, in order that the whole position might be discussed and that terms of understanding and agreement should be formulated between England and Germany and Germany and France, the agreement between England and France happily having been already established. The delegates who opposed this suggestion, and have opposed it to this day, were and are the delegates of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. All this is on record. To write to me, therefore, as if I were a Chauvinist is—but I have said enough.

Yours fraternally,

H. M. HYNDMAN.

P. S.—Should you not see your way to publish this letter textually as I have written it, I shall, of course, take care that it has at least an equal circulation in the United States to that which it could secure if printed in your columns. The only resignations from the S. D. P. so far amount to two—Green, the Secretary of the Peace Society, and Burrows, who, after his unfortunate defeat at Haggerston, had ceased to be active in our organization.
H. M. H.

London, September 18th, 1911.

THE REVIEW takes real pleasure in publishing the above letter from Comrade Hyndman. No better confirmation could be given of the statements made in our September number. Comrade Hyndman here definitely states over his signature that he favors a "powerful" navy and that he has written in support of the maintenance of such a navy. In this matter, he says, he agrees with Lloyd-George. His position is, then, in direct opposition to that of the international Socialist movement as declared in a formal resolution at Copenhagen. Obviously, too, the resolution adopted at the Easter conference is not in accord with the attitude of the international movement. Comrade Hyndman does not, of course, deny that the Hackney Resolution is in accord with the one passed at Copenhagen or that it was passed by a referendum vote of the Social Democratic Party. Comrade Hyndman's personal services to the cause of Socialism formed no part of the matter under discussion.

W. E. B.

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WEEKLY and expenses to men and women to collect names, distribute samples and advertise. Steady work. C. H. EMERY, W. R., Chicago, Ill.

From Steve Flanagan.—I do not doubt a word of anything Russell says about Australia or New Zealand and am proud that he has had the courage to say what he did, in the way he did, and hope that he will give us some more of the same thing; but his opening positive unqualified statement that "A proletarian movement can have no part, however slight, in the game of politics. The moment it takes a seat at that grimy board is the moment it dies within" I feel that I cannot understand. I would not say that he is incorrect, but my opinion is that the statement is too broad.

If he be correct, then a revolution should immediately take place within the Socialist party. We must not forget our purpose as a party. Personally I am not satisfied with the methods of our party. Politics to me is a capitalist invention for robbery purposes and cannot be used to accomplish our complete purposes, but I think our own people in public offices could keep the injunction, the policeman's club and the cossack off the working class when we are in a struggle for more pay, and would be a mighty big help if the workers decided to take charge of the industries by force.

There is a great possibility of Socialists of this city (New Castle) taking charge of the administration here this fall. If I am any judge of the kind of an administration that would result, there would be nothing done that could be considered compromising, or playing the other fellow's game. It is my opinion that things would be done that would shock some Socialists in many parts of the country and these same things might result in the impeachment of the administration. I think we would go the limit, in the hopes that we would at least set an example to be taken up everywhere that would concentrate the chief purpose of a revolutionary party on the minds of all.

Lake's Inn, Alta., Can.—Received 17 REVIEWS on Saturday, 2:30 p. m. All sold same afternoon while attending to my other business. Send same number at once. A. O. A.

Putney, Vt.—Send me 20 October REVIEWS. The best you have ever issued in my opinion.
J. W. S.

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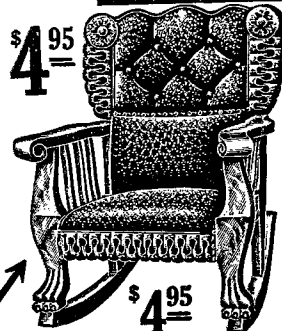


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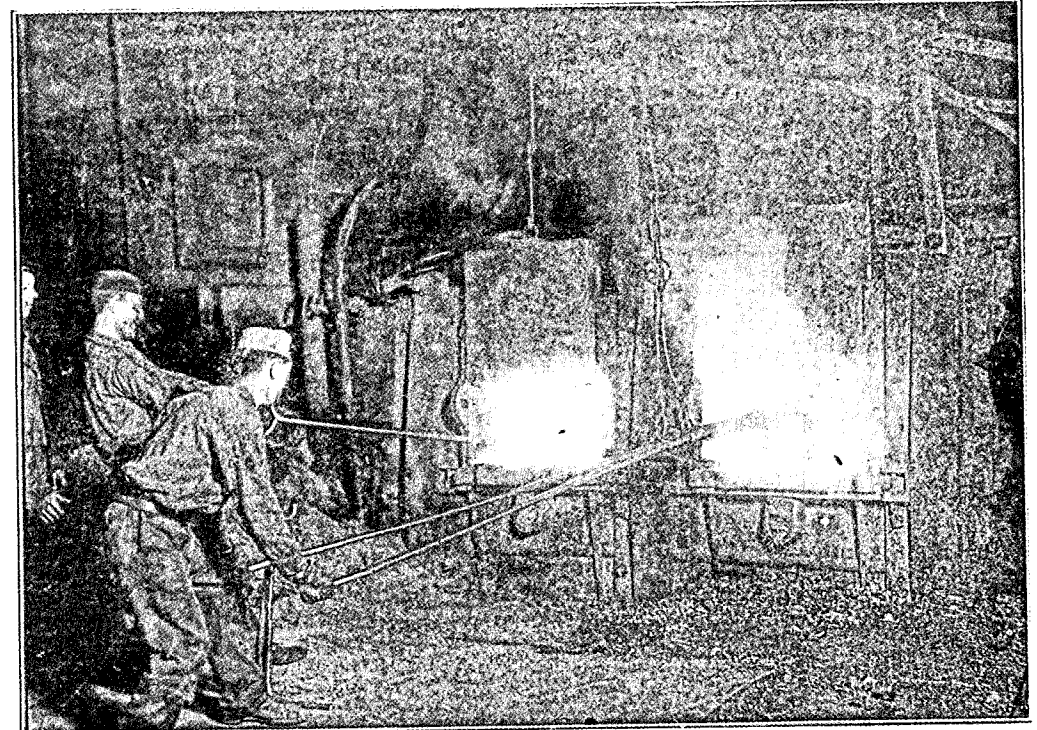
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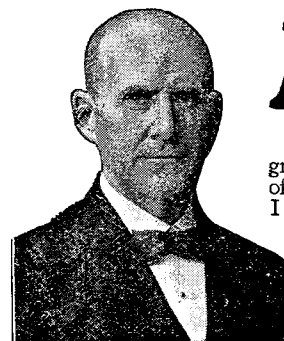
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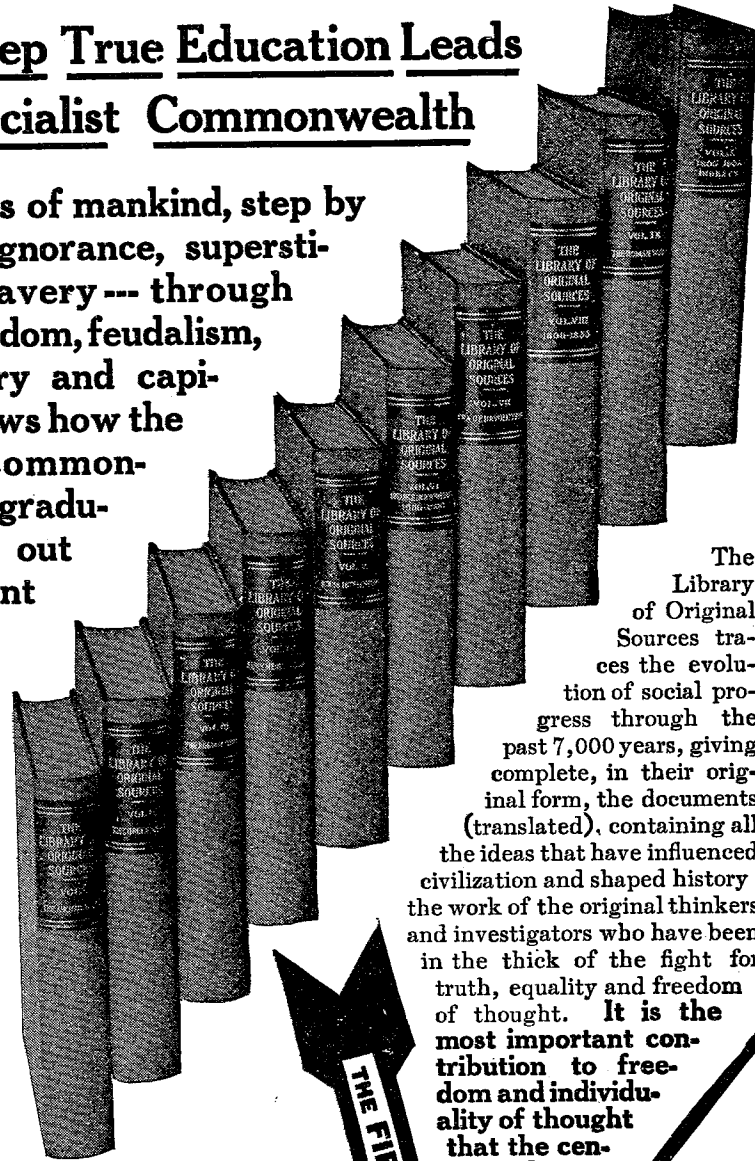
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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives LaMonte, William E. Bohn, Leslie H. Marcy, Frank Bohn, William D. Haywood

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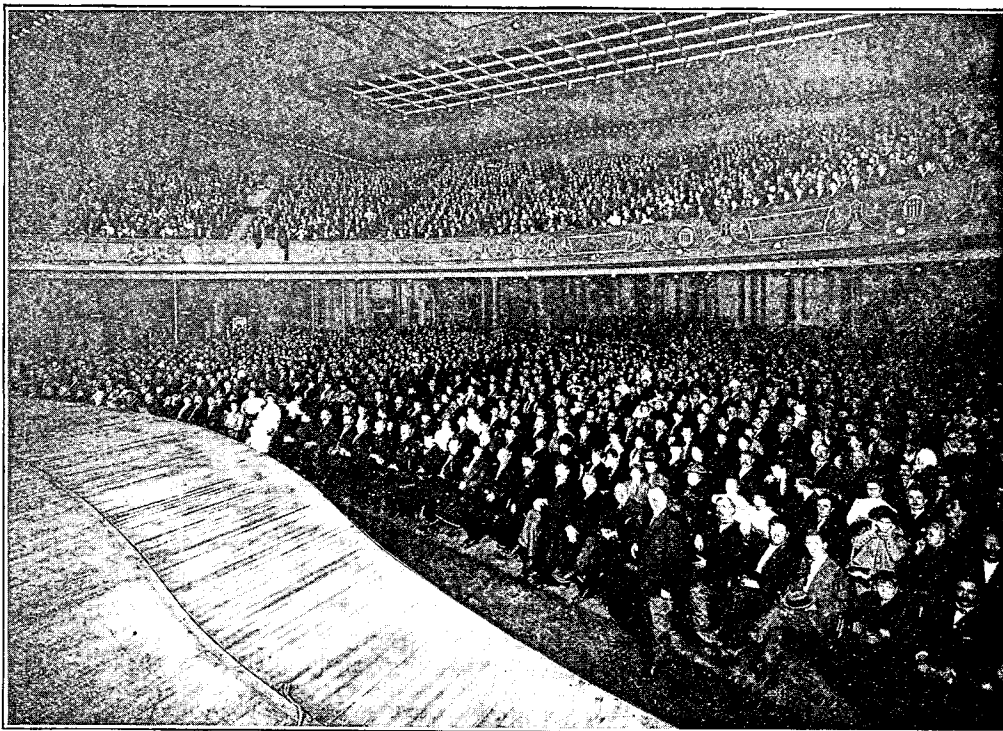
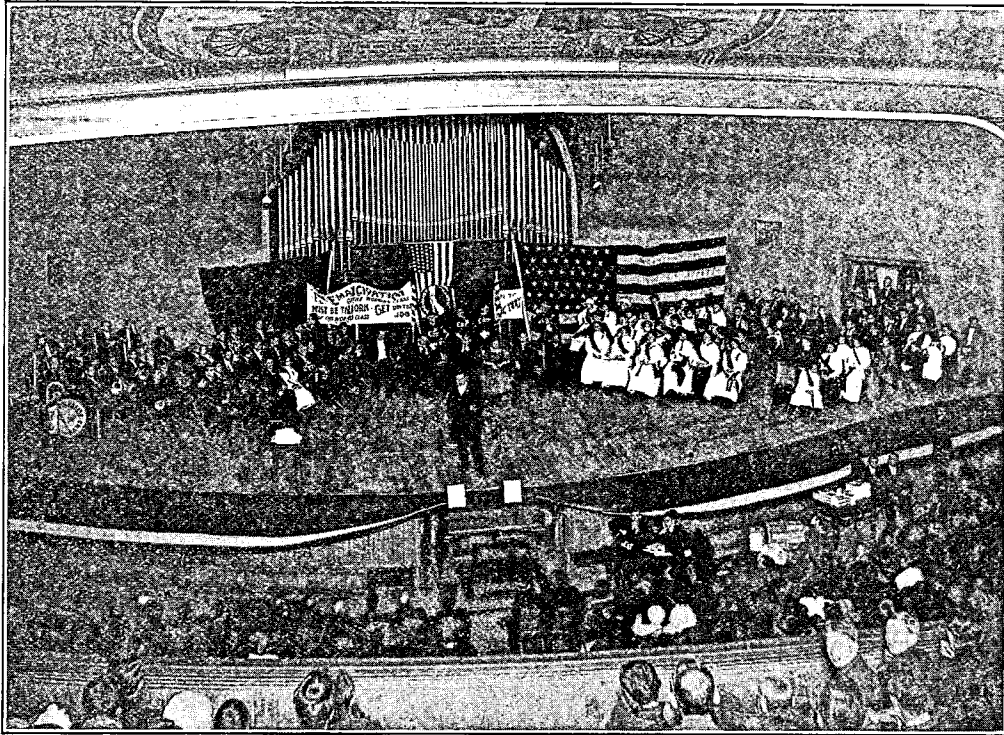
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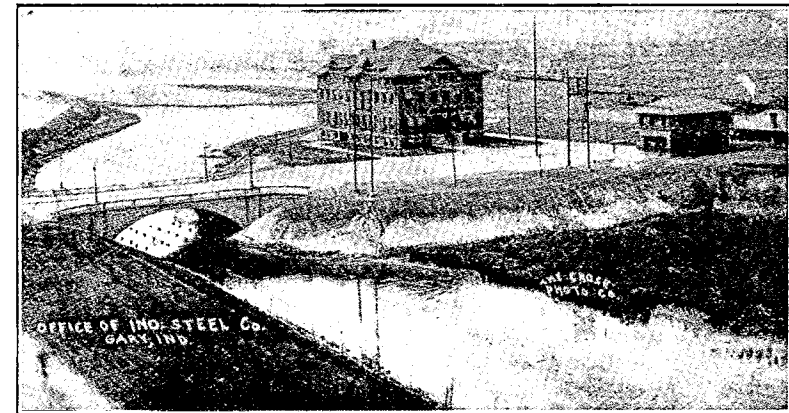
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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XII.

DECEMBER, 1911

No. 6



APPROACH TO GARY PLANT—COMPANY'S POLICE STATION GUARDS ENTRANCE.

THE STEEL TRUST'S PRIVATE CITY—GARY

BY

PHILLIPS RUSSELL

Illustrated with Photographs by Lewis W. Hine

IN old feudal times, back in the middle ages, each baron or overlord segregated himself in a solidly constructed and massive castle, generally placed afar off from neighbors on an eminence which afforded a view of the surrounding country so that an approaching enemy could be instantly detected.

This castle was heavily guarded. Armed watchmen and lookouts were constantly on duty. Any stranger requesting admittance had first to give an account of himself before being allowed entrance to the

sacred precincts. Surrounding the castle was a high wall. Running around the foot of this wall was a deep moat or ditch. Any assailants had first to cross this moat and then surmount the walls before they were even in a position to attack.

Grouped as closely as possible around the castle were the little homes and farms of the villeins and serfs, or tenant farmers. They were supposed to be under the protection of the baron. They depended on him for rescue and defense in case of sudden foray and pillage by enemies.

It is true their homes had usually been fired and their crops destroyed before the baron could be waked out of his comfortable sleep, but anyhow there was some comfort in the notion that he was their good guardian and protector. For this "protection" the tenants owed their lord allegiance and must be ready to lay down the shovel and the hoe, or whatever tools they used in those days, and be ready to go out and get themselves shot whenever the boss felt like starting something.

In addition, they had to pay a substantial yearly tribute to the baron in the shape of garden and vineyard products for his table, meat for his larder, and provender for his horses, not to mention young and tender daughters for the satisfaction of his lusts.

Oh, it was a bully arrangement! You see these tenant boneheads had the idea that they couldn't get along without the baron, despite the fact that they did all the fighting and dying anyhow and that they could raise crops and keep them for themselves without letting Lord Goshamighty in on them. Of course, the baron was satisfied with his end, since he got all the good things of life without working for them, so who was there to raise a kick?

We moderns love to think that we have progressed mightily since those days and that we haven't any such fool arrangement now.

Haven't we, though? The answer is, yes. We've got such an arrangement right here in the 20th century and no further away from Chicago, that center of light and learning, than 25 miles down into the sand dunes of Indiana. This modern-medieval institution is known as Gary and it seems so much like a new thing under the sun that everybody calls it "the model city."

And it is, too—for the Steel Trust which owns it. The trust has things there just like it wants them and hence doesn't object at all to having it called a "model city." So pleased is the Steel Trust with it, in fact, that it is going to build more towns like it afar off from meddlesome agitators and troublesome wage scales.

Gary is the modern prototype of that baronial castle of ye olden time. Come on down there with me and I'll show the doubter how Judge Gary, of the Steel Corporation, has patterned his town almost on

the very lines laid down by Lord Goshamighty.

The Steel Trust has placed its giant mills there on the edge of Lake Michigan, where its belching smokestacks can look afar off across the water on the one hand and the level prairie on the other.

The big plant is guarded on both inside and out. Armed policemen and watchmen stand at the gate and all visitors must undergo inspection and exhibit the proper credentials before passing through. Surrounding the big group of mills is a high board fence. Cutting off the plant from the mainland is a wide and deep moat of black and sullen water, crossed by means of a concrete bridge made of the cement turned out by another plant of the Steel Trust's further up the Michigan Southern Railroad.

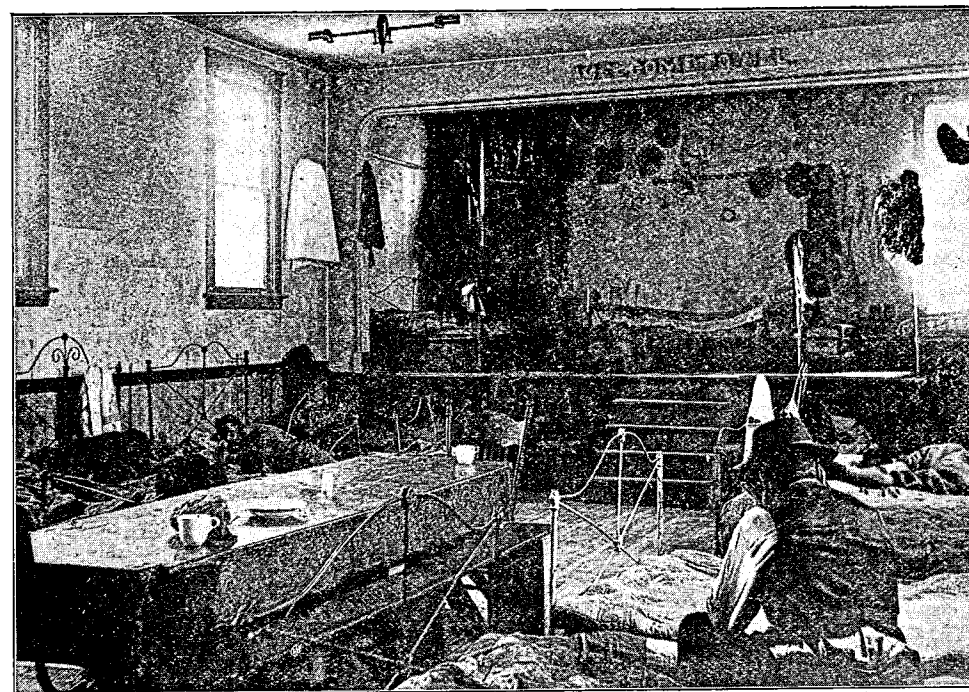
Spread out like a fan from the gate of the plant is the town of Gary, its huts and homes nestling as closely as possible under the blackened funnels that night and day pour out their smoke and flame.

In these little box-like cottages and shacks dwell the steel barons' ten thousand wage-slaves. They live in Steel Trust houses, they walk on Steel Trust land, they buy from Steel Trust stores, they deny themselves comforts and luxuries that they may put a little portion of their earnings in Steel Trust banks, and not once a year, but once every 12 hours they obediently leave their bunks to march down to the Steel Trust mills and pay tribute to their masters from the one thing they own—their labor power.

Oh, it's a bully arrangement! They give the Steel Trust all they have and in return the Steel Trust lets them live. The wage-slaves seem grateful for the privilege of being allowed to work. The Steel Trust is pleased with their peaceableness and quietude. So maybe it's a satisfactory arrangement all around.

"Maybe," you'll notice we say; for the slaves of the steel works don't talk much. They'll discuss baseball with you, or last night's show, or the dance next week, or the scrap in Mike the Mutt's saloon a week ago; but about their life and labor they preserve a silence that may be ominous or not, as you look at it.

It is perhaps enough to say that wages in Gary are from 15 to 25 per cent lower



WELCOME TO ALL—INTERIOR SLAVE PEN—GARY.

There are about 100 places in Gary where the workers are herded together in the same manner. With wages so low that men cannot provide for decent living conditions, these workers, mostly Serbians, Croats, Macedonians and Hungarian Slovaks, pay one dollar each per week for the right to sleep in quarters where the steel magnates would not even allow their dogs to be quartered.

and the cost of living from 25 to 35 per cent higher than they are in Chicago, less than an hour's ride away. Twenty cents an hour is good wages for a skilled laborer. Working hours for the common laborer are 12 a day, seven days a week. He toils in shifts—two weeks by day and two weeks by night.

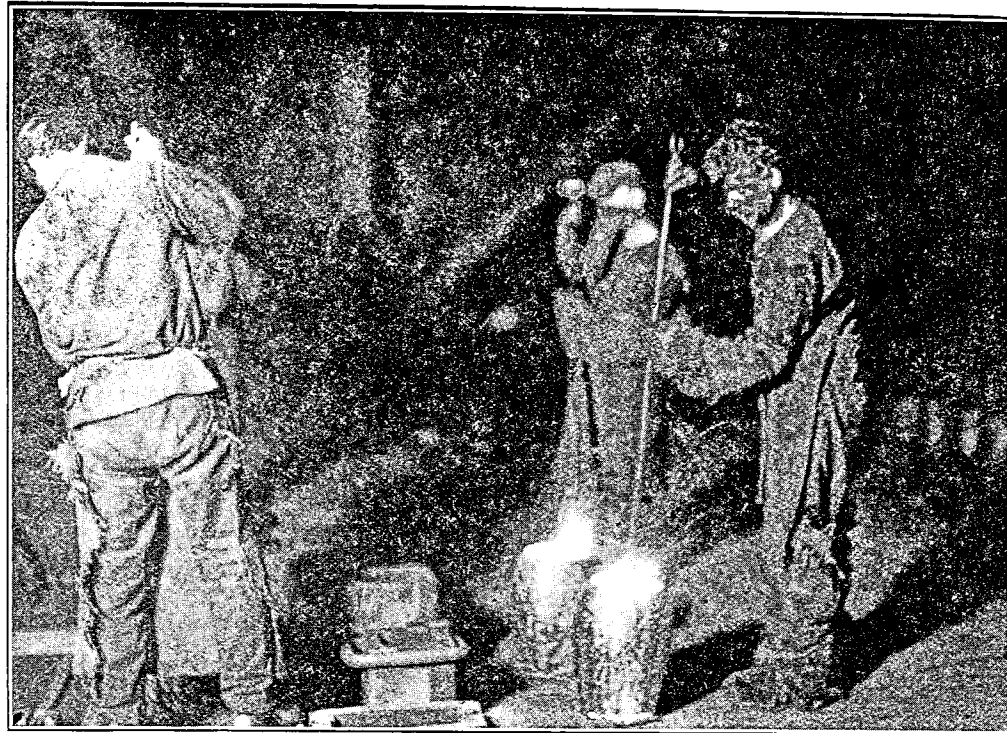
The skilled mechanic is somewhat better off. He works ten hours and is paid about 30 per cent less than the union scale calls for in Chicago.

The Gary mills have gathered their workers from the ends of the earth. Most of the establishments that deal in necessities, like clothing, furniture and drug stores, are compelled to print their signs in seven languages. Most of these toilers are, as can be guessed, foreigners. The nervous American cannot stand up long under the frightful heat and long hours.

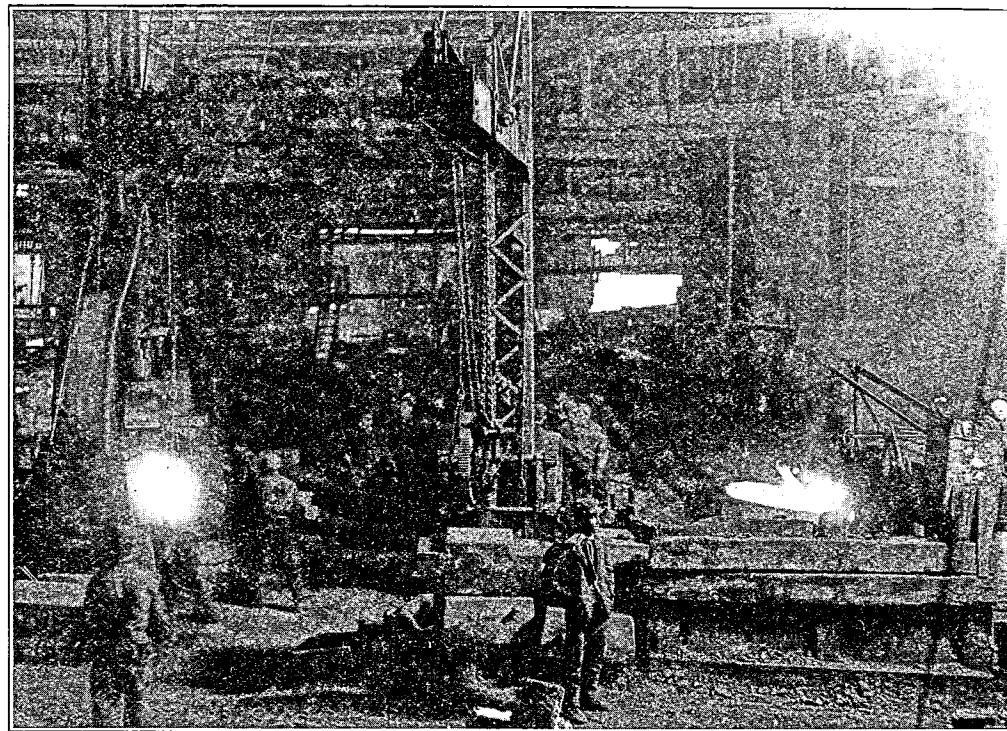
The majority of Gary's workers are single men and most of them are young—say between 20 and 40 years. One seldom sees an old woman in Gary, unless it is a wrinkled old crone who is brought to look after

the children of several families, and an old man is an exceedingly rare object. That the majority of Gary's married couples are also young is shown by the fact that most of the tots who enter the Gary schools tell their teacher their parents have no other children, or if there is another child it is generally a young baby. This indicates that most of Gary's married workers were united about five or six years ago.

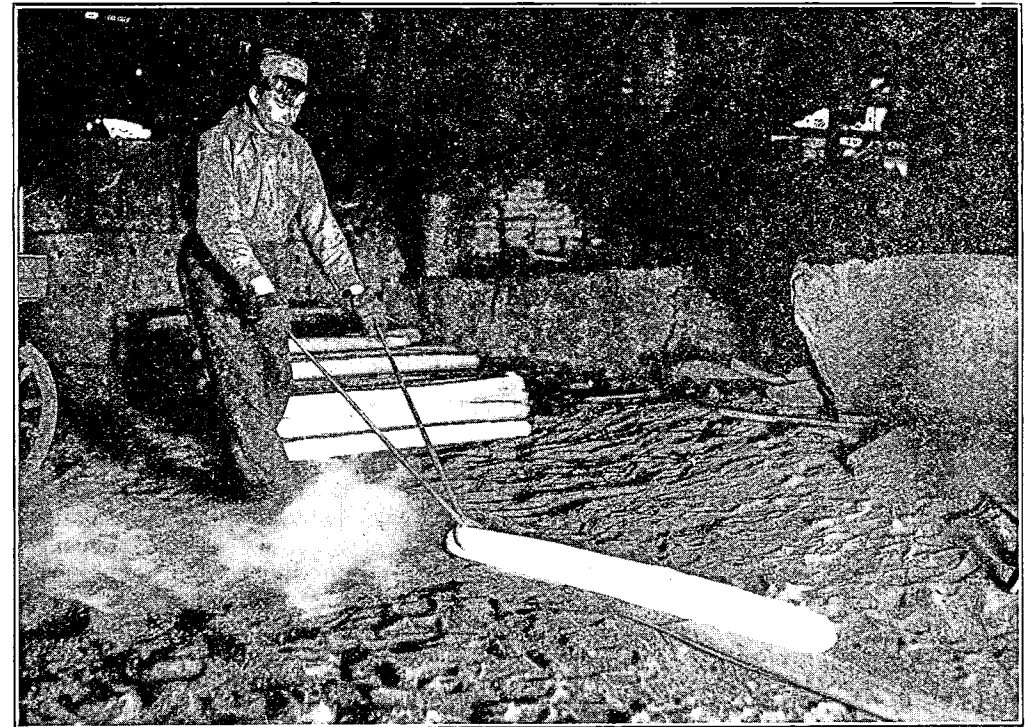
Gary then, as these facts show, recruits its toilers from the young and the restless. A large portion of the population, which is now about 25,000 in all, is floating and fluctuating. No sooner is one regiment of workers used up by death, injury, disease or physical weariness than there is another regiment instantly ready to take its place. There is a group of youngish and stoutly-built men standing about the Gary employment office almost all the time begging for jobs. Young workingmen of all trades are flocking into the town every day, most of them on the bumpers of freight trains. They have become restless, they long for a change of scene or occupation, and because



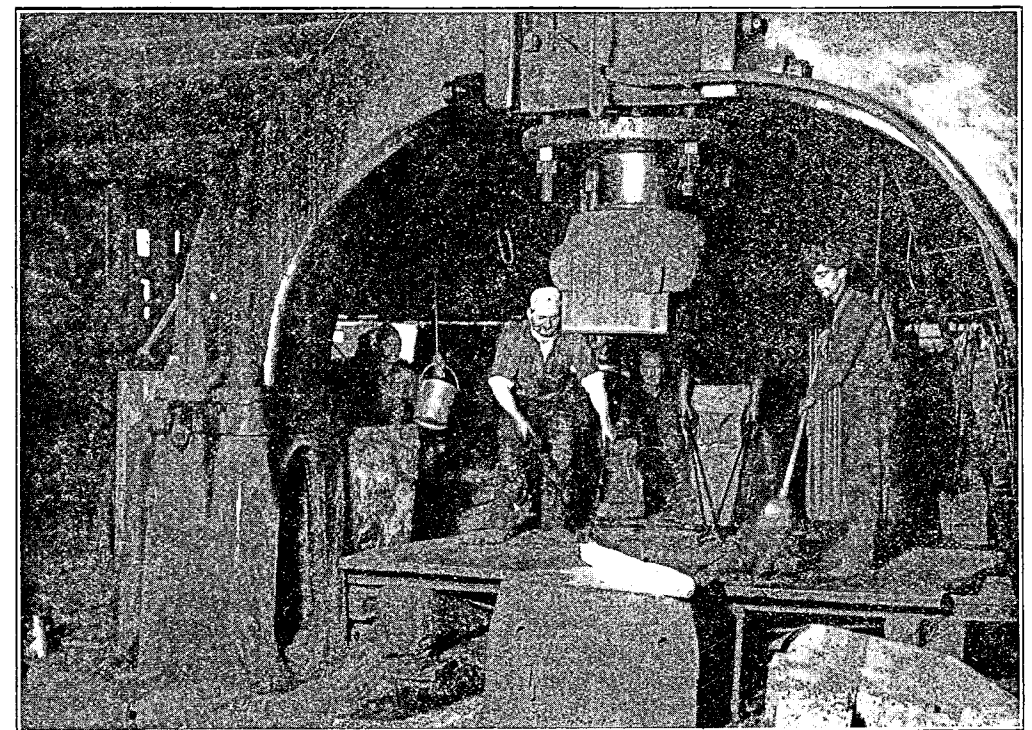
FURNACE AND AUTOMATIC HAMMER.



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HOLDING A WHITE-HOT BILLET UNDER THE HAMMER.

Gary has been so well advertised by capitalist newspapers and magazines they flock there under the impression that jobs are easy to get.

I was walking near the steel plant gate one morning when I was stopped by a husky young fellow in stained and dusty clothes.

"Mister," he said, "which direction is Pine from here?"

I pointed in the direction of the town named.

"I want to jump the next freight for her," he remarked.

"Looking for work?" I asked. He nodded. "Have you tried here?"

"Yep," he said. "Nothing doing, they told me. But right after that they hired three men, and there was I standing looking on and as hungry as hell. I guess I'm too ragged. I been on the road so long I guess they thought I looked too much like a bum."

"Where did you come from?"

"Hazleton, Pa."

"What did you do there?"

"Miner."

"You had a steady job and you left it to come here?"

"That's right. Maybe I was a fool, but I don't give a damn. I got tired of the mines and I wanted to see the country. I thought it would be a cinch to get a job here—they told me there was plenty of 'em. But not for me, it looks like. Well, me for Pine. I've loafed long enough. I got to feed my belly now."

And with a wave of his hand he was off towards the railroad station.

This young worker was perhaps typical of the class that makes up the majority of Gary's population. He and others like him are lured here by the carefully spread tales that there is plenty of work for all.

Probably one out of five of these young fellows gets a job in Gary. He works at it a while with the intention of going somewhere else as soon as he tires of it. But he perhaps meets a girl he likes and marries her. A baby comes right away and he now finds he must stick to his job if he would feed three mouths regularly.

His earnings, we will say, are \$50 a month. Out of this, \$25 must go for rent. He cannot obtain accommodations at all decent for much less than this in Gary. He

makes his home probably in a two-room "flat" situated in the third story over a saloon because he wants to be near his work and save time and carfare. Groceries are 20 per cent higher than elsewhere and he finds it hard to feed three for less than \$14 a month. That's \$39 gone. Clothing costs his family hardly less than \$5 a month more. That's \$44. Fuel, light, etc., cost \$4 a month more. That's \$48, leaving \$2 a month for amusements, drinks, drugs, doctors' bills—say, where does a steel worker get off at, anyhow?

But still he clings to his job. He knows that the minute he lets go a half dozen men will come on the run from the gate outside to take his place. Thus is competition among the workers incessant and thus are wages kept down and the toilers tamed.

But that isn't all. At any moment during the day or night while the workers in the plant are grappling with the white-hot rails or plates and hurrying them hither and thither, a huge swinging bucket, livid with molten steel, may be tipped over; a derrick may bump and drop its hissing load; a pair of tongs may slip, and it will be all over. Another bread-winner will be snatched up, hustled upon a stretcher and his body hurried to the Trust's hospital or to its private morgue. What, then, about the girl wife and the baby? There is little for women and children to do in Gary. Rough, careless, brutal, burly, indifferent, it is a town for men only.

Figures are not obtainable as to the deaths and injuries in the steel works at Gary. All inquiries are met with a shake of the head or a shrug of the shoulders. Workers who know that Death sits at their heels constantly during their hours of labor do not care to talk about him much. They will admit they know he is there, but they will then change the subject instantly.

"Funny," said a Gary steel worker as I passed him a bowl of steaming hot potatoes across the boarding house table. "One day I saw a man reach out with his tongs to grab a red-hot rail. I don't know what caused it or how it happened, but the next minute I saw the rail coiling around him in a spiral like a big snake. He gave just one yell and then there was spurts of smoke as it closed around him. It didn't leave much of him, either."

Some say that an average of 25 men are

killed in the Gary steel works every month and three times that many are more or less seriously burned or otherwise injured. These figures may be exaggerated; I do not know. The Steel Trust maintains its own hospital inside the plant and as soon as a man is hurt he is hurried there and the outside world never hears of the case. If a man is killed, the coroner records the death under "accidental deaths" and lets it go at that. Formerly the Steel Trust did not report the deaths in its works even to the police. Nowadays the usual official reports are made, but, of course, they mean nothing and never go any further. No squeamish or timid man is wanted by the Steel Trust. Outside its gate at Gary it has posted this ominous sign:

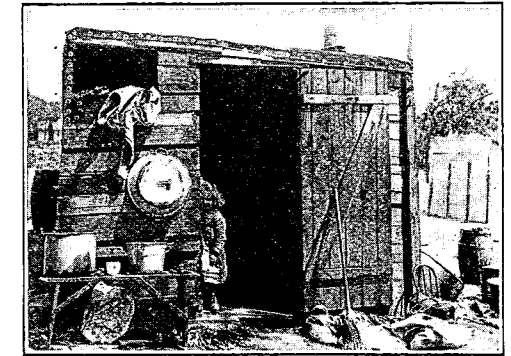
Unless you are willing to avoid injury to yourself and fellow workmen do not ask for employment.

But when one leaves the steel works gate Gary is not a bad town to look upon, as most industrial towns go. Its principal street leads directly to the entrance of the plant and is named after the favorite thoroughfare of its founders, "Broadway." Like the original, it is brilliantly lighted by night and is richly lined with boozoriums and ginmills.

There are only a few of these in the main business section, but toward the south end, in the working class district, the street is lined with solid blocks of them. At first glance one would think there is a straight mile of them, not interspersed with other stores, but continuous with saloons.

Yes, the Gary workingman drinks and he drinks heavily. The liquor problem is one we are going to know more about when it has been studied scientifically under Socialism. At present the average Gary workingman is trying to solve the problem by drinking it down and out of sight. We may watch him gulp his poison with sorrow, but we can't blame him.

If we were all in his place we would doubtless do it, too. Confined all day or all night in a man-made hell, his body exposed for hours to intense and blistering heat, his lungs covered with a coating of fine steel dust with which the air is laden, what wonder that there is set up within him a desperate craving for drink? If



"HOME, SWEET HOME," AT GARY.

there were no other factors, the long monotonous hours he toils would naturally drive him to the warmth and light and seeming good-fellowship with which the saloon abounds.

But as elsewhere, not far from these garish saloons is their inevitable accompaniment—desperate, miserable poverty. The fester known as the slum is already noticeable in Gary, though the town is but five years old.

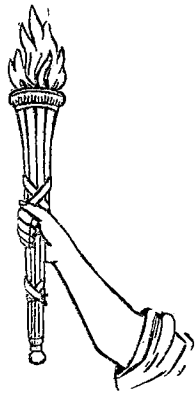
The slum has begun in Gary with the "shack." This is a long low hut made of boards driven into the sandy ground and covered with tin and tar paper. The structure is not as high as a man and one must stoop to enter the doorway.

Gary already has hundreds of these shacks. They are inhabited mostly by the unskilled foreign workers, who crowd themselves in at the rate of 15 or more persons to a shack. Such dwellings, or rather pig-sties, are cheap, and the foreign worker is forced to put up with them if he would save any money to send back home. The Steel Trust has built about 700 "model" dwellings in Gary, but these are not for the laborer. They are for foremen and other highly paid employees.

Such is Gary. And now what's the answer to this industrial hell, this "model" town of brilliant lights and blackened smokestacks, this don't-give-a-damn indifference to life and health, this brutal, overwork and cruel under pay?

Curiously enough I found the answer written on the archway of the railroad bridge that crosses the short plaza leading to the steel works gate. On the white concrete wall some wanderer had scrawled in letters two feet high the one word—Socialism.

WE ARE THE



REVOLUTION

By HENRY L. SLOBODIN

THE Socialist party has flung far and wide its lines of advance. Our work until now was aimed at the awakening of the working class; at carrying the word of revolt to the remotest parts of our land. Heretofore our agitation was mostly extensive.

Let us now make it also intensive.

Inadvertently we have fallen into erroneous ways. We have talked too much politics. We laid too much stress on electing men. The offices looked big and good to some of us.

Let there be no mistake.

Class-conscious, political action is to the working class what wings are to a bird, fins to a fish and legs to other animals. The working class can advance only by entering the political arena and reaching out, as a class, for the powers of government.

To accomplish this the Socialist party was called into being. Political action is a means to an end. The end is the abolition of wage-slavery. The end is everything. The means are justified only by the end.

But some of us are talking politics as if politics were in itself the end. Elect Jones! Jones is a great man! Jones will do wonders! Get the offices! Let us show the capitalists that we, the Socialists, can be honest and efficient. That we can even reduce the taxes! That we can be very much like any reform party. That, in fact, there is not any difference between us and a reform movement.

This talk is born of over-eagerness for political success, for the capture of offices. In the long run, it defeats its own purpose, for it creates a disgust with all political action. Besides, it opens the door to political corruption, to dickering and dealing.

That we have talked too much politics is due to the inexperience of the membership and the opportunism of our speakers and writers who will first profit by political success. Also to our common desire to spread ourselves out, to become big. Also because it is easier to talk politics than Socialism.

Two great forces contribute to the making of the Socialist movement—the force of thought and the force of passion. Socialism is born of the knowledge of social laws and of the revolutionary fervor of the rising proletariat.

Knowledge not materialized in working class action is an unconfined force. It evaporates and is lost like liberated steam.

Working class action or revolutionary passion not based in knowledge is either led into the morass of opportunism or is beating blindly and vainly its bleeding limbs against the stone wall of capitalist tradition.

United the two forces are irresistible.

With these two forces harnessed to its chariot, Socialism is invincible. It becomes all-conquering and also Protean.

It permeates into the hidden pores and cells of our society and eats away the heart

tissue of capitalism, for Socialism is the incarnation of the Social revolution.

Proletarian political action aims at turning the guns of the exploiters upon themselves. A Socialist in public office cannot do this by merely being honest and efficient. That he must be honest and efficient goes without saying. But this does not make him different from many reformers in public office.

A Socialist is at war with present society and works for its overthrow. He holds public office with this object in view. And in small things and big things he must not lose sight of this aim.

A reformer aims at making exploitation of human beings for profit respectable.

The Socialist aims to destroy wage-slavery. The reformer wants to make it humane.

The force of reason and the grimness of the inevitable is in the Socialist position.

The attitude of the reformer bears the fatal imprint of a decaying humanism.

Nothing can harm or retard the Socialist movement, excepting it become false to its own impelling and guiding forces—revolutionary spirit and knowledge.

Therefore must we remain true to our principles and not forego them even for temporary political advantages.

Do not be in the least confused by the sneers of some who appear wise. They will call you “doctrinaire,” “dogmatist” or “fanatic.” Let not the doubt of the philosophic validity of the Socialist doctrines influence your course. No greater boon

was even given to the working class than the doctrines of Socialism. These doctrines are to the working class what the channel is to the river, what the air is to the flying arrow. They lend direction and purpose to revolutionary passion. Give the people a doctrine and they will crucify you for doing so and then die in defense of the doctrine.

The Socialists are suffering crucifixion right along. The revolutionary energy of the masses must also be aroused.

You may doubt in the seclusion of your closet and philosophize over your tomes.

You must come to the fray with a clear head and sure arm.

We have neglected the science of Socialism for the sake of numbers.

We have turned all our publications into propaganda sheets for the unconverted. But do we ourselves learn all that we should about Socialism? We must become more familiar with our theories and principles. We must form study clubs and take no substitute for what is best. We must grow in intensity, as we are growing extensively.

Also the expectation of the impending overthrow of capitalism must not be abandoned. There are more reasons to believe that capitalism will be shortly overthrown than not. The red spectre of the Social Revolution is the greatest bearer of gifts to the working class.

The revolution is threading its way and, as we pause to listen to its steps, we learn that the sound is the echo of our own steps.

We are the revolution.

“We do not play politics; anti-slavery is no half-way jest with us; it is a terrible earnest, with life or death, worse than life or death, on the issue.”

—Wendell Phillips.

A
GREAT SOLDIER
OF THE
COMMON GOOD

BY

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL



WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THE most admirable man that the English-speaking peoples have ever produced is Wendell Phillips.

By just so much as the mind is higher than brute force, ideas better than swords, ideals grander than appetites, conscience better than selfishness, service better than aggrandizement, faith better than expediency, this man stands higher than all the swash-buckler warriors and cunning politicians to whom we are accustomed to build our monuments.

He is about the only great figure in history, so far as I have been able to discover, that ever took up a hated cause, steadfastly led to it success, and had never a thought in it except of pure service.

No other man, not Lovejoy that was murdered, nor any soldier on any battlefield, gave up so much.

A sensitive man, he sacrificed honor and the good opinion of his times and accepted universal hatred and incessant attack. A man of the strongest family ties, he accepted the ostracism of every relative, including his mother to whom he was tenderly attached. He had am-

bitions; he was content to see them all annihilated. He loved his profession and had looked forward to an honored career therein; he closed his office and abandoned his promising practice. He loved friendship; he accepted for all the days of his life such isolation that he seems now one of the loneliest figures in history.

In a nation where success is the deity and ambition the creed of every young man, this one giving up everything he had ever held to be worth while, and making the sacrifice for the pure sake of an ideal, is surely the highest type we have known.

He had a vision far beyond any of the men that fought with him for the abolition of chattel slavery. Garrison was there because he had a consuming passion against slavery as a national sin. Phillips went far deeper. He came into the anti-slavery movement after profound reflection in which after the invariable method of his mind, he sought under the surface for the causes of things.

He alone saw that the slavery ques-

tion was economic and only one phase of the universal problem of labor. The 348,000 slave owners of the South kept slaves not because they were different from other men that didn't keep slaves but because they held slave labor to be essential to their profits. What was really at fault then, was the system. The ownership of man by man was a crime so hideous that no words could frame it; but while the guilt of such an ownership was deep and unquestionable, the system was the ultimate offender, not the individual.

He saw, for instance, that the invention of the cotton-gin, which made the growing of cotton profitable, fastened slavery upon the South, and without it the southern slave-owners would probably have been as ready to give up slavery as the slave-owners of the North had been. If slavery could be divorced from profits it would die of itself. Seeing this he saw also the boundless hypocrisy of the clergymen, editors, educators, leaders, statesmen and politicians North and South that attempted to find a moral defense for slavery. He knew perfectly well that these men were fawning courtiers, parasites, bawds and mercenaries at the slavery court, and the extraordinary bitterness with which he assailed them arose from this perception. Even a man that owned slaves and gathered profits from their labor was respectable compared with the northern clergyman that cited texts from his bible to defend the traffic.

It was the custom then and has been the custom ever since to make much of this bitterness and cite it as evidence that Phillips was a reckless fanatic. It is an easy phrase and covers a lot of our sins of omission. We do not throw ourselves into the righteous cause with the fervor and devotion of Phillips because we do not like to be called fanatics. But when a man is dealing with a great, fundamental, vital, principle of human freedom, how can he possibly be a fanatic? What terms, for instance, would be extreme when applied to human slavery? Or how could one adequately describe the horrors and results of present-day poverty or be too bitter or too active in opposition to such

things? To one that stands in the East End of London, for instance, and observes what is about him, all the fanaticism in the world seems like dish water.

And here we come upon the key note of Phillips' character. He could never conceive of any such thing as compromise with evil. He thought there could not possibly be two kinds of right. If a cause were worth taking up it was worth fighting for to the end without surrendering the smallest particle of its faith. Defeat was nothing; long waiting was nothing. If a cause were right its eventual triumph was assured; meantime there was no such thing as defeat. For a cause that was fundamental, no sacrifice was too great and no labor too exacting. Certain principles in the world were worth more than life, comfort, friendship, public opinion, worth more than all other considerations together. Human liberty was not a thing to be bargained about, to be advanced by concession or compromise or to be accepted with any qualifications. It was at all times the first and greatest thing in life, to be demanded absolutely, without price and without weighing the consequences.

No human institution was worth a fig's end if it conflicted in any way with fundamental human rights. He cared nothing for forms, parchments, traditions nor conventions. If the constitution of the United States recognizes slavery, trample on it. If your country stands for human oppression cease to be an American. If your courts go into the business of man-hunting attack them. If the church covers oppression with the halo of sanctity attack the church. If the press becomes the harlot of the oppressive power, spit on the press. If to be respectable means that for one moment you must make the slightest concession to evil, don't be respectable. If success is offered to you on any such terms, be a failure. No facing both ways. No dodging and dickerings. One thing or the other. You cannot serve Man and the forces that prey upon his heart.

Again and again Phillips rammed home that doctrine upon the Abolition movement, "He that is not with us is against

us," was one of his favorite texts. There would be no such thing as an opponent of slavery that wished to stop with limiting the territory of slavery. Such half-way men were worse than the slave-holders themselves. Either fight on to the end no matter how far off that may be, or get out of the ranks.

In the close parallel that exists between the Abolition movement of sixty years ago and the movement today to abolish wage-slavery, one is rather amused to see that the Insurgent or Progressive party of these times had its exact prototype then. Just as the Insurgents now perceive that the wage system is wrong and propose to limit or regulate it, so from 1848 to 1856 a foolish, pottering Free Soil party proposed to deal with the fundamental principle of human freedom by regulating slavery. Some of our regulative friends seem to think that regulation is a new thing. On the contrary it has been the coward's refuge time out of mind. In all history whenever man has begun to chafe against oppression a certain order of mental white rabbits has appeared with some proposal of regulation that would save them from the dreadful necessity of taking a stand.

It was so in this case. The White Rabbit Insurgents of the day knew in their shrinking and trembling souls that slavery was absolutely wrong, but they did not dare to say so. What they proposed was that it should not be admitted into the territories. That would advantage them with the chance to fool their consciences that men of this order dearly love. They could always say they were on the side of righteousness because they were Insurgents.

Some of these timid ones thought it would be a grand scheme if the Abolitionists would join hands with the White Rabbit brigade. They pointed out that with combined forces the movement might win something. It might get somebody into office or carry an election in Newburyport. Whereas, so long as the Abolitionists held aloof the wicked slave power was certain to have all the offices and win all the elections.

Mr. Phillips looked upon this proposal with scorn. To his mind the object in view was not to carry Newburyport but

to abolish the crime of slavery, and he had small patience for those that conceived their duty to have been done when they had voted to regulate that crime.

The White Rabbit movement was of few days and full of trouble. At first it seemed to promise something. Compromise is an alluring bait to the Anglo-Saxon mind. It saves bother and allows us to go on with sacred business. If a man went on record against the extension of slavery into the territories he would not greatly antagonize the dominant slave power and still he would be on the right side of things. Whereas, those Abolitionists were fanatics and cranks and it was bad for business for a man to go too far, you know. "I am not an Abolitionist," said a million men at the North, "but I don't think slavery ought to be extended into the territories." Their intellectual descendants are thick today. "I am not a Socialist, but I don't think Pierpont Morgan ought to own everything in the country."

But you cannot extinguish a conflagration by sprinkling it from a bottle of rose water. Here was a tremendous conflict between two faiths diametrically opposed. A basic principle of human life was at stake. When Mr. Phillips refused to join hands with the Free Soilers, calculating persons thought he was crazy. The next few years showed that he was perfectly right. In the fierce heat of battle between these opposing principles the Free Soil party was crumbled up in a way that made its champions seem highly ridiculous. When John Brown stepped upon the scaffold to die for freedom even dull men began to perceive that the proposals of the Insurgents were jokes for children and that here was a life and death struggle between colossal ideas.

It is part of the distinctive position of Wendell Phillips in our history that he alone of his element perceived the breadth of this struggle. Reflecting upon the underlying cause of slavery brought him to see that chattel slavery was only a part of the greater slave system that the present organization of society forces upon labor. He did not come at once upon this great fact; he could not have been expected to do so. In his day the accepted thinking of his country was so

utterly different that the wonder is he came upon it at all. But the mind that sixty years ago foresaw and foretold the airship and wireless telegraphy was far too active and acute to rest with any superficial indications. Before the abolition of chattel slavery was more than a growing hope he had reached the conclusion that the real warfare was against the wage system. He believed that chattel slavery should be abolished first, and that attention should not be distracted from it until its destruction should be complete; but the moment that was assured he took up the larger cause and began to insist upon attention to the labor problem.

It is an odd fact that the popular conception of Mr. Phillips, so far as there can be said to be any, practically ignores this phase of his life. No great man has ever suffered so much in general esteem from persistent misrepresentation and suppression, but of all the campaign of injustice in which his memory has been involved so much, the most striking feature is the attitude of history toward his career after the war. To such of the rising generation as know him at all his one eminence is that he was an anti-slavery agitator. Everything seems to have stopped with him in 1863; whereas, as a matter of fact his activities were prolonged for twenty years in all of which time he never ceased to agitate. His offence lies in the fact that the world has forgiven the unpopular cause for which he labored from 1838 to 1865, but it has never forgiven the cause for which he labored from 1865 to the day of his death. Success, the magic American talisman, had gilded the Abolition of chattel slavery; it had not touched yet the abolition of wage slavery.

And here I am moved to some remarks on the enormous power of Capitalism to pervert and poison history so that even the fair-minded, even (if you like) the suspicious and the informed, are deceived. Here was the most remarkable man of his times and the greatest influence. Not one American public school graduate in one hundred thousand ever hears of his name. Here was probably the greatest orator that ever lived. He has almost no place in the

printed accounts of oratory. Here was unquestionably the most effective of all agitators. He is almost never included in the lists of such men. Here was a man that for the purest of motives made in behalf of liberty the greatest sacrifices that it is possible for men to make. He is never mentioned as one of the lights of the human cause. In his own day, millions of men, including those that hated him looked daily for his utterances, and sentences of his swept across the continent cheering men's minds or stirring them to action. You would never learn from history that he had even existed.

Take such a matter as his oratory. That is an art, and one of the highest of arts. In art all considerations are supposed to be dropped except merely the achievement. The faith, convictions, or even the morals of the artist are supposed to be absolutely ignored. Yes. But here is a man of whose art in oratory such triumphs are recorded as were never told of any other. He has never been admitted to his true place in that art. Nothing that is related of the effects produced by Demosthenes, Cicero, Pitt, Erskine, Webster, Clay, Mirabeau, or any other man compare with a dozen instances of this man's marvelous powers. Yet in the accepted histories of oratory he has almost no mention, and only such persons now alive as were privileged to hear him have any notion of his unequalled gifts.

Why is all this manifest injustice? Because history is made in the interest of and to pleasure Capitalism and this man had mortally offended Capitalism. The moment the war was over and the end of chattel slavery assured, he took up the labor question and thrust into the faces of the employing class the painful question, "How about the slaves that labor for your profits"? and Capitalism has never forgiven him for that. He struck the death knell of all his chances for fame and recognition when on November 2, 1865, he went to Faneuil Hall and practically severed his relations with organized society in his famous declaration called "The Eight Hour Movement."

"The labor of these twenty-nine years," said Mr. Phillips, "has been in behalf of a race bought and sold. That struggle for the ownership of labor is now some-

what near its end; and we fitly commence a struggle to define and to arrange the true relations of capital and labor. Today one of your sons is born. He lies in his cradle as the child of a man without means, with a little education, and with less leisure. The favored child of the capitalist is borne up by every circumstance, as on the eagle's wings. The problem of today is how to make the chances of the two as equal as possible; and before this movement stops, every child born in America must have an equal chance in life."

This speech put him clearly in the ranks of a cause that in one way was more unpopular at the North than Abolition had been. He was attacking, in their most sensitive point, the foremost pillars of society. When he stood forward that night in Faneuil Hall and naming the best known public men of Massachusetts demanded that they should declare themselves on the great labor question he aroused an unquenchable resentment. He was threatening sacred profits and there is no other crime so far beyond pardon.

After the war a great change had taken place in the public attitude toward the leading Abolitionists. They now became the heroes of the hour. Mr. Phillips himself was offered a seat in Congress, the Governorship and a prospective place in the Senate. When in the face of such alluring prospects he deliberately thrust aside every honor and took his place in the little army of labor reformers all men saw clearly that he was insane. Nothing else could explain such monumental perversity. His family, years before, had tried to have him committed to an asylum for championing the negro slave. Wise persons now shook their heads and declared that the family must have been right. A man that would refuse the Governorship of Massachusetts and then herd with common laboring men and labor party fanatics was an incurable maniac.

Mr. Phillips went his way serenely, insisting upon public attention to the labor problem that every interest in the country was striving to have suppressed. He perceived infallibly upon what a downward path the nation had been launched, and what alone could save it. In his great speech entitled "The Labor Question," he said:

"I hail the Labor movement for two reasons, and one is that it is my only hope for democracy. At the time of the Anti-Slavery agitation, I was not sure whether we should come out of the struggle with one republic or two; but republics I knew we should still be. I am not so confident, indeed, that we shall come out of this storm as a republic, unless the Labor movement succeeds. Take a power like the Pennsylvania Railroad and the New York Central Railroad, and there is no legislative independence that can exist in its sight. As well expect a green vine to flourish in a dark cellar as to expect honesty to exist under the shadow of those upas trees, unless there is a power in your movement, industrially and politically, the last knell of democratic liberty in this Union is struck."

His speeches in all these years resound with warnings to his countrymen of the enslavement of the masses that was certain to follow from the rapid growth of the capitalistic power and appeals to workingmen to unite and save the country and themselves by taking the government into their own hands. No wonder the entire capitalist press regarded him as a dangerous lunatic.

The best expression of his economic faith is found in the platform that he wrote for the Labor Reform convention, held at Worcester, September 4, 1871, largely at his instigation. He seems to have aimed in these sentences to make his radical position so clear that no one could question his unreserved support of the labor cause. He wrote:

"We affirm, as a fundamental principle, that labor, the creator of wealth, is entitled to all it creates.

"Affirming this, we avow ourselves willing to accept the final results of operation of a principle so radical—such as the overthrow of the whole profit-making system, the extinction of all monopolies, the abolition of privileged classes, universal education and fraternity, perfect freedom of exchange, and, best and grandest of all, the final obliteration of that foul stigma upon our so-called Christian civilization, the poverty of the masses."

Other paragraphs "declare war with the wages system, which demoralizes alike the hirer and the hired, cheats both and

enslaves the workingman," and demand "that every facility and all encouragement shall be given by law to co-operation in all branches of industry and trade, and that the same aid be given to co-operative efforts that has heretofore been given to railroads and other enterprises."

Many other quotations from his utterances equally apt, forceful and socialistic I should give here if I had space. All that he said in favor of the revolt of labor and against the growth of capitalistic power should be carefully re-read today. It will sound now like a strangely verified prophecy and the unheeded appeal of a wise, humane and thoughtful man struggling to arouse his countrymen to a sense of their danger.

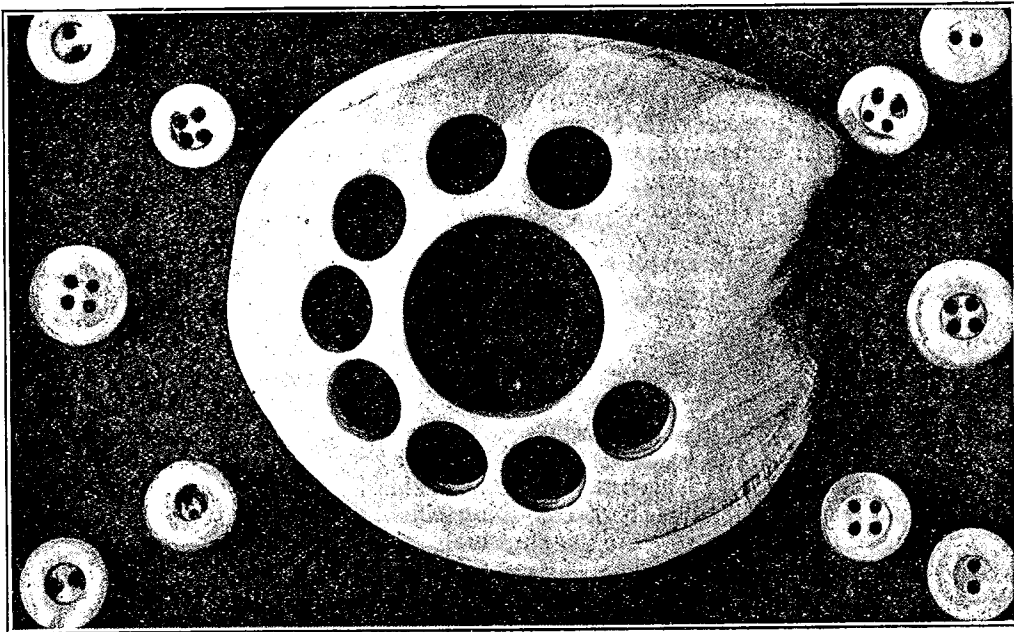
All this was exactly in accord with the principle of life that he had consistently followed from the time he began to think about underlying causes. He utterly eliminated himself from his plans. He would not accept any reward or any distinction for his service, which he jealously kept pure. He declined the Republican nomination for Governor when it meant election and a long career of political success, to accept the Labor nomination when it meant arduous and hopeless campaigning and certain defeat. A truly unique figure in American public life he never once considered the popularity or unpopularity of any cause; he only asked if it were right. Still more remarkable fact, he never even considered the consequences of what he did or said. If any cause were right, true, for humanity and democracy, he was for it if he were the only man in the country to take it up and if it brought upon him a flood of obloquy; without hesitation and without regret, he was for it, and if the flood came, why, let it come down.

Some time is usually required to convince one unacquainted with Phillips that all this is literally true and that America actually has produced one public man that was absolutely unafraid. That never temporized, never compromised, never bargained with conscience, never abated his utmost scorn for expediency and op-

portunism; was oblivious to the temptations of success and fought steadily on year by year with unshaken courage. Yet, such is the record in this man's case. He would not yield one jot of the faith either to an attack in front nor temptation at his side, and I know of but one other man in history that can be classed with him, Giuseppe Mazzini!

This is why it seems to me a calamity that the youth of America know almost nothing about this exponent of the highest American ideals. Our schools teach all kinds of trash about this hero or that, supposed to have won renown by killing people. They consistently say not one word about the man that strove through moral agencies instead of by force, devoted his life to freedom and democracy, unselfishly gave all he had to the cause of man, and displayed all his life a higher and greater courage than any soldier ever showed upon any battle field. But the man that defied and assaulted the smug hypocrisy of New England capitalism is not yet forgiven. He is still the "reckless fanatic" and "noisy agitator" from whom must be kept the admiration of young minds invited rather to fix their thoughts upon the glorious achievements of wholesale murder.

Courage and conscience were the first of the distinguishing traits of this man. There is the kind of courage that tramples upon fear when a man rushes up the hill in the attack upon a battery. There is another kind that Macaulay describes as "that nobler courage that comes of reason and reflection." I think there is still another and infinitely higher. It is the courage that Phillips felt when without shrinking he faced for more than forty years a ceaseless storm of bitter hatred, malice, lies, calumny, misrepresentation, ostracism, isolation and poisonous detraction. Capitalism covered his grave with its venom. On this one hundredth anniversary of his birth it should be the duty of American Socialists to see that his name is rescued from the oblivion to which hypocrisy and canting greed have tried to consign it.



PEARL BUTTONS STAMPED FROM CLAM SHELL.

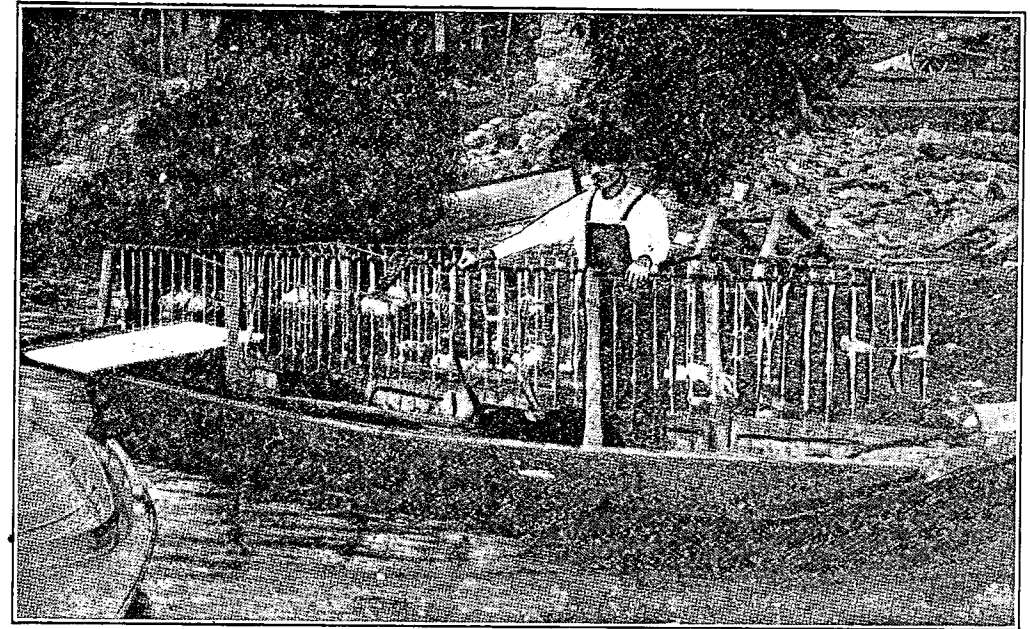
PEARL BUTTONS

BY
LEE W. LANG

MUSCATINE, IOWA, is the center of the button industry of the world. J. F. Boepple, a native of Germany, over twenty years ago, started the first button shop in the Mississippi valley and made buttons from clam shells taken from the bed of the Mississippi river. When he first started a shop he used foot power to run the cutting machines and the process of centering, polishing and drilling holes in the buttons was done by hand. Of late years the business has evolved to a point where nearly all the process of making the buttons is done by machinery. To begin with the clam shells are taken from the river bed by means of a rake or a hook, they are cooked in order to get the clams out of the shells, and the shells are sold to the manufacturers.

While the clams are being taken out each one is searched thoroughly for pearls and quite often a clam digger makes a good find. After the shells reach the manufacturer buttons are cut out of them, of various sizes, by men who are paid by the gross. A gross is 144 buttons, but the men are made to cut 168 buttons for a gross, the manufacturer claiming that the two dozen extra buttons are to make up for the imperfect buttons. But this is not the truth, for the boss counts out all imperfect buttons, besides forcing the men to cut the extras.

The next processes that the buttons go through are grinding, centering, drilling holes in the buttons and also polishing the same, all of which is done by automatic machines. The operatives employed to do



CLAM FISHING OUTFIT, MUSCATINE, IOWA.

this work are women and girls. They must finish and even sort the imperfect buttons for which they receive no pay. The manufacturers sell all the buttons, as even the thinnest are marketable though not bringing quite as good a price as the perfect buttons. Still the bosses refuse to pay the workers anything for the thin buttons. After the buttons are finished and sorted they are sewed on cards. This is one of the most dastardly schemes that was ever worked onto any community. The bosses pay one and one-half cents per gross for sewing the buttons on cards and the people have to carry the buttons from and to the shops. In most cases the school children have to do this work. The children are forced to help their mothers to sew buttons. I have seen children sewing buttons before school, at noon hours, after school hours and in the evening. The mothers sew all day long. Some have to neglect their housework to make from \$1.50 to \$2.00 per week.

All of the church societies sew buttons for the benefit of the churches. One church society has sewed as high as .66 gross in two hours' time and the result, at one and one-half cents per gross, was 99 cents, and as there were eight women present it aver-

aged 6 cents per hour. One woman has tested herself and on an average of a ten-hour day she cannot sew more than four gross per hour, making sixty cents a day. It must be remembered that a woman cannot keep this rate up, as the work is hard on the eyes, it affects the spine and produces nervous wrecks.

A prominent lawyer has figured out the labor cost of making buttons to be less than eight-tenths of one cent per dozen. The buttons are sold at retail from 10 cents to \$1.50 per dozen. The business has increased to enormous proportions of late. When it was in its infancy the workers used to make pretty fair wages, but in the last few years, since the manufacturers have become larger and have organized, they have reduced the wages of the workers to a starvation point.

During the last ten years various attempts were made to organize the workers in the button industry, but it was a hopeless task until the fall of 1910, when the manufacturers reduced wages to such a point that it became unbearable and the workers organized. O. C. Wilson, Socialist city alderman, was the principal figure in organizing them and at the present time he is the business agent of the union and

is giving the manufacturers a run for their money. After the workers nearly all joined the union, the manufacturers took fright and on February 25th, 1911, locked out the workers for nine weeks and the workers refused to go back to work without their union cards. After the manufacturers used all the means at their command, even going so far as to have the militia here, and not being able to induce the workers to go back they had Governor Carroll arrange for a settlement and the button workers agreed to it. But to the sorrow of the workers, the manufacturers discharged many of the best union workers and a halt had to be called.

On October 2nd the button workers of Muscatine went out on strike for the closed shop and all the men in the different shops as well as the girls went out with the exception of a few who worked through the lockout last spring. Over 2,000 people are affected by the strike and the bosses are feeling the result. Emmett T. Flood, of Chicago, organizer for the A. F. of L., is in charge of the strike and is doing well in keeping the workers together. As soon as the workers went out, they established a restaurant and a commissary and with aid from the different unions throughout the country they are keeping their members supplied with the necessities of life. They are buying coal, potatoes and flour in carload lots and giving it to the strikers.

The Commercial Club recently held a joint meeting with the manufacturers and business men of the city and adopted resolutions, pledging their support to the bosses and standing for "law and order," such as has been doled out to the workers. About 300 business men aligned themselves with the bosses, signed the resolutions for "law and order," and business has been pretty dull with them ever since. The real object of the manufacturers was to induce the business men to help intimidate the workers and they are trying the same by refusing the workers credit and urging them to go back to work. The business men were used as stool pigeons and are now sorry for what they have done. The manufacturers have imported thugs from Chicago and they are causing all kinds of arrests and throwing all kinds of people in jail on no charge at all. The marshal, who is a Democrat, a young

but ignorant brute, said he would go the limit to protect the scabs.

Miss Finnegan, of Chicago, was arrested and held in jail for six hours, having to give \$300.00 cash bond, and after four days' waiting, the officers said they had no charge against her. L. W. Lang, a Socialist school director, was also arrested, jailed, not allowed to see his friends or telephone to them, given no breakfast, not allowed to give bonds until he had lain in the ratty bummery for twelve hours. Then he was only let out on cash bond of \$300.00. He was given a trial in police court, refused a trial by jury, and found guilty of using profane and indecent language, according to the testimony of a Chicago slugger. The case has been appealed to the district court. This was simply a trumped-up charge because he was a Socialist official and they are trying to discredit the Socialists. Four children, ranging from 12 to 14 years of age, were arrested and taken to the county jail and placed inside, which is strictly for-



DETECTIVES TAKING SCHOOL CHILDREN TO JAIL FOR CALLING A SCAB—A SCAB.

bidden by the statute of the state of Iowa. They were kept there for four hours and dismissed.

The mayor has refused to allow any public parades. The unions asked for an injunction against his orders, but the judge upheld the mayor. On account of not being able to parade and counteract the business men's meeting, held a few evenings before, the unions of the city, under the auspices of the Muscatine Trades Assembly, held a great mass meeting at the Opera house, at which time Miss Finnegan, Emmett T. Flood, A. S. Langille, Mrs. Raymond Robins and other local speakers spoke. The opera house was filled with people who wanted to hear the message for the workers. Overflow meetings were held in the Trades Assembly hall, speakers going from one hall to another to satisfy the crowds. Resolutions were adopted protesting against the

way the police officers were making illegal arrests and pledges were made to aid the button workers.

Most of the button manufacturers started with very little capital and today they are nearly all worth hundreds of thousands of dollars. The manufacturers are going to any lengths to accomplish their aim of breaking up the union. The Socialists are carrying on a campaign with literature, educating the workers and showing them how they must have the law-making and law-interpreting power in their hands. Next spring will see a general cleaning up of the old parties and then the workers will for the first time enjoy some of the rights which their forefathers fought for. Discontent is the order of the day the world over and it is the promise of a better day for the workers.

A DETECTIVE

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

A DETECTIVE is the lowest, meanest, most contemptible thing that either creeps or crawls, a thing to loath and despise.

A detective has the soul of a craven, the heart of a hyena. He will barter the virtue of a pure woman or the character of an honest man. He will go into the labor unions, the political party, the fraternal society, the business house, the church. He will drag his slimy length into the sacred precincts of the family; there to create discord and cause unhappiness. He breeds and thrives on the troubles of his own making. He is a maggot of his own corruption.

That you may know how small a detective is, you can take a hair and pinch

the pith out of it and in the hollow hair you can put the hearts and souls of 40,000 detectives and they will still rattle. You can pour them out on the surface of your thumb nail and the skin of a gnat will make an umbrella for them.

When a detective dies he goes so low he has to climb up a ladder to get into hell, and he is not a welcome guest there. When his Satanic Majesty sees him coming, he says to his imps, "Go get a big bucket of pitch and a lot of sulphur, give them to that fellow and put him outside. Let him start a little hell of his own, we don't want him in here starting trouble."

There is not room enough in hades for a detective.

WHAT WE WANT!

BY

J. H. FRAZER

WHEN crafty politicians (and politicians who imagine themselves crafty) see an opportunity to enrich themselves by means of political scheming, it is customary for them to announce with great gusto that they are "the friends of labor," "tax-payers' friends," etc., but that type of reformer who announces himself a Socialist or a Socialistic reformer is probably the most obnoxious. His stock in trade is usually a lot of drivel about "good government and municipal, state or government ownership."

This type of politician usually comes from the professional and small business class, and his mentality usually reflects the desperate economic standing of that class.

Although he may have never worked a day in his life, he knows all about what the working class wants. He has a patent on all of the knowledge obtainable on this subject.

To the reformer the working man who thinks for himself is an outlaw, a visionary, a reactionary, an undesirable citizen, and then some.

Our present society has developed to the point where the interest of every individual is inseparably bound up in that individual's class interest.

The writer would not make so bold as to state what are the best interests of the petty bourgeoisie, but will endeavor to throw some light on what the working class wants from the viewpoint of a WORKING MAN:

There is little confusion among the thinking portion of the working class as to what would be beneficial to them. We want less work and a larger share of what we produce. When we gain that we will want more of the same. In fact, we want to continue reducing the length of our workday, and at the same time increase

our share of the product until there is nothing left for the capitalist.

Suppose that wages were stationary and that we elected men to office for the purpose of establishing municipal ownership of public utilities and that they should succeed in getting them. Suppose that thereby car fare was reduced to three cents a trip and that gas was reduced ten cents a thousand, and water rates reduced twenty-five cents a month, the working man would gain but a few pennies per month.

Many Socialist reformers make the statement that the average value produced per man in the United States, according to statistics, is about \$2,500 a year, and that the average wage is about \$500 per year. This means that every wage worker, on the average, is deliberately robbed of \$2,000 per year. So far, good! But in the next instant they are telling us that municipal ownership will solve our problem. Just how ten or fifteen cents a day will compensate a worker for \$8 or \$10 a day remains for them to explain.

The fact should be borne in mind, however, that a decrease in the cost of living is almost invariably followed by a cut in wages. For instance, in villages and towns where it is possible for almost every family to have a garden and where farm products are cheap, wages are lower than in the large cities. Thousands of city workers who have come in from the country know this to be true.

Some of these towns have "good government" and some have other kinds of government, some have open, licensed houses of prostitution and some have none; some have municipal ownership of public utilities and some have not; some have one telephone system and some of them have two; some have street car systems and some have none, but in all of them the con-

dition of the working class is almost precisely the same.

The working class is essentially nomadic. The workingman must move from place to place to obtain employment.

He leaves a \$2 a day job to go to one which pays \$4, for the same kind of work, filled with the hope of being able to save \$2 a day. He has worked for years at \$2 per day, and has lived; surely if he can get \$4 per day he will be able to save \$2 a day. Opulence is in sight. In a few years he will be a bloated bondholder. Then he will come back and give the stay-at-homes the merry ha! ha!

But he finds rent is higher, that groceries cost more, that clothing costs more, where wages are high. He is compelled to live in a tenement and can't raise chickens. In six months' time he is disillusioned. He finds he spends every cent and gets no more of the comforts of life than formerly.

In the matter of working class politics we must proceed scientifically if we are to work any lasting benefits for the working class.

The lawyers, preachers and business men tell us that government, state or municipal ownership, is what we want. Now, if we proceed scientifically in this matter we will, first of all, refuse to accept anything on faith. We will demand proofs. If none are forthcoming, we will investigate the subject ourselves. The only way to obtain knowledge is through experience, either our own or of someone else. There is no revealed truth in regard to municipal ownership.

We find that in several of our large cities there are a great many municipal employes, and we further find that almost without exception they hold their jobs by virtue of political influence. We find in our state institutions that the employes are regularly assessed a portion of their salaries for the campaign and other funds of their political masters. It may be objected that all this is eliminated by the civil service. But, from the working class point of view, the civil service is very undesirable. A very small percentage of working people can qualify, and a working man with any spirit would not answer a number of the questions asked in the application for an examination for the postal service,

if he could procure employment in any other way.

If government, state or municipal ownership of public utilities is "good" for the working class, surely the best conditions for the working class must be in the countries where government ownership is already established. Mexico, for instance, should be an Eldorado for the workers. Likewise with Russia, darkest Russia, or France. But they are NOT.

In writing from abroad about a year ago, Mr. Gompers said that in all the places he visited he found the conditions of laboring people to be the worst in Belgium. Private ownership of public utilities is practically unknown in Belgium.

William D. Haywood says that he found the worst conditions in Glasgow, Scotland. The municipality there owns everything.

Those things which are made manifest to us through our sense perceptions may be depended upon as true. A lawyer, preacher or a business man may assert that the moon is made of green cheese, and, inasmuch as it is beyond the limits of our sense perceptions, and as we can produce no absolute proof to the contrary, we will not argue with them. But when it comes to a question of things of this earth and their correlations, it is an entirely different matter.

A lawyer, a preacher or a business man may think it is a "good" thing for a working man to get hit over the head with a policeman's club or trampled under the feet of a Cossack's horse, and right here we come to the root of the matter. It is the difference in the viewpoint of the two classes. The working class, in the past, has been a "good" thing for the parasites, but it won't be much longer.

We are thinking for ourselves these days, and we do our reasoning from existing material conditions. We don't get our knowledge of economics from the skies nor from court decisions grown hoary with age. Neither do we get them from the supposed sayings of probably mythological persons whom the preachers allege existed long ago.

"Scientific Socialism considers our views dependent upon our material needs, and our political standpoint dependent upon

the economic position of the class we belong to."—Dietzgen.

When we investigate municipal, state or government ownership we find that the workers are as thoroughly robbed, if not more so, than where private ownership prevails. In fact, it places the workers in a more precarious position, it being more difficult to strike, boycott or take any direct action against the state than it is against a private employer.

The working class has gained nothing by government ownership.

The doctor, lawyer, preacher or business man may be very enthusiastic about the postal system, the fire department and the public schools. This class favors the government postoffice because it gives them cheap, prompt and reliable service. It delivers their mail per schedule and handles their humbugging advertisements and swindling literature very cheaply.

The fire department protects them and their property for almost nothing.

In the public schools children are taught to become servile and efficient wage slaves, and to sing "My Country, 'Tis of Thee." All of this is very fine for the parasites, but what about the working class?

Postal employes are constantly complaining of the grievous conditions under which they are compelled to work. They are even forbidden the right to organize and protest. A person working under the civil service is not allowed to sign a nominating petition or take any active part in politics.

Better wages are usually paid by private employers, where similar working conditions prevail.

The employes of our city fire departments are notoriously underpaid.

It is scarcely necessary to mention the miserable pittance paid teachers, in lieu of wages, in our public schools.

The interest of capitalist and wage worker are distinctly opposite. What benefits the one injures the other. A political party which advocates reforms which are beneficial to the capitalist will be repudiated by the working class. Many workmen would rather vote, if at all, for the Republican party, which they know to be openly opposed to them, than for a Socialistic party which they either know, or

instinctively feel, is trying to mislead them with petty reforms.

Doctors, lawyers, preachers and small business men are interested in "busting the trusts," but the workingman sees that the trust is a good thing for him. It is in line with development toward a co-operative system of society, and that is our aim.

The majority of parasites are quite well satisfied with things as they are. Perhaps some of them, who are not over-prosperous, would like to have their living expenses reduced by government, state or municipal ownership of the means of production and distribution. They also want "good government," so that wages may be kept as low as possible.

The working class wants to go to the opposite extreme. We want less work and more of our product, and will never be satisfied until we get everything that belongs to us. We don't care anything about what is commonly known as "good government." We want working class government.

If one wishes to understand the vitiating, deadening influence of practical politics he does not need to leave the United States for examples. How many, many times have reform politicians come before the public and promised that if elected they would do something great.

When they are elected we are informed by these gentlemen that they have discovered certain legal technicalities which they knew nothing of before and that it will take some time to put their pre-election ideas into action. Usually they manage to stall along until a short time before another election is to be held, and then they come out and tell the public that everything is progressing nicely and that if they are re-elected they will be able to immediately carry out their proposed reforms. Tom L. Johnson was elected mayor of the city of Cleveland, Ohio, several times with practically no other campaign issue than that of three-cent street car fare. In several cities in Ohio eight street car tickets are sold for twenty-five cents, but the working class isn't any better situated because of it.

In the city of Sacramento, Cal., the city made a profit of \$30,000 on its municipal water plant. The money was put into the

city treasury, and just that amount was saved to the taxpayers. The man who owns a million dollar home gains more on this kind of a deal than does the man who owns a five hundred dollar hovel.

There is probably no city in the world of the same size which has more expensive and luxurious homes, probably no city numbers as many millionaire inhabitants, as does Pasadena, Cal., and there they have municipal ownership of a number of the public utilities, but the working class is in no better position because of it. In fact, working conditions are no better there than in neighboring cities, where none of the public utilities are municipally owned.

The principal purpose of practical politics seems to be the perpetuation of the present economic system. Practical politics is NOT a means to accomplish an end. It IS an end in itself.

The practical politician learns the trade of politics because he thinks he can make a living by working at it, just as a bricklayer, a machinist or any other craftsman learns a trade.

The craftsman does not learn a trade for the purpose of annihilating that trade. It is to his interest to try to continue the conditions which make him necessary.

The workingman who is conscious of his position in society would rather vote for class-conscious capitalist politicians who oppress the workers to the best of their ability than to vote for unclass-conscious working class candidates who propose some petty reforms of more or less doubtful value to the working class.

A working class politician may propose some measure as a pre-election issue which will give a small portion of the working class some benefit, but when analyzed it usually turns out to be a benefit which is gained at the expense of the rest of the working class.

Class-consciousness means the knowledge that there are distinct classes in society, i. e.: a capitalist class and a working class, whose every interest is an opposing one.

Class-consciousness doesn't mean that all the working class should band together politically or industrially to elevate one small section of the working class into a sort of petty capitalist economic position.

Barring the exceptions, which are extremely few, the workmen cannot rise as individuals to the capitalist class.

If any gain worth while is to be made it must be a gain for the whole working class, and such is possible only when a large portion of the working class is organized for united industrial and political action.

The System Federation on the railroads is probably the greatest step toward Socialism that has been taken in America in years. The new society must develop out of the old and unity at the point of production will make this possible.

"The state is merely the organized power of one class for the oppression of another class."—Marx.

The truth of this statement is evident to the working class and needs no elaboration.

Why do we want the state? Whom do we want to oppress? The capitalist? No!

The working class wishes to obtain control of the state only to abolish it.

The reformer wants to perpetuate the state and to give the state ownership of public utilities. This would mean merely a change of masters for the working class, and perhaps for the worse.

What use would we have for the present capitalist state if every worker received what he could produce? We wouldn't need police, detectives, militia and soldiers to break strikes nor to protect private property. When private property ceases, the function of the state ceases, i. e.: The protection of a small class of parasites and the protection of their property rights.

The government of the future will be an industrial government, over which those engaged in the industries will have full control. The road to industrial government lies through industrial organization.

The political organization should also be developed so that through political action we may control the police, militia, courts, etc., in the interest of the working class until it becomes feasible for us to abolish the state entirely. Not until then will the wages system be abolished or the "expropriators be expropriated."

Fight for the shorter workday. This is a rallying point where all workers can

agree. The man who is working twelve hours a day seven days in the week don't need to read everything written on the subject of sociology in the last 200 years to convince him that it would be better for him to work eight hours a day six days in the week.

Nine out of every ten workers would strike for the eight hour day if they could see any possibility of winning.

About four years ago 50,000 printers and about 40,000 pressmen opened the fight for the eight hour day in the printing trades.

The majority of them were compelled to strike. In some places they were out but a few hours, in other places weeks and even months. The eight hour day has been established.

It is doubtful if there are 100 printers in the whole United States who would be willing to go through a similar fight for

municipal, state or government ownership of printing offices.

The Harriman line railway men are not striking for government ownership of railroads. They are striking for less work and more pay. See the idea?

Give the working class something worth fighting for and there will be plenty of fighters.

Those writers who are advocating state capitalism and petty reforms are receiving the justly merited scorn of the workers, and those speakers who are showing their lack of judgment or their unmitigated gall by trying the same kind of a stunt either get no working class audiences or else their orations are made to the backs of the people who are going out of the door.

Those who aspire to be of value in the present working class movements must realize first that we don't want reforms! **WE WANT REVOLUTION!**



TOM MANN, ADDRESSING STRIKERS.

THE TRANSPORT WORKERS' STRIKE IN ENGLAND

BY
TOM MANN

TO understand what led to the strike of transport workers in England it is necessary to bear in mind that a year ago there was formed in this country a "Transport Workers' Federation." This brought together most of the unions engaged in the carrying trades; and machinery was prepared to make common action easier than in former times. Also, Mr. J. Havelock Wilson, president of the Seamen's Union for fully a year, had been doing his utmost in various countries to make common action possible at least among sailors and firemen, and he aimed at general action in the shipping industry.

After many conferences in continental countries, as well as Britain, it was ultimately decided that June of this year would be the best month for action. Not that Mr. Wilson or any other advocate of labor's cause was really wishful for a strike; he and they desired to secure some solid advantages for the seafaring population, particularly, and for all connected therewith generally. And many scores of letters were written and sent to representative shipowners, to the Shipping Federation

and to the British Board of Trade, to try and obtain reasonable consideration of the demands formulated by the unions, but without success.

This utterly failing, the shipowners and the public were informed that there was no alternative left to the men but that of *withholding their labor*, and that this would be done unless the shipowners would agree to a conference. Then, as the shipowners remained obdurate, it became necessary to fix upon the date when the strike should take place, and the middle of June was fixed upon, but it was decided not to inform the shipowners of the date.

Accordingly the date was kept a secret to those who were specially responsible, but the 14th of June the strike was declared in all British ports.

The shipowners were thus confronted with a state of affairs they were utterly unable to cope with. Mr. Lains, the chief official and adviser of the Shipping Federation, had systematically kept up the attitude of the unyielding plutocrat; on behalf of his colleagues, he had repeatedly declared that they were fully prepared to

deal with any attempt that might be made to strike. He informed all that only an insignificant minority of the seafaring men were in any union and that the result of an attempt to strike would be, that other men would immediately be put in the places of the strikers, and that work would proceed without interruption.

The shipowners' papers scathingly denounced Mr. Wilson and criticised the union maliciously and mercilessly. In spite of all this, in less than a week after the strike, the shipowners were most willing to meet in conference, and urged a settlement as speedily as possible. They readily conceded monetary advances of from ten to twenty shillings a month; they agreed to wipe out the objectionable methods that had been in vogue so long in respect to the medical examination; they agreed to recognize the unions and approved the claim of union delegates to be present at "paying off" time and at "signing on." Thus the changed attitude was almost unbelievable; what eighteen months of pleading with them had failed to do, a few days' withholding of labor did.

It should be explained that only two of the unions in England decided definitely to declare war. These were the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union and the Union of Cooks, Stewards, Ships' Butchers and Bakers. Other unions had decided to sympathetically stand by and watch events.

The trade of the country was exceptionally brisk, and the coronation festivities were right in front and visitors from America, Europe and Australasia were arriving by every passenger boat; any dislocation at such a time would naturally make itself felt in exceptional degree. And so it was.

For myself, I was stationed at Liverpool, which afforded a field quite big enough for one's efforts, and here, as elsewhere, the strike was declared in the name of the two unions mentioned—the Seamen and Stewards—on Wednesday, the 14th of June, and the first of the conferences with shipowners took place on the following Monday. Inside of a fortnight a settlement had been arrived at with most of the principal shipping firms. But some of them had hopes that the Shipping Federation would after all be able to carry them through, and they declined to settle. This necessitated the

extension of the strike to the carters and dockers, so they were invited and later joined the strikers. This was a great factor in bringing in the other shipping firms. They met first as members of the Shipping Federation, only to agree that it was impossible to fight collectively with any show of success and that "each firm must do the best it can for itself." Settlements were proceeding apace when a new development took place. Of the 32,000 dock laborers in Liverpool and district, only 8,000 were organized, and these were receiving from six to ten shillings a week more than the unorganized. So now all the non-union dockers left work, went to the respective branches of the union and joined and insisted right away upon union rates and conditions. This looked like jeopardizing the gains already obtained by the men of the unions who had come out first. We had been urging the necessity of solidarity among all workers, and particularly among all transport workers, and now it was coming.

It proved to be a very trying time, but the result was all these men joined the union, and union wages and conditions were obtained, but before we reached finality with these negotiations, some seven thousand railway employes, most of them unorganized, came out in Liverpool, and claimed that their cause should receive attention.

This was a very serious addition to the family, and the strike committee had to consider most carefully the question of taking up their cause, as we had actually settled on behalf of the sailors, firemen, stewards and other seafaring men, and were finalizing conditions for the 30,000 dockers, and to take up the railway men, not only meant jeopardizing these gains, but brought us into direct conflict with the railway companies employing 600,000 persons. More serious still, the railway men's unions were tied down to inaction on most matters by the Conciliation Act of 1907, which fixed conditions for seven years, and these unions were not favorable to any strike on the railways, and officials were sent down to stop further striking and to repudiate responsibility.

As chairman of the strike committee, I frankly admit that some of us fully realized



POLICE GUARDING THE GOODS.

the arduous task in front of us if we declared to back the railway men who had struck. However, after full deliberation, the strike committee considered that the only possible course for them to take was to take up the railway men's case with the utmost zeal. We knew they were shamefully low paid and subjected to extremely harsh conditions. They were transport workers, too, and had shrewd courage, and asked our help. This we decided to give, and to refuse to handle any goods that were destined to or from the railways.

Up till this time all our activities had been characterized by the utmost courtesy on both sides. So far no collisions with the police had taken place, but on our refusing to handle railroad freight, the shipowners exhibited extreme annoyance, and after a few days declared that unless the men were prepared to work and handle all goods indiscriminately they, the shipowners, would declare a general lock-out on all deep sea trade.

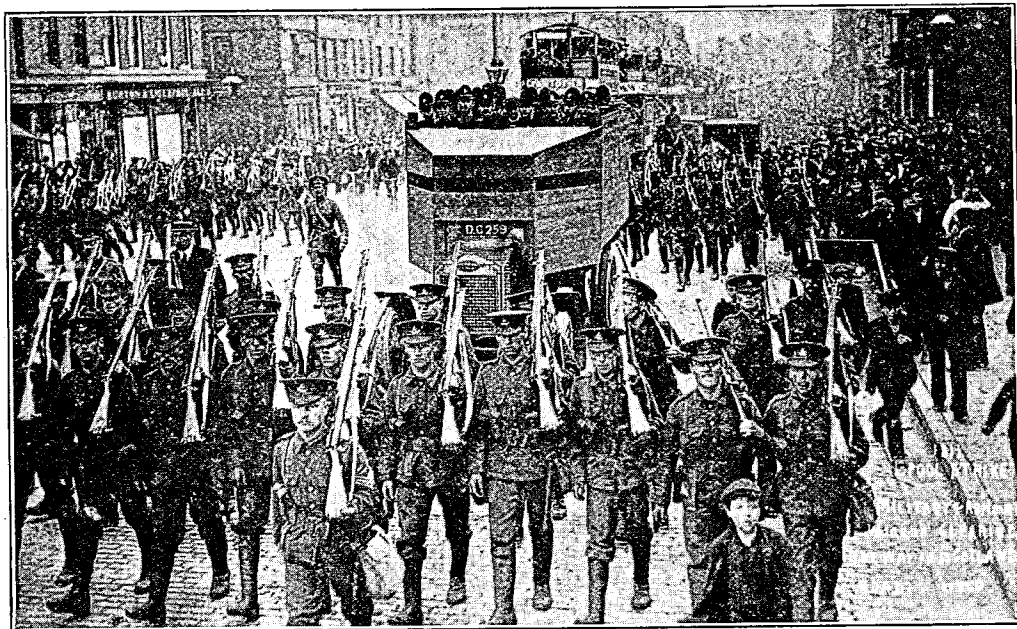
They did so. This, it was expected, would kill the strike, instead of which the strike committee replied immediately. The lock-out commenced, by declaring a general strike on cross channel and coastal trade, and this was carried out.

It was during this period when the shipowners and capitalists generally saw that

the strike was succeeding at all points, that they clamored for more police and military. There were now 80,000 men on strike and locked out in Liverpool alone, and to our great satisfaction the representatives of the three railway men's unions, that had been attendant on the strike committee (when the strike committee decided to take up the railway men's case), were themselves inspired by the boldness of such action. And knowing, as they did, that in most Lancashire towns the union railway men and non-union men were holding mass meetings and declaring in favor of striking, the railway men's officials themselves showed pluck and convened their respective executive councils in Liverpool. Again, to our agreeable surprise, these executives, collectively, unanimously agreed to support the strikers, and to insist upon redress. And so, for the first time in our history, the four principal unions of railway men in this country declared unanimously in favor of a fighting policy, and proceeded to act accordingly.

Of course, such an extensive strike as this soon meant serious shortage, as only by strike committee's authorization could goods be obtained from the docks.

The first serious need was the milk supply. This being the staple food of children, authority was given for all facilities to be given to ensure full supply.



POLICE ARMED VAN.

Next in importance was the bread supply, and facilities were given for bread and flour and such fuel as was necessary to make the food.

All supplies for hospitals and all other public institutions were ensured safe transit by the committee.

Seven to eight thousand military were in town, large numbers of police from outside districts, and thousands of special constables, but all these combined, including battleships in the Mersey, did not in any way frighten the workers, and the strike committee continued its duties with vigor, tact and success.

The pickets discharged their duties admirably; for the most part, they showed good judgment, alertness, pluck and resource, and the result was success at almost every point for the men on strike.

I will not attempt a description of the fights that took place between police and people, the chief of which was on Sunday, August 13th. The police were the aggressors, and the bludgeoning was brutal, but many a head inside a helmet had good reason to know there was a fight.

When the railway men's executives agreed to take up the case of the men, they

proceeded to London for negotiations and I believe they were staunch and true and sturdy and courageous. They insisted upon members of the executive meeting the railway magnates face to face, and not as heretofore with some governmental official as intermediary. But even matters had proceeded far, the statesmen and politicians made themselves busy. Prime Minister Asquith showed true plutocratic interest and instinct, by declaring that if a general railway strike took place the government would place at the disposal of the companies military men in sufficient numbers to keep the railways going and they would be sent all over the country.

This did not cow the men nor prevent them declaring a strike; but among the railway men's officials were Parliamentarians, and these succeeded in bringing in other Parliamentarians, and all these were for peace, and the non-extension of the strike.

To stop activity, to stultify it in the interests of capitalistic peace, is ever their object, and it was so here. In my judgment, had the executives themselves insisted upon conducting the negotiations themselves with the companies direct, and kept

the fight going another two days, they would have achieved vastly more than they did. Still, minimize it as we may, it remains a solid fact that the railway men's unions agreed unanimously for common action; that they did declare a national strike, and the response was most satisfactory; that they have obtained an assurance of redress of some of the grievances and it is highly probable that in a few weeks substantial increases of wages will be granted to certain grades, and the most objectionable features of the conciliation boards will be wiped out, or, if not, then I am quite sure the rank and file will demand action again to enforce these things.

Now the question is, what of the future? I conclude that the principles of syndicalism are here in the ascendancy, that the power and all around efficacy of direct action is being appreciated, and will be increasingly resorted to. It looks to the fighting proletarians here as though the capitalist state machine were not a suitable agency by means of which economic free-

dom should be won. We see the legislative institutions used to tie the people down. The ordinary workman is only just beginning to see this, but he is beginning to see it, and, in the same ratio, he sees that nationalization of services and commodities means the capitalization of these things; and now he is turning to industrial organization, not as formerly, to obtain a little better wage, etc., but beyond that, to actually obtain, first, control of industry, and ultimately ownership of the means of wealth production. This will be done through and by such industrial councils as will speedily grow out of the more perfected industrial organizations. So I say we shall achieve our freedom by the scientifically organized industrial union now growing very rapidly, the members of which are receiving an economic education, giving to them a courage born of knowledge, that will enable them to oppose and overcome all their enemies, be they institutions or privileged persons.

WAGES IN THE UNITED STATES

PROFESSOR SCOTT NEARING of the University of Pennsylvania has written a book of first importance to

Socialists and other students of economics. The United States census of 1900 contains some very unsatisfactory and wholly unanalyzed figures on the subject of wages and profits. Since they were all we have had we cannot be blamed for having made use of them. Whatever value they may have possessed eleven years ago, they are of little use now. Professor Nearing has examined every available source of current wage statistics and laid before the American people a most staggering report. Fortunately the available sources are sufficient for a clear analysis of the matter and for pretty careful conclusions. The volume from cover to cover contains nothing but cold facts. But those facts will be as a two-edged sword in the hands of the revolutionary workers. The Socialist move-

ment of America should be congratulated that this volume issues not from one of its own editorial sanctums but from the Department of Economics in that most conservative and respectable of American universities, the University of Pennsylvania. This volume is published by the Macmillan Company and it sells for \$1.25.

The purpose of the work is briefly stated in the preface as follows:

"Since Prof. R. C. Chapin estimated that a New York family consisting of a man, wife and three children under fourteen could maintain 'a normal standard, at least so far as the physical man is concerned,' on an annual income of \$900, speculation has been rife as to the number of families whose incomes equal that sum. Controversy was futile. No recent wage study has been made, and aside from the reports of the State Bureaus of Labor, which were popularly supposed to contain little or no

data of importance, no available wage figures existed.

"But some relation must be established between the \$900 efficiency standard and the wages actually paid in American industries, else the Chapin study would lose much of its force."

Coming to the subject of "The Necessity for Wage Statistics," Prof. Nearing declares that "The development of the 'wage system' has forced wages into the foreground of theoretical discussion. At least two-thirds of those gainfully employed in the United States are employed for wages; so that the population of the United States may well be described as a 'wage-earning' group. A small percentage of the population is dependent upon the income from securities and investments (mortgages, bonds, land, and the like); another small percentage, though a decreasing one, is dependent upon profits from private business; there is a small class of persons employed for stated annual salaries; somewhat under one-third of those gainfully employed are deriving an income direct from agriculture, leaving approximately two-thirds of the gainfully employed population earning incomes in the form of daily, weekly or monthly wages. Hence, wages are the means chiefly relied upon as the return for industrial effort (work), to provide the necessities of life to the population of the United States."

After noting the remarkable fact that "The Director of the Census, in reply to a letter, states that no special wage study would be made in connection with the Census of 1910," the author proceeds to discuss the available sources of information. While quite a number of other states have published wage statistics, only those issued by three of ten of the most important industrial states are worthy of comment. These three are Ohio, Massachusetts and New Jersey. In fact only five out of the forty-seven published up-to-date wage statistics. Beside these sources a number of reports are used. These include the special investigations of Congress, and the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The REVIEW will not attempt to give an adequate resume of Prof. Nearing's work. Perhaps one-third of the space is devoted to pure statistics. A careful examination of these many columns of interesting figures

lead the reader relentlessly to the final conclusions.

A chart on page 177 shows the wages paid by all the railroad lines in the great middle western states. Seven per cent of the employes including the general officers, receive over \$1,000 a year each. Forty-two per cent receive from \$625 to \$1,000. Fifty-one per cent receive less than \$625. (That is 50 per cent of the railroad employes of the middle west receive two-thirds as much as will support in a state of physical health a wife and three children.)

In view of the present railroad strike the average wages of the railroad shopmen is most interesting. For the middle western states the average wage of the machinist is \$2.97 per day; a fireman \$2.75; of other trainmen, \$2.69; carpenters, \$2.36; telegraph operators and other dispatchers, \$2.28; general office clerks, \$2.21; switch tenders, crossing tenders and watchmen, \$2.06; other shopmen, \$2.06; station agents, \$2.05; section foremen, \$1.89; other trackmen, \$1.42.

There are employed on the railroads of the United States 1,502,823 workers. Of these 754,950 receive less than \$2.00 a day; 320,762 trackmen receive an average of \$1.38 a day—that is just enough to sustain the life of an individual. These figures are taken from the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission for 1909.

The great Bell Telephone system has 37,760 employees. Of these 8,651 or 23½% receive less than \$360 per year; 14,572 or 38% receive from between \$360 and \$600; 10,370, or 27½% receive between \$600 and \$960; 4,167, or 11% of the whole receive over \$960 per year. (But Prof. Nearing declared later that 20% should always be deducted from these yearly incomes to cover periods of unemployment). The government report upon the wages paid by the Bethlehem Steel Works is carefully analyzed. Out of 9,184 employed, 4,221 received from 10 to 16c per hour; 2,390 received from 16 to 22c per hour; 1,586 received from 22 to 30c per hour; 630 received from 30 to 42c per hour. Only 122 receive over 42c per hour.

Prof. Nearing's concluding statement on the matter of "Wages in the United States," is as follows:

"Making, therefore, a reduction of one-fifth (average period of unemployment), it appears that half of the adult males of the United States are earning less than \$500; that three-quarters of them are earning less than \$600 a year; that nine-tenths of them are receiving less than \$900 a year while 10% received more than that figure. A corresponding computation of the wages of women shows that a fifth earn less than \$200 annually; that three-fifths are re-

ceiving less than \$325; that nine-tenths are earning less than \$500 a year, while only one-twentieth are paid more than \$600 a year.

"Three-quarters of the adult males and nineteen-twentieths of the adult females actually earn less than \$600 a year."

QUESTION: If it takes \$900 a year to purchase the bare necessities of life for a husband, wife and three children, how are the three-quarters of adult males living on their \$600 a year?

THE DAY AFTER

BY

AUSTIN LEWIS

THE California capitalist press was galvanized into something like a show of interest on the morrow of the Primary Election of September 26th, for on that day the nominee of the Union Labor Party had been routed horse, foot and artillery and the largest majority ever obtained in San Francisco placed behind James Rolph, Jr., the candidate of the respectable.

P. H. McCarthy was driven from the political field; some say, finally. It is a long road, however, that has no turning, and the vicissitudes of politics are notorious. Still, the fact remains that a most disastrous and, probably, fatal blow was inflicted upon the Union Labor Party. The late candidate for Mayor indeed declares that it was not he who was beaten, but the Union Labor Party.

This bluff though strong is not by any means convincing, for if ever anyone was beaten it was McCarthy, beaten on his record as Mayor, absolutely buried in the contempt of the electorate. As McDevitt, the Socialist candidate, very forcibly and truly says: "When McCarthy won in 1909 he came out promptly to tell the world that the *People* won, when McCarthy loses in 1911, he tells us all that Labor has lost. To that modern myth, *THE PEOPLE*, went all the glory of the winning, to that very definite class, the workers, befalls all the burden of the loss."

But McCarthy retires with the following in his "Statement to the Public" made subsequent to the election:

"The real thinkers of the hour, and the sanguine labor leaders, will discern a triumph in the outcome of this election, for the simple reason that, in working out its results, the election is destined to bring home to labor many a stern lesson that can never be forgotten. No great cause ever yet flourished without receiving its full quota of setbacks. In that way the good is sifted from the evil, and the truth is extracted from a bewildering maze of untruths. Like a confiding child, labor is still prone to yield to the blandishments of its rich and powerful enemy."

The comparison of labor with a confiding child for not voting the McCarthy ticket is funny beyond all explanation.

To trace the history of the Union Labor Party is painful and discouraging. Brought into existence as a scheme of a clever politician, Abe Ruef, who is now gathering the rent of ability in San Quentin, it has always been such a medley of the honest and the corrupt as to be at times almost incomprehensible. There is a nucleus of actual bona fide working men, who have a well developed political class consciousness, and a diabolically vile education. They have never risen above the A. F. of L. craft conception of the working class, and all that is implied therein. The result is

that for a great party supposed to represent labor and in control of the government of a metropolis, the Union Labor Party has had perhaps the worst prepared body of leaders in the world. A few minutes' talk would be convincing of the ignorance with which they undertook their task.

But it must be understood, and this is important, that they never shouldered it with any idea of its actual significance. As conceived by Ruef, the Union Labor Party was an instrument by which labor might have the police and the politicians might have the town. Hence the incomprehensibility of the Union Labor Party from the beginning, hence the fact that it has appeared as a very disjointed monster, shaking a solemn official head in the offices of the Labor Councils, and flirting a bedraggled tail in the purlieus of the tenderloin.

Called into being by Ruef, the extinguishment of the latter temporarily retired the Union Labor Party, until the exigencies of Pat Calhoun the railroad magnate called it to power again and gave McCarthy the mayoralty. Now, again, the needs of the dominant bourgeois have required the abolition of McCarthy, and he is abolished. He is abolished moreover by the votes of the laboring class itself, and by and through the efforts of Messrs. McArthur and Furuseth, who have rallied to the support of Rolph and respectability.

These two last were implacable in their virtue. They were specially called to rebuke the wickedness of McCarthy, and a letter from J. J. McNamara who asked that the efforts of McArthur and Furuseth against McCarthy be at least temporarily restrained was treated almost with disdain. The most that Furuseth would say was that he approved of the candidature of Harriman in Los Angeles, otherwise he would support Rolph, and this statement as far as Harriman is concerned is being exploited by his campaign committee in Los Angeles! Could anything more really ludicrous find a place outside of comic opera?

As for the general results and the prospects for the immediate future of the working class, they are frankly not bright. In fact, the whole industrial situation has been thrown into the political melting pot and actual material advantages have been sacrificed for the illusions of political power. If politics is the reflex of industrial power,

it is not hard to see why McCarthy and the Union Labor Party have been unable to achieve politically. At no time has the Union Labor Party had the political power. It has not even had the control of the police power, for directly it occurred to the real rulers to show that they were the masters of the police they speedily hustled McCarthy out of even a pretense of power. The tenderloin alliance was of no avail in helping to keep the illusion of power. The votes were delivered not to McCarthy but to Calhoun last time, and Calhoun, that is "big business," got the use and benefit of them. Talk about nemesis; for a few wobbly moments it almost makes one believe in "absolute justice."

Industrial control has been thrown into the melting pot, we repeat. The unions have been sacrificed. To keep up the illusion of industrial peace wages have been cut, an editorial in REVOLT says on this: "The political manoeuvring of P. H. McCarthy, his service to the masters in insisting that the members of the building trades accept employment at wages far below the scale (in many cases 40 per cent below), for the sake of maintaining industrial peace, as a political asset for 'P. H.' have contributed in considerable measure to the startling and significant vote for Open Shop Treadwell." This last was a candidate who ran solely on the "Open Shop" plank and received a vote of about ten thousand.

In other words the supposed Union Labor Party was conducted by big business for the political and industrial advantage of big business. When it ceased to serve that purpose it was killed. In fact the whole arrangement was a big business arrangement and McCarthy knew it, and, seemingly, always has known it, as appears from the following extract from his "Statement to the Public" already quoted:

"Far from being discouraged or downcast by this election the sponsors for labor's cause can discern in the future a more distinct victory than ever. When Big Business defeats Labor, Big Business merely postpones the day of universal enlightenment and a consequent reckoning for itself."

The result of the election therefore as breaking up the kind of combination which the Union Labor Party represented is a matter of congratulation.

The Socialists of the proletarian stripe have every reason to be proud of the result. The votes shows a gain of two hundred per cent over any previous campaign; the general average is over three hundred per cent higher according to REVOLT. The totals range from 3,800 to 7,000, and in the case of the city attorney the combined vote of the S. P. and S. L. P. reached 9,000.

McDevitt's remarks on this point are most pertinent and should be kept in mind whenever political conditions in San Francisco are discussed. He says:

"When all parties here are for municipal ownership and the initiative and referendum and kindred 'progressive reforms,' labeled in some very notorious cities as 'Socialism,' one may readily see why the NOMINAL or apparent Socialist vote is so small; but the fact remains that this election proves, what I have often affirmed, that San Francisco is the most advanced city, politically, in this country. And when Mayor McCarthy in his hour of defeat penned (or probably signed), the notable manifesto to which I referred above, and which is a more radical class platform than any Socialist Mayor (not excepting Seidel), was ELECTED upon, he realized that a new political era had dawned, the era of the real LABOR POLITICS, the politics of the MILITANT working class, the era of defiant proletarian politics, the era of a STALWART SOCIALIST PARTY."

If it were not Socialist "bad form" to indulge in praise or to single out persons for special mention in the great fight, the revolutionary element and some of its personnel should be more fully discussed and the really marvellous results which they have

received with shamefully slender resources shown for the benefit of the proletariat at large. The fight has been most bitter; it has required tremendous sacrifices in time and energy, and the writer is all the more open in saying this in that he has had no personal share in it. It would not have been carried through without REVOLT, that wonderful little paper, which, springing out of nothing ("from the gutter," say its enemies), and with no visible means of support, yet contrives to pay its weekly bills and to spread the revolutionary doctrine in the state. To *Revolt* and the little group behind it is due the San Francisco result.

To the opportunists in the movement no thanks are to be given. They stood behind McDevitt, knife in hand, ready to stab him as soon as they could effectually do so. They were not clever enough to conceal their intentions. They only masked their hatred under a guise of indifference. Slighted by comrades who were pledged to support him in the fight, covertly (not so covertly, either), sneered at by speakers who suggested that union men had better vote for McCarthy, with every obstacle placed in his way which design could manufacture, and everything left undone which criminal neglect could omit, he stood out the strong man of the whole campaign, the standard-bearer who had led the proletarian hosts in the hardest and in some respects the dirtiest fight in which they had ever engaged.

The evil devices of the opportunists were, however, not allowed a chance of success, as the complete defeat of McCarthy at the primary prevented the consummation of that treason, of which the "International Socialist Review" gave warning last spring.

DIRECT ACTION: Any class conscious action by the working class or any of its constituent groups to secure immediate gain through aggressive collective use of instrumentalities already in their control, without waiting to first conquer political power.

living on it, what are the other three children going to do? It is as evident that the average farmer should be as much interested in the progress of the working class as any other worker.

Great and greater machines mean ever greater and greater farms. Nowadays it requires so much knowledge and such great executive ability to run a farm that there must be sub-division of labor. No one man could know enough to raise first-class grain, fruits, vegetables, poultry and animals in a scientific manner. Each of these departments of farming constitutes a science and an art in itself. The people who do the farming under Socialism will partake of all the great benefits of social progress. When one machine plows an acre of soil in a little more than four minutes, why should a man plow all day?

Why shouldn't he plow a little in the morning and then go to a picnic? This the workers could do, couldn't they, if they owned the machines?

That is what we mean to do under Socialism, work less and live more.

Ten years ago a few farmers were being educated to Socialism through books. Today thousands are being driven to it by machines. But, not many of them see it until they have lost their land. Socialism is the only hope of the farm worker. It means an end of tenant farming. The farmers who are now overworked and poverty-stricken will farm collectively, using the most improved machines, so that the products of their labor will be greatly multiplied and their working hours reduced from twelve and sixteen to an average of three or four hours a day.

OUR BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION

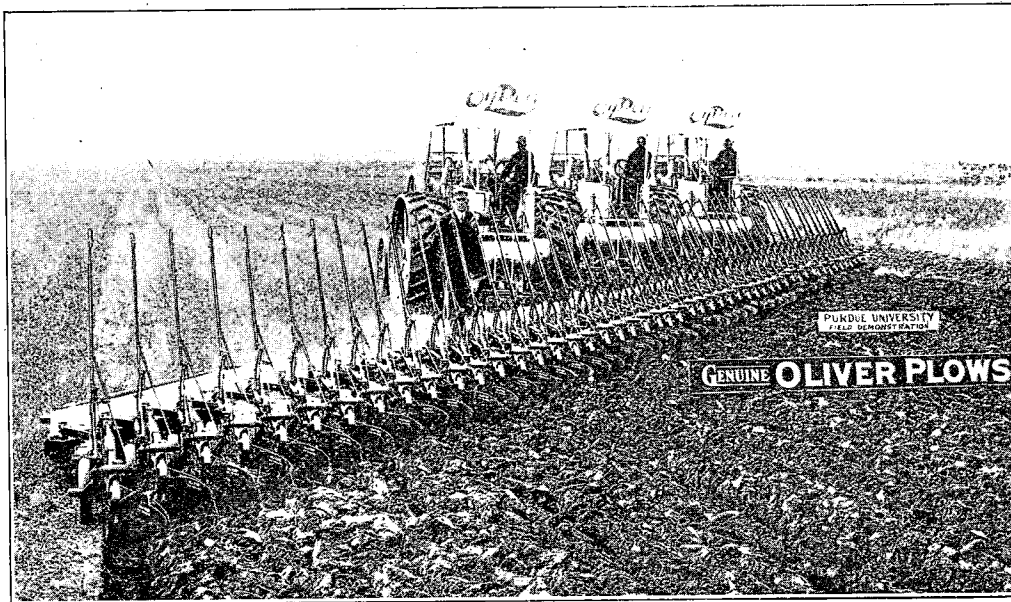
BY

JAMES ONEAL

STUDENTS of the economic causes of the American Revolution have frequently pointed out that the acts of the British Parliament aiming to prohibit the development of colonial industry arrayed nearly all the sections of the American employing class against the British rulers. It was a bourgeois revolution which, when successful, enabled our early capitalists to proceed with the development of capital and exploit labor in a more efficient way.

This view is a correct one, as a careful study will show. But there was another factor at work, or rather, another grievance, which many of the planters and employing class felt keenly—a grievance which, so far as I know, no historian has yet pointed out, though it is known to them all. This was the effect which the Stamp Act had on the relations between the masters and the white men and women whom they held as contract slaves for a term of years. These were the "indentured servants" and "re-

demptioners," who were bound to employers for terms of servitude and were classed as slaves with the blacks in the colonies. Some sold themselves to pay their passage to the New World; some were kidnapped in European ports and sold in American colonies; some were convicts shipped from England, and still others were sold by our "fathers," as in the case of poor workers, who were unable to pay fines. These white slaves constituted a large source of servile labor in the colonies south of New England. Prof. Bruce, in his recent great work, "The Institutional History of Virginia," has shown that in Virginia owners of white women laborers often violated them, and if the woman gave birth to a child, the master had two advantages. The unfortunate girl, if convicted of bastardy, was punished by having her term of service doubled, while her child also became the servant of the master. In chapters three and four of my little book, "The Workers in American History," I have dealt with this system of



SOCIALISM AND THE FARMER

BY

JOHN FOWLER

FOR twenty-five years one of the arguments against Socialism has been that it has no message for the farmers. Here were millions of good Americans, hard working, a great proportion of them in poverty, who were looking for a third party. Now what would the Socialist Party say to them? Would they ask of it bread and get a stone?

The above picture answers the question. The farmers don't have to wait for Socialism to get the stones. They are getting them right now, thrown at their heads by the big capitalists who are going into farming with machines like the one we here portray.

What can the small farmer with fifty acres of land or even a hundred and fifty acres do with a machine which runs sixty plows at once? How can he compete with a man who owns this machine? And why should he work his limbs stiff and addle his head scheming how to exist in a world

where work can be done so easily? Why not have the great agricultural areas of this country owned by the public? And why should not the harvests be sown and reaped by workers who get the equivalent of their full product?

The great plow we see pictured above is to the farmer what the rapid fire gun is to a crowd of strikers in a city. Before this weapon of the great capitalists, the forces of the farmers will break and run. Their children will not inherit their properties. If they should, they can only sell them out to the great land holders and lose their small sums in some other competitive business. At least half of the children of the farmers are going to the city where they become over-worked, under-paid and under-fed wage slaves.

The idea of telling a small farm owner who has four children that he should not be interested in Socialism! Suppose that one of his sons could take the farm and make a

white slave labor at some length, and cannot enlarge on it here.

Now the Acts of Parliament taxed colonial industries so heavily that they amounted to a practical restriction, which in turn made the incomes to be derived from white indentured service uncertain. But a few clauses in the Stamp Act struck at this system of servile labor and demoralized it. Yet in all the discussion and denunciations of the "tyranny" of the Stamp Act by historians one will look in vain for any reference to the most significant clauses that stirred up the wrath of those living on the labor of white bondmen and bondwomen. The Navigation Acts made investments in white slaves hazardous, and the returns from their labor uncertain. The speculators in white flesh, known as "soul drivers," could not but feel resentful that their incomes were also disturbed.

The Stamp Act of 1765 contained clauses which affected the gains of those interested in the traffic, either as dealers or purchasers. Among other things the Act provided that the full sums of money, or other considerations agreed upon between masters and servants, shall be correctly entered upon the contracts, and the date of signing be given. Violation of the clause subjected the offender to a forfeit of double the sum, or other considerations agreed upon. Masters or mistresses may be sued at any time during the term specified in the contracts for violation of the law and such violation rendered such contracts void. If masters or mistresses failed to pay the stamp duties on contracts within a specified time the servant was allowed to pay a double duty, and in case the master or mistress failed to re-

imburse the servant within three months on demand, the servant could sue for recovery of the amount. The payment of the double duty by servants also released them from all obligations specified in the contracts; they were "discharged from all actions, penalties, forfeitures and damages, for not serving the time for which they were respectively bound, contracted for, or agreed to serve." Any printer, stationer or other persons who sold blank forms for contracts without them containing a printed warning stating that they must bear date of execution, the terms agreed upon, that duty on same is paid and a receipt given on back of contract by the distributor of stamps, or his substitute, was liable to prosecution and to forfeit the sum of ten pounds.

One may easily see how this act struck at the entire system of indentured service and the traffic in white serfs. Not that its enforcement would overthrow it, but that it placed obstacles in the way of falsifying indentures, taxed the system, and gave the opportunity for many servants to be released from service when their owners evaded the duties placed on the indentures. The Act, for these reasons, must have been a powerful agent in transforming the masters, who held white laborers in servitude, into rebels. Yet historians have systematically concealed this fact and emphasized other features of the Stamp Act that were far less important to the employing classes of the colonies. But such is "history," as it is written in the text books. A bourgeois revolution has received a bourgeois interpretation; the truth will yet be revealed by Socialist historians.

TO-DAY'S VICTORY AND TO-MORROW'S BATTLE

By

FRANK BOHN

WE can never fully prepare our minds for a great epoch-making event. When the fact and its results crowd upon us we are sure to be more or less bewildered. No word picture can take from the life-long dweller in the valley his surprise upon first viewing the world from the hilltop.

On November 8, the whole nation realized for the first time that a new epoch in our political life had come. During the past eighteen months a number of western cities had been carried, but these earlier Socialist victories were never treated very seriously east of the Allegheny Mountains. Anyway, it was nothing but a "passing flurry," a "freakish eruption," which would soon subside. But for several days following this last election, the capitalist press of the country was thrown into a panic. The New York Times printed columns of matter expressing the universal amazement of its Wall street and Fifth avenue supporters. Practically every great New York and Chicago paper contained editorials, some of them several, written to keep up the courage of their readers. Merely saying that it would not amount to anything, that it would soon pass by, that it was due to political corruption, to weariness of the old parties—such statements as these they knew would no longer satisfy their readers. Like drowning men grasping for straws they cast about for explanations. A scrap-book filled with these editorials from the capitalist papers would make the funniest kind of reading twenty years from now.

It is impossible here to reprint all the names of the successful candidates or even of the cities in which the victories occurred. Possibly the most significant were the landslide in Schenectady and the victory in Rhode Island. The Schenectady success we anticipated, but no one dared even to hope that the majority

would be so great and the number of officials elected so large. In Rhode Island the Socialist party has not been strong. The promising movement which had developed in that state twelve years ago was for a time almost wholly destroyed by factionalism. During the past three years it has again developed. Old veterans have again joined the ranks. The election of Comrade Reid to the Assembly followed a season of very steady and effective work on the part of the whole membership of Rhode Island. Rhode Island is one of the few states which will be carried soon—that is within five years.

In Ohio nine cities elected Socialist mayors and its capital city of Columbus secured four Socialist aldermen. In Hamilton, Ohio, which has a population of 32,000, we elected a majority in the city council. Ohio, with this list of political victories, 10,000 dues-paying party members, and with the largest general vote last year, now is well in the lead among the states. Yet the size of the party in Ohio is less important than its splendid quality. Three cities in Utah elected mayors. Finally, in New Castle, Pa., where the Socialist party local has been struggling desperately for over two years to preserve its very life, our hard-pressed comrades completely routed the enemy. The other states deserving mention are Massachusetts, which elected a member to the Legislature; Minnesota, where the city of Crookston, with a population of 8,000, elected a mayor, and Washington, which greatly increased its vote and where several officials were elected.

Our victory was thus nation-wide and came in those states and cities where the organization most deserved success.

From now on the Socialist party will be treated seriously in every part of the country. Its literature will be sought and its argument will command attention. The greatest practical result from this

election will be propaganda. The newspaper attention the party received during the week following the election was as effective as the placing of several leaflets in each home in the United States. In factories and mines, in homes and at social gatherings, Socialism has since the election been a universal subject for discussion.

The second notable result of the election is its effect upon the party membership. Amid our seventy-five thousand new members are tens of thousands who have worked five years, and thousands who have worked ten years or more. These have been upheld by the faith in the cause which, however lasting and vital it may be, deserves and requires a measure of success. Without an occasional thrill of victory, any army will lose in numbers and spirit. The Socialist party is now a hundred thousand strong. This host will move forward with lighter feet and gayer hearts. Victory after victory finally makes defeat impossible even to imagine.

Finally we know of no place where victory resulted from a campaign unworthy of our cause. Everywhere our fundamental position was emphasized. The electors were urged to vote not for the candidate but for Socialism. The Socialist voters were made to understand that victory in a municipality or state would be nothing but a step toward our goal. Judging by the reports of Charles H. Kerr & Company the demand for the soundest Socialist literature has been steadily increasing. In the cities where we won victories our party was not afraid to circulate the works of Marx and Kautsky, of Lafargue and Debs. It is notable that Schenectady, the only city carried in New York, and New Castle, the only city carried in Pennsylvania, were both strongholds of industrial unionism. The workers in both of these cities have been made to understand by our propaganda the place of the party and the mission of the party in the development of Socialism.

1912—The Beginning of an Epoch.

Never since 1852 has such chaos reigned in American political parties. Neither of the parties of capitalism is a coherent body. The voters of no class, neither plutocracy, middle class or workers,

bear a political label. They will vote any ticket that seems most likely to serve their interests. One of the amazing features of the election just past occurred in one of the rock-ribbed Democratic states of the "Solid South." There so many voters, disgusted with both factions of the Democratic party, voted the Socialist ticket that they came near electing the head of the ticket to a state office. Who would have imagined such a situation five years ago? Our comrades in Mississippi would probably be the first to acknowledge that this vote was not solid. But it clearly shows a marked tendency. The old parties upon breaking up will probably make room—not for one radical party, but two radical parties—the two outbidding each other in advocacy of social reforms. An ultra-conservative party cannot exist in the United States. Unless they can get votes capitalist politicians will not go after them. Both of these parties will be as radical as necessary to get the votes when out of office. When in office they will be as conservative as possible and still keep a majority of the votes. The one thing upon which all capitalist politicians are agreed is the necessity of swindling the working class when out of office and grafting on the capitalist class when in office. Amid this whirlpool of conflicting interests we see the bona-fide representatives of the middle class like La Follette, Cummings and Garfield, and tricky soldiers of fortune like Hearst and Roosevelt agitating, organizing and grasping for power. The campaign of 1912 will very much resemble the campaign of 1852, but it will undoubtedly close with the most tremendous political upheaval since 1860.

Through this wilderness of crooked paths the Socialist party takes up its march with the purpose of making a straight way for the working class. It may receive two million votes; possibly it may get but a million. Quite likely the number will be half way between these two. That doesn't much matter. It will elect more mayors and legislatures and a number of congressmen. Neither is that of the greatest importance. Any worker in the party who has seen it in different sections of the country at close range and

who has come into intimate contact with its membership knows that its present organization and work are as sound as its fundamental principles. In 1912 the party

cannot fail to take a long step forward. The facts have now proven what we have all along been saying—nothing can prevent our triumph in this generation.

THE PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION

FROM

McClure's Magazine and "Industrial Socialism"

In McClure's Magazine there has been running an important and interesting series of articles, entitled "Masters of Capital." The authors, Messrs. John Moody and George Kibbe Turner, describe very carefully the omnipotent empire of industry, which now overshadows America. The monopoly of banking is analyzed and the industrial power of the seven great rulers of Wall street is correctly gauged.

In an advance notice which appeared in the July McClure's the editor shows that he comprehends a further fact. He indicates the impotency of the political state in its attempts, hitherto, to control the "Masters of Capital." In their future articles, it is stated, Messrs. Moody and Turner will deal with this matter.

Their complete failure to find a solution for the problem they have so well stated is foreshadowed in the editorial note which we reprint below. "Two great social organizations," says the editor of McClure's, "now confront each other in the United States—political democracy and the corporation." This is the point of view of the perishing middle class.

Following the article from McClure's, we reprint a few paragraphs from "Industrial Socialism," a booklet written by William D. Haywood and Frank Bohn. This states the position of the class-conscious workers with reference to the industrial empire of modern America and its masters. The two quotations will show that the class-conscious elements of both the middle class and working class understand the nature of the industrial empire, and are alike opposed to the industrial tyranny which it creates. But the middle class would "control" it through the power of the political state, while the revolutionary workers would make an end of industrial empire by taking possession of its industrial powers and creating an industrial republic. The "State Socialism," mentioned by McClure's, follows naturally from political control. "Industrial Socialism" is a totally different matter. These two ideas are now in conflict, the exponents of each equally determine to organize the working class against the "Masters of Capital." The immediate outcome is by no means certain.—Editor International Socialist Review.

MASTERS OF CAPITAL.

(From McClure's Magazine.)

OUR GOVERNMENT AND THE CENTRAL MONOPOLY OF CAPITAL.

TWO great social organizations now confront each other in the United States—political democracy and the corporation. Both are yet new,—developments, in their present form, of the past two hundred years,—and the laws of neither are understood. The entire social and economic history of the world is now shaping itself around the struggle for dominance between them.

The article by John Moody and George Kibbe Turner in the June McClure's, "How Morgan Built the 'Money Power,'" is a clear statement of the tendency of corporate power toward autocracy, and the startling distance that has been traveled in this country toward an ultimate monopoly—the control in a single central group of the great existing corporate properties of this country, and the power of creating new ones.

The problem presented by this situation is the most difficult that any modern nation has faced; and the odds, up to the present time, have all been with the corporations. Property settles by economic law in strong hands; it has unlimited rewards for service, and the greatest power in the world—the power of food and drink, life and death—over mankind. Corporate property in the last twenty years has been welded into an instrument of almost infinite power, concentrated in the hands of a very few and very able men.

The power of the political State—which must cope with this—is diffused to the

highest possible degree. The control of corporate capital is becoming a unit; its operations and interests cover the whole country. The management and direction of popular government, so far as this greatest of all its problems is concerned, is in the hands of half a hundred minor, independent States, each with only a partial knowledge and interest in the matter.

This type of organization is not only absurdly incompetent, as an instrument, to deal with the organization opposed to it; but the personnel of the bodies of men which it enlists in its service is notoriously and necessarily inferior.

Sooner or later the so far unchecked tendency toward monopoly in the United States must be met squarely by the American people. The fact, now clearly apparent, is that the industrial operations and general resources of the country are already far on their way toward a central control. No one great industry or resource is absolutely controlled by any one corporation or individual. But all fundamental resources, and all industries capable of forming a unit, are being drawn together toward monopoly control; and these units are being concentrated again, as has been shown by Messrs. Moody and Turner, in a central monopoly in the great security and money market of New York.

The problem of the relation of the State and the corporation is now the chief question of the world. In Europe the State is relatively much stronger; in America the corporation. In Europe the movement toward State Socialism—the collective ownership and operation of the machinery of industry and transportation—is far on its way; in America we are moving to control the corporation by political instruments, such as State boards and the Interstate Commerce Commission.

How long will the power of governmental control over the great national industrial corporations be divided, as it is now, between these half hundred provinces, established under the industrial conditions of the eighteenth century?

If it remains there does any grown man question the ultimate result of the struggle between corporate monopoly and government?

And if corporate centralization of power continues unchecked, what is the next great popular agitation to be in this country? For State Socialism?

FROM "INDUSTRIAL SOCIALISM,"
BY HAYWOOD AND BOHN.

The Trusts Are Governments of Industry.—We have seen that the trusts grow naturally—that it cannot be otherwise. They can never be destroyed. There would in fact be only one possible way of making an end to them. That would be to smash the largest machines of production and the great railway systems. The trouble is not that we have trusts. The workers' condition comes from the fact that the trusts are owned and governed by a few people. Very often they are dominated by one man. Thus Morgan governs the Steel Trust. Morgan can make a law increasing the hours or decreasing the wages. He can prevent the workers from protecting themselves in the factories and thus kill and injure thousands of them. In fact, 560 steel workers were killed in the mills of Pittsburg in a single year.

THE INDUSTRIAL EMPIRE OF AMERICA.

We have compared the trust to an industrial state. Many states make up the Nation. In the same way many trusts compose our present great nation of industry. The trusts are rapidly organizing into one great system. So the Nation is coming to be governed as an empire. J. Pierpont Morgan is now the chief ruler of this empire. He is the emperor of the trusts. Under him there are kings and dukes who rule separate trusts and corporations. This great government of industry is said, upon very good authority, to have brought on the panic of 1907 in order to seize several great corporations which were fighting it. During this panic it grabbed hundreds of small businesses.

No capitalist, even though he might possess ten millions or twenty millions of money, can today start any new business of his own unless he goes to Wall Street, appears at court, and gets the consent of the Emperor of America. Whatever small separate industries exist, still remain alive because the industrial

empire does not wish to crush them out too fast. To do this would be to raise a cry of revolt among the middle class. Until now the workers have been so enslaved, so helpless, so deadened, that the Wall Street magnates have not even thought of their opposition seriously. But it would not do to go too far and too fast. So some small business men are still permitted to enjoy a hand-to-mouth existence.

The Industrial Empire and the Government at Washington.—Morgan and his associates on Wall Street use the government at Washington as a tool to serve their ends. They rightly despise the President, the members of the Supreme Court and Congress, for these politicians are far beneath them in power and importance. What laws Wall Street wants are passed. In case of a strike, the governor of a state is used to control the militia and crush the strike. The federal and state judges issue injunctions, that is, they make such new laws as the trusts want. The powers of the separate states are usually quite strong enough to deal with the divided and blinded working class. But if these do not suffice, then the powers of the National Government are used. Grover Cleveland, a Democratic President, broke the great A. R. U. strike in 1894. Theodore Roosevelt, a Republican President, broke the Goldfield Miners' strike in 1907. The Republican state of Pennsylvania has established a standing army of its own in order to have it ready to shoot working people. The Democratic legislature of Florida, in the spring of 1911, refused to pass a law forbidding the employment of children under eight years of age. All the Democratic and Republican officials, from dog-catcher to President, are but the hired agents of the empire of industry.

Thus the trusts control the army, the navy, the police, the political government, the schools, the press, the church, and even the theaters. The industrial empire is a power with its forces encamped in every city and state of the land, armed not only with the weapons which slay the body, but also with those mightier weapons which destroy the free mind of the working class.

Political States Merged by Industry.—The separate states of the United States have long since ceased to be needed. At one time the people of different states were widely separated because it took so long to travel from one to another. Now they are connected by railroads, the telegraph, the postoffice and by the trusts and labor unions. An old-fashioned farmer would inherit his father's farm and leave it to his son. His family were permanent citizens of the state in which he lived. But the members of the working class move from state to state in search of employment, caring little in which one they happen to be. Let us say that a worker is employed by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. His employer is the state of which he is a member, and which governs him. He may live in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, or any of six other political states. As a trainman he goes through them but does not recognize their boundaries.

Similarly, a worker for the Grand Trunk Railway in Canada may live in Michigan, Ontario or New York. But the place of his residence is not important at all when compared with the province of the Grand Trunk system to which he is subject. The great Smelter Trust extends its operations from the United States into Canada and Mexico. Canada and Mexico are parts of the American industrial empire. The Western Federation of Miners has more locals in British Columbia than in any American state. Members of the W. F. of M. go back and forth over the Canadian border, working often for the same trusts on both sides of the line and supporting always the same union. So with Industrial Socialism. It will recognize no political boundary lines. To the working class there is no foreigner but the capitalist.

Industrial Unionism.—At the present time practically the whole American working class accepts the principles of industrial unionism. All agree that the workers should have *one big union*. All are coming to agree that this union must more and more control industry, until finally it rules and administers the industries of the Nation. Everywhere the idea arouses intense enthusiasm. The growth and progress of industrial organization it-

self must soon follow. Once united, industrially and politically, and resolved to make an end of wage slavery, nothing can prevent the final victory of the workers.

The Industrial Republic.—The workers' government of the future will realize Socialism. No government is created in a day. Any new system of society, with its peculiar government, must grow through many years to its final and perfected form. In this Socialism cannot be different from other forms of government. Socialism cannot be realized until the workers, through their industrial government, own and manage the means of production. This government is now developing—in the workshops, of course. Wherever the organized workers gain partial control over the shop in which they work, we have the growth of industrial democracy. If the workers have been employed twelve hours a day and they force their employer to grant them the ten-hour day, they are passing an important law of the shop. That law springs from the power of the workers to govern the shop.

Suppose that the workers of the whole Nation demanded and enforced the eight-hour day. That would be a mightier law in the interest of the working class than all the laws ever passed by Congress and the state legislatures.

With the growth of the organized industrial and political power of the work-

ers, the class struggle will become ever keener. The government of the capitalists will make war on the workers. The battle will rage throughout the land, in every city and town, in every shop and mine. It will continue until the workers are strong enough to gain complete control of the Nation's industries. **THE TRUST IS ORGANIZED INDUSTRY. THE LABOR UNION WILL BECOME ORGANIZED INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY.**

The Message of the Socialist Party.—

First, it must lay hold of all the powers of political government and prevent them from being used against the industrial organization of the workers.

Second, it must be the bearer of sound knowledge, using its great and growing organization to teach Socialism.

Third, it must use the governments of the cities to advance the social interests of the working class.

The Coming Freedom.—Socialism will establish democracy in the shop. Democracy in the shop will free the working class. The working class, through securing freedom for itself, will liberate the race. Socialism will free not only the slave but the slave-driver and the slave-owner. Socialism today makes war upon the enemies of the working class. When it is victorious, the enemies of the working class will embrace it. Peace and brotherhood will come with freedom.

EDITORIAL

The Socialist Victory.—A special article in this issue emphasizes the meaning of the recent Socialist victories. One very important consideration seems to have been omitted from this discussion. Why the many Socialist successes in small cities and towns and our apparent failure in the greater cities? In New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston we seem to have made but a beginning. The reasons for this, however, are evident upon reflection. By far the most important difference is the simple fact of proportion. A relatively small group of comrades may organize in a small town, go to work and in a few weeks place the Socialist proposition before every thinking inhabitant. A single large and successful meeting stirs the whole community. How different the situation in New York or Chicago. In the great metropolis there are few neighborhood acquaintances. A crowd leaves a great meeting and scatters its forces without making much impression upon the mass. A hundred influences which do not obtain in the smaller town distract the attention and use the time of the active Socialists as well as of the workers generally. No purely local causes explain the backwardness of the movement in our great cities. Generally speaking the problems of Socialist organization increase relatively with the population of the city.

The Strike in Schenectady.—With the news of our splendid victory in the highly organized industrial city of Schenectady comes the report of a strike in the Schenectady plant of the Locomotive Trust. The incoming Socialist mayor, Comrade Lunn, will thus take office in the face of conditions which will try his metal to the uttermost. The question will come up at once—How far will a Socialist city administration be allowed to proceed in physically protecting the workers on strike? Suppose the trust closes down its Schenectady plant and transfers the orders to Erie, Pa., or to the Baldwin Works at Philadelphia. Suppose it attempts to overawe the government of Schenectady through the injunction and the power of the state. Whatever happens, the fight is on. The youthful Socialist Party is being tested. Our Schenectady organization is one of the soundest and strongest in the land. To its rank and file and to its newly elected officials, compromise of principle is unthinkable. The fiercer the fighting in Schenectady the greater the vote in New York State next year. Through victory or defeat the locomotive strikers will go on to ever greater and stronger industrial organization. In the shop as at the ballot box the workers want nothing so much as to fight the enemy.

The Forces Back of Insurgency.—About the elements of this coming social conflagration now at hand the forces of reform are sputtering and blowing in their last pathetic effort to put out the fire. Two hundred people—po-

litical failures and other odds and ends—assembled in Chicago on a bleak autumn day for the purpose of fixing up the fences of Mr. La Follette. In its way the meeting was quite a success. The two hundred agreed that La Follette should be President. Some one said that Roosevelt sent his blessing. Maybe their hopes are not in vain. Let us suppose that La Follette is nominated and elected by the Republican Party.

The Fading of the Last Hope of Reform.—The bone and sinew of social reform in America is the discontent of five millions of poverty-stricken country voters and their families. The city-dweller, however well informed, has usually no conception whatever of the tremendous speed of the industrial revolution now taking place on the American farm. This number of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW contains an illustrated article which to some degree indicates the trend of affairs. Fortunately by far the greater portion of agricultural America is as flat as a table. Wherever wheels may go round the steam roller and the traction engine are now grinding the small farmer and his little tools into the very soil of which but yesterday he was the boasted proprietor. Let there be no mistake. No other portion of the American proletariat will fight the way these farmers will fight when their last fading hope of holding private property is gone. The Kentucky night riders have shown how much they care for "law and order." Ten years ago some otherwise pretty well informed Socialists declared that American Socialism must compromise with the small freeholder. Who would say so today? La Follette on his present platform might go in for four years and fail as Roosevelt has failed. Then the times will be ready for one more radical than La Follette.

The Increased Momentum of Socialist Progress.—Nothing human can control the forces making for Socialism. Our movement proceeds like a body falling toward the earth. A given time trebles its velocity and the same time again trebles it. It is increasing not arithmetically but geometrically. To be explicit. Twenty years ago Socialism was being advocated by a few German immigrants, a few intellectuals and a few freaks. Ten years ago, with the development of the western social democracy, it became in reality a movement, but its advocates were almost broken-hearted by the small vote of 1900. Five years ago we were still a struggling group of enthusiasts with our hopes sustained by the truths of science. Then, one, two, three, came the mighty blows which made for our cause—the rise in prices, the panic of 1907, the utter failure of Rooseveltism, and finally the taste of victory in half a dozen western cities. These victories meant wide public attention coupled with an enthusiastic gathering together of our own forces. The Socialist Party could

no longer be ignored. Ten Socialists instead of one in a Schenectady shop or a Butte mine or on an Ohio railroad, were made not ten times more effective, but a hundred times more effective in their propaganda. In the face of a great popular demonstration opposition weakens. The enthusiasm of a host wins the minds which facts could not educate. In America the unity of the working class is

all that is needed. Ignorant and tricky opposition to the Socialist movement has failed and our brutal plutocracy will not dare make war upon a united working class. Let us not misunderstand ourselves. The thrill of enthusiasm for a cause is the greatest of all educators. We have entered the transition period. Prophecies are idle. The facts do not require them. We now face the crisis.

BLANKET STIFF PHILOSOPHY.

By William D. Haywood.

A shorter day means bigger pay.

* * *

An aristocrat of labor is a step-brother of the Rich.

* * *

An officer of the law is a walking delegate of Capitalism.

* * *

The pick, the shovel and the hammer are mightier than the pen, the sword and the cross.

* * *

An Industrialist is class conscious. A pure and simple trade unionist is only craft conscious.

* * *

The dear "Public" is a mysterious element in society neither fish, flesh nor fowl, laborers nor capitalists.

* * *

Every demand of the workers in the shop is an effort to twist the ownership of the tool out of the hands of the boss.

* * *

A Trust means less competition and more dividends. One Big Union means less competition among workers for jobs and bigger wages.

* * *

Reciprocity: A contract wherein the capitalists of two nations shake hands and agree upon a mutual system for robbing the producers.

* * *

Rags make paper. Paper makes money; money makes banks; banks make loans, loans make interest; interest makes poverty and poverty makes rags.

* * *

The workers being interdependent, they should organize as the capitalists have assembled them in the industries. Today the workers are divided according to position, name or shape of the machinery they use.

* * *

When you face an injunction and do not know how to win—take out the j, that stands for jails and judges; the c that means courts and cruelty; the t, that stands for trials and tragedies, and the answer will be found in the letters that remain—IN UNION.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

England.—The British Socialist Party.—A united, revolutionary Socialist party with 35,000 members. This is the splendid result of the conference held at Manchester on September 30 and October 1. It is a result long yearned toward by thousands of loyal comrades. Time and again has the Social Democratic Party tried to bring it about, but always without success.

It is safe to say that there is more "floating Socialism" in England than in any other land on the face of the earth. It was in England that for the first time in the modern world labor unions became a great social force. It was in England that utopian Socialism first became a formidable challenge to capitalist society. And in England as much as anywhere the propaganda of scientific Socialism has been carried on with vigor and devotion. Nevertheless until within the past month, there has been in England, no organization clear enough in principle and strong enough in numbers to be ranked alongside the Socialist parties of Germany and France. The Independent Labor Party has been bound hand and foot by its alliance with non-Socialist organizations in the Labor Party. The Social Democratic party has consistently stood for independent, revolutionary political action by the working-class. As Comrade Quelch expressed it at Manchester, this is "the one national Socialist organization which under no circumstances has bowed the knee to Baal or lowered the red flag." This is a proud statement, but a true one. Nevertheless, the S. D. P. has failed to get hold of the working-class of England. Besides these there have been the Fabians, a little group of brilliant, middle-class propagandists; the groups of Clarionettes, organized by Blatchford's great paper, the Clarion; and a host of independent local organizations. Under the circumstances it is little wonder that hundreds of individual comrades did not care to ally themselves with any organization.

At its annual conference last Easter, the S. D. P. took the step which has led to Socialist unity. It authorized its executive council to invite other Socialist bodies to take part in a unity conference. Finally a call was sent out signed by a goodly number of organizations, and the Manchester conference was the result. The following account of the make-up of the conference is taken from Justice: "There was probably a larger number of organized Socialists represented at Manchester, than has ever been represented at a purely Socialist gathering in England before. The I. L. P. was not officially represented as a national body, neither was the Fabian Society; but I. L. P. branches sent 41 delegates; Clarion clubs and groups were represented by 32 delegates; there were 12 delegates from the scarcely formed British Socialist Party; 86 from the S. D. P.; and 48 from various local Socialist societies and representation committees, making a total of 219 delegates, representing an aggregate membership of 35,000. Other delegates had been appointed, making the number 251, but these were unable to attend, and messages expressing agreement with the conference were received from 18 I. L. P. branches, 4 Clarion groups, and 3 Socialist societies, who were unable to send delegates." It will be seen from this account that there was represented at Manchester the great body of crystallized Socialist opinion in England.

Comrade H. M. Hyndman was unanimously chosen chairman of the conference. Under his leadership the delegates did their work in a spirit of heartiest good comradeship. In the short space of two days they adopted a program and set in motion the machinery for the formation of the new party. The task of drawing up a constitution was left in the hands of a committee of ten with Hyndman as chairman. As soon as the action of the conference has been ratified by the bodies represented the organizations taking part will naturally go out of existence.

Readers of the REVIEW will be chiefly interested in the attitude of the Manchester conference toward the problems which the labor world is facing. They will ask, "Is the new party to be an uncompromising, revolutionary one? And, on the other hand, what is policy with regard to the organization of labor on the economic field?"

The answers to these questions are very clear. There was little boggling with terms at Manchester. Comrade H. Quelch, for the Executive Council of the S. D. P., introduced the following resolution: "This conference of Socialist organizations, believing that the difference of opinion and the adoption of dissimilar tactics which have hitherto characterized the various sections of the British Socialist movement, have arisen from circumstances peculiar to its initial stages, is convinced that the time is now ripe for the formation of a united Socialist party, and the delegates pledge their organizations to co-operate in the unification of their forces on the following basis of common agreement:

"The Socialist Party is the political expression of the working-class movement, acting in closest co-operation with the industrial organizations for the socialization of the means of production and distribution—that is to say, the transformation of capitalist society into a collectivist or communist society. Alike in its objects, its ideals, and in the means employed, the Socialist Party, though striving for the realization of immediate social reforms demanded by the working-class, is not a reformist, but a revolutionary party, which recognizes that social freedom and equality can only be won by fighting the class war through to a finish, and thus abolishing forever all class distinctions."

Two amendments designed to tone this resolution down by omitting reference to the class-struggle were lost by large majorities. Most significant, however, was an amendment offered by an I. L. P. representative, G. Moore Bell. Comrade Bell moved to drop from the resolution the words, "though striving for the realization of immediate social reforms demanded by the working-class." This amendment was energetically supported

by H. Russel Smart, a Fabian, who said he knew from experience the deterioration which goes on in an organization which loses sight of its revolutionary ideal and devotes itself to social reform. The amendment was carried.

Comrade Leonard Hall moved an amendment which forced the conference to take up the matter of industrial unionism. He proposed to drop the passage after the words a "revolutionary party which," and insert "working by revolutionary and industrial tactics supplemented by a political action for the abolition of all class distinctions and the establishment of freedom and equality." This amendment, it will be seen, throws the emphasis on the industrial, rather than on the political, movement. In support of this Victor Grayson said that while fearless obstructionists were needed in Parliament, English Socialists must immediately concentrate upon the industrial field. The recent upheaval, he went on, had done more to educate the workers than any number of propaganda lectures. The amendment was lost.

With the single change, then, involved in dropping out the reference to "immediate demands" the resolution of Comrade Quelch was unanimously adopted.

The conference had, however, another opportunity to go on record in regard to industrial unionism. A resolution was introduced "that the United Socialist Party take part officially in the organization of the various workers on the lines of organization of industry." This resolution was lost. Comrade Quelch speaking against it, expressed what was probably the conviction of the majority. As reported in Justice he said, "that they had agreed to act in closest co-operation with the industrial organizations, but they required to be very chary about pledging themselves to what was called industrial action. He did not think that was their concern. In view of recent events they were forced to the conclusion that the industrial movement was far ahead of the political movement among the working-class, and it was therefore their great work to bring the political movement abreast of the industrial movement."

It appears from these resolutions and discussions that the British Socialist

Party takes at the outset practically the same position as that occupied by our own Socialist Party. As to industrial unionism its expressions of opinion sound like echoes of those we heard last year at the Chicago Congress. In the matter of "immediate demands," our British comrades are more clearly revolutionary than we have ever been. In the matter of numbers they are practically our equals. Thirty-five thousand in England is almost equivalent to a hundred thousand in the United States. And the British Socialist Party has hopes of reaching the hundred thousand mark in the near future.

All of this is the best news in the world. And it is especially welcome to us here in America. Socialists are not likely to sentimentalize in the blood-is-thicker-than-water vein. But it is beyond question that everything that takes place over there is soon re-echoed here. The apparent predominance of the Labor Party has been one of the chief sources of strength behind the movement to start a similar party here. Similarly, it is to be hoped, a strong, revolutionary Socialist movement in England will strengthen clean-cut, uncompromising Socialism in this country.

Italy, Bankruptcy of the Reformists.—

The war against Tripoli is having one good result. It has forced the reformist leaders of the Italian Socialist Party to follow their theory to its logical conclusion. And now reformism faces defeat within the Socialist ranks. Its fate has been brought about, not by revolutionary arguments, but by the logic of facts. Reformism has practically defeated itself.

It will be remembered that at the last Italian party congress the reformists were in the lead, as, in fact they have been for many years past. Since then the Socialist group in the Italian parliament has systematically supported the government. In fact Comrade Bisolati was called into conference with the King and had a hand in making up the present ministry. He was invited to take a ministerial portfolio himself and finally refused merely because he thought he could be of more use to the government on the floor of the assembly than in the cabinet; he has

consistently maintained that it would have been perfectly right for him to enter a capitalist government as the representative of the working-class. The reason given by the Socialist members of parliament for supporting the government is the Prime Minister's promise to introduce as soon as possible a new suffrage law.

But the ruthless war against Tripoli has upset the best laid plans. It appears now that the Italian government had been making preparations for this war long before it was declared. In its methods of warfare, too, it is openly and unnecessarily brutal. Nevertheless the Socialist parliamentary group has not deserted the government. Many of its members do not approve of the war. Some of them do not approve of it because they think it will not pay. Others do not approve of it because they believe in the international solidarity of the working-class. But one and all have given the government their support. In defense of their action they say two things. In the first place, they maintain, this war is only a logical phase of capitalist development; there is no more reason for opposing it than there would be for opposing the development of trusts. In the second place, they argue, why should they endanger our new suffrage law for the sake of being on the right side in the matter of this miserable war?

Now unfortunately for the reformists the Italian Federation of Labor is more interested in preventing its members from being shot than it is in the passage of a new suffrage law. When war was declared the executive of the Federation, held a meeting at Bologna and called a twenty-four-hour general strike. This was done in response to the evident desire of the working-class itself. If the strike had not been called it would have taken place anyway. When the Socialist parliamentary group saw what was happening it met also and passed a rather wild resolution supporting the executive of the Federation in its action. From first to last, the executive of the Socialist Party did nothing at all.

The strike took place, and was a tremendous success. Of course it did not prevent the war. It was not designed to prevent it. It was called as a protest.

It was so effective that for twenty-four hours on September 26 and 27, all work and business was absolutely stopped in 125 Italian towns and cities. The enthusiasm exhibited by the working-class was overwhelming. Nowhere was there discoverable among the proletarians the slightest sympathy for the war.

In justice to Italian Socialism it must be said that this success was largely due to Socialists. The war was vigorously opposed by practically all Socialist papers. Almost to a man the members of the Socialist Party were among the strikers. Many of them were among its leaders. The rank and file of the party was against the war and did all that could be done to make the protest a success.

The effect of all this on the Socialist Party itself can be partly estimated by the special party congress held at Modena, October 15-17. It is not possible here to give an account of the groups which were represented or of the arguments which were made. Suffice it to say that it is perfectly clear that the revolutionary wing has gained in strength. At the congress held recently at Milan the revolutionists polled only 24 per cent of the vote; at Modena they polled 40 per cent. More than this, the great majority of the reformists declared themselves opposed to the systematic support of a capitalist government. That is to say, the majority of reformist leaders see clearly that their support of the war in Tripoli has opened the eyes of the working-class. Now that the working-class see where reformism leads to it is withdrawing its support. And any logical reformist is ready to change his mind when he finds that he no longer has the majority behind him.

So the Italian adventure in Tripoli has done much toward clarifying the Italian Socialist movement. The reformists in parliament have followed their theory to its logical conclusion and have found themselves supporting a bloody foreign war, a capitalist war of conquest. The rank and file of the Italian Socialist Party see the logical result of reformism and are about ready to decide that in the future they will have none of it.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

A Letter from William D. Haywood.

To the Members of the Socialist Party:

Comrades: Having accepted the nomination for membership of the National Executive Committee I feel it my duty to state to the membership of the party my position with reference to the functions of the Committee.

Conforming always to the provisions of the Socialist Party Constitution, the N. E. C. should not assume to be an Appellate or Supreme Court of the Party relative to matters of a local or personal nature.

It is also my view that the powers of Party management should not be centralized in the hands of the National Executive Committee. The N. E. C. is an executive committee. As a member of that body I would oppose its assumption of all legislative as well as judicial functions. These powers must rest with the membership of the Party.

The N. E. C. should act as a Bureau to collect information which would be useful in the propaganda and educational work of the Party.

As a candidate I do not wish to be elected under a misapprehension. The Socialist Party in conventions has proclaimed a neutral position as regards the labor movement. It is well known that this neutrality is not observed. There are members vigorous in their effort to co-operate with the decadent craft unions. The Socialist Party being a working class organization, it is my belief that our purpose will never be fully achieved until we carry to the working class the message of industrial unionism which means that the productive workers shall be organized as the capitalists have assembled them in the industries. Therefore the work directed by the National Committee and its executive committee should include the education of the working class to the end of industrial as well as political solidarity.

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD.

A Letter from Frank Bohn.

To the Members of the Socialist Party:

Comrades: The membership of the Socialist Party may at this time rightfully expect a statement from those who have accepted nominations for the National Executive Committee.

In my opinion a great many of the difficulties which of late have aroused turmoil within the party organization have been due to an error in administration. It was undoubtedly the intention of the party membership that the National Committee and not the National Executive Committee should be primarily responsible for the administration of the National Office. But the National Committee has not met and hence during years of inactivity has almost ceased to function. Therefore, the National Executive Committee, undoubtedly acting from a sense of

duty, has to a large extent taken upon itself the duties which the party membership intended that the National Committee should perform. If the National Committee will meet once, and perhaps twice, a year it will do away with the necessity of biennial party congresses and the National Executive Committee can then be left to fulfill its purely executive functions.

In so far as the National Executive Committee directs the national propaganda and organization work, it should be guided by certain fundamental principles.

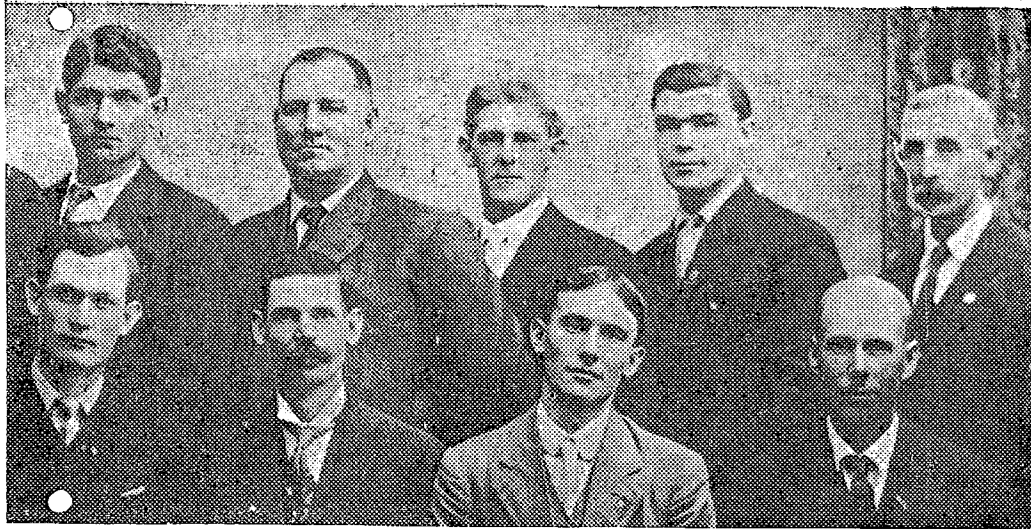
During the coming year we shall witness the almost complete break-down of the Democratic and Republican party organizations. Already hopelessly divided, the organizations of the two capitalist parties will undoubtedly further disintegrate. There will be formed either from within or without these parties a new radical party which will voice the interests of the decadent middle class on the political field. The Socialist Party must not in the least degree compete with any such middle class party or faction for votes or power. Its present mission, is one chiefly of propaganda and education. It should present to the working class the revolutionary principles of solidarity, class action and the abolition of the private property system. Of course it is impossible to confine these great principles to the narrow range of political action. The Socialist Party should advocate industrial as well as political solidarity. Wherever in municipalities and states, power comes to it, that power should ever be subordinated to its great primary purpose. That purpose is the preparation of the working class for the social revolution.

Even more dangerous than co-operation with the reform political movements of the middle class are the efforts, which we constantly see repeated, of allying the Socialist Party with cliques of trade union politicians. The splendid success of the Socialist Party has been due to its independent position, its clear view and its sound policies. The worst kind of a defeat which could befall our party would be a spurious victory obtained through an alliance with another organization of any kind whatever.

FRANK BOHN.

A Socialist Hotel.—If any REVIEW readers have occasion to visit the city of Washington, D. C., they will find pleasant surroundings and Socialist neighbors at the August Bebel House, which has lately been opened by Comrades Wetherell and Berry at 211 New Jersey avenue, N. W. We hope in the near future to be able to give the address of places in other cities where Socialists can be sure of meeting Socialists.

Comrades Who Will Control the City Government



Toledo News-Bee.

Upper row, left to right—Daniel Deitsch, chainmaker, township trustee; Fred Boltz, machinist, city auditor; Charles Churchill, laborer, assessor; B. W. Pierce, salesman, assessor; Charles Boyd, farmer, councilman; A. D. Lower row, left to right—Bert Williams, electrician, assessor; Charles Hawk, laborer, city treasurer; Frank school board; Fred Stonerock, school board, defeated; Sam Hoagland, laborer, president of council.

Victory at St. Marys, Ohio.—The REVIEW certainly appreciates the splendid campaign put up by the St. Marys comrades. We know the comrades had their coats off by the enthusiastic letters we received from time to time telling us of their work. On October 5th they pulled off a rousing Haywood meeting and Comrade Secretary R. A. Burton wrote in saying that "it was the most enthusiastic meeting we ever held. Big Bill knows how to reach the wage-worker."

The *St. Marys Socialist* was full of hot shot in every issue.

We take pleasure in giving the REVIEW readers the following information regarding the candidates and campaign, taken from the *Toledo News-Bee*.

For the next two years at least this city will be watched closely by all students of scientific government.

The Socialists will be responsible for the conduct of the entire city government even to the duties of assessing property. On Tuesday the entire Socialist city ticket was elected. It was the most sweeping victory ever won by the Socialists in this country. Staid, conservative, sober St. Marys underwent such a political revolution that the oldest inhabitants stand amazed.

The Socialists control not only the executive branch of government, but the legislative as well. The city council, composed of four ward members and three councilmen-at-large, all Socialists. The mayor, vice mayor, auditor,

treasurer and president of council are Socialists. So are the ward assessors.

The movement overflowed the city limits into the township. Socialists elected two members of the board of trustees. Failure to nominate other township officers prevented a clean sweep outside the city.

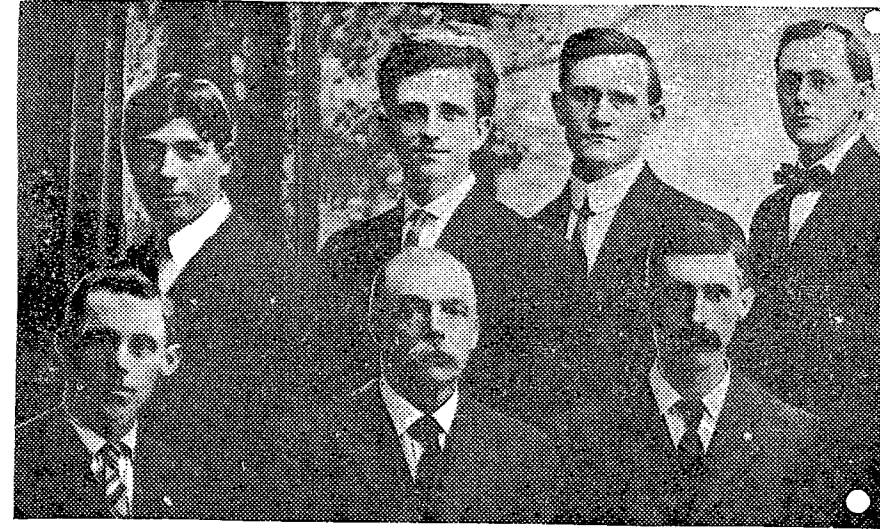
Less than four years ago there were only four Socialist votes out of a possible 1,400. Last year it had grown to 300. This year it totaled 629.

Fully 50 per cent of the voting population of St. Marys belongs to the wage earning class. Wages are not high. The Socialist campaign was made with a heavy pair of gum shoes. It was an educational campaign with but few speeches, but much circulation of literature.

This manner of appealing to the voter threw the old party men off the track. They lost sight of the fact that the Socialists in this city are conceded by their national leaders to have one of the best organizations of any city in the country. Its effectiveness is shown in the vote for mayor. H. J. Wessel, Democrat, 257; O. E. Dunam, Republican, 424, and Scott Wilkins, Socialist, 629.

At the head of the organization is Scott Wilkins, the mayor-elect. Wilkins came from the farm eight years ago and up until the time he was nominated he was a letter carrier. He is 30 years of age. He is a serious-minded, sober chap whose entire sympathy has been enlisted in the cause of the toilers. He resigned a \$1,100 position to take a chance on getting an

of St. Marys, Ohio, for the Next Two Years



Fred Witzenhanson, chainmaker, councilman; A. E. Heusch, clerk, councilman-at-large; Longworth, machinist, councilman-at-large; Louis Munery, laborer, assessor. Lower row, left to right—Scott Wilkins, machinist, mayor; William Sullivan, grocer,

elective job that will pay him only \$400 a year.

Every Socialist elected has filed his resignation with the Socialist executive board.

The Haywood Meetings.—Comrade Peter Kinnear of Columbus reports that before Haywood had ceased speaking to the audience of over 4,000 which he addressed the night before the closest election ever pulled off in that city, the Republican and Democratic politicians had gotten in session at the Neil House. Big Business was frightened and determined to defeat the Socialists at the election. The Catholic Church threatened to excommunicate every Catholic that voted the Socialist ticket. Impossible and horrible stories were circulated all over the city against the Socialists and all the elements of reaction organized and started out electioneering at 5:30 on the morning of the 7th. Thousands of dollars were drawn from the town banks to persuade voters. It was the greatest election Columbus ever held. Comrade Kinnear says:

"Such a victorious defeat comes only once in a lifetime. All the forces of Capitalism allied against us and still we increased our vote. We elected ten officials, four councilmen, four assessors and two members of the school board. The Haywood meeting was a fitting close to our long campaign of education. We now know who we have to fight and next time the lines of battle will be more clearly drawn than before."

Comrade Primmer, of Hamilton, Ohio, writes: "Comrade Haywood spoke here last

night to a crowd of over 1,000 people. We had a band and a parade of at least 700 people in line. The audience was more than pleased. Haywood exceeded our highest expectations. He has a real message, and it seemed as we listened to him talking as though we could hear the heart throbs and see the red blood of labor spent to produce the necessities of life. People who heard Haywood here four years ago were all remarking how much he has improved. No community should miss having Haywood. If you do have him your only regret

will be for those who could not hear him. The psychology and sentiment toward socialism in Hamilton is swinging fast and it will not be long before we carry this place."

Comrade Max Boehm, of Conneaut, Ohio, reports in part: "The lecture given by Haywood here October 12, is an event that will long be remembered by those privileged to hear it. He was introduced by Jennie Potter, and the S. P. candidates occupied the platform with him. Haywood delivered one of the most eloquent and instructive addresses on the philosophy of socialism that I have ever heard—and the writer has had the pleasure of hearing most of our greatest orators. This opinion was shared by everybody else. The large hall was crowded to its full capacity. The audience listened to his words with breathless interest. He made us feel that we were sharers in every class struggle he told us about. He spoke about the McNamara boys. Haywood has the power of making himself one with his audience. He does not speak down to us, nor stand aloof and lecture from a lofty pedestal. But he infuses an intensity of human interest into all he says that makes us all feel that we are living the actual experiences he talks about. When he said:

"It is better for a young man to be a traitor to his country than to be a traitor to his class by joining the militia," and the crowd cheered him to the echo. The audience was held spellbound to the last word and when he had finished, everybody waited for more. We wanted a final farewell.

Haywood gives the kind of a talk that makes

new converts to socialism and he clarifies the ideas of those already in our camp. Everybody who attended the lecture feels that their time and money were well spent, and there is already talk of arranging another Haywood meeting in the near future."

Secretary White, of Newcomerstown, Ohio, wrote as follows: "Our meeting lasted very late and it was a glorious success for Uhrichsville—one of the rock-ribbed Republican centers of this state. Haywood was at his best and made one of the clearest and most convincing speeches we have ever heard. He talked two hours and we all listened eagerly for his every word. Round after round of the most enthusiastic applause greeted his words. This place only organized a local recently. But we have sent for a charter and the farmers and miners have made up their minds they intend to take hold of things."

Comrade Dryfuse, of Tiffin, wrote that he was unable to express his opinion of the Haywood meeting. "It was the most eloquent and inspiring lecture the workers in our city have ever heard. The audience applauded from start to finish."

Comrade Quinn, of Niles, writes: "Haywood meeting a success in every sense of the word."

Haywood at Cincinnati.—Am dropping you a line to inform you of the wonderful success of the (local) Haywood meeting held in Cincinnati yesterday. We want to say that in spite of unfavorable conditions operating against a successful meeting that we had a capacity audience listening to "Big Bill" for TWO WHOLE HOURS WITHOUT A SIGN of restlessness, intent on every word uttered and applauding generously whenever the speaker made a point, which seemed almost continually.

As to Bill himself, one can only note the wonderful improvement in both the man and in his ability. He is truly "The Eloquent Miner," delving deep into the dim recesses of his listeners' minds and revealing (to the listeners themselves), untold possibilities of wealth. His lecture was an A1 topnotcher in itself and its manner of issuance was grand—forceful, positive and energetic. The younger brother of the McNamaras, who lives in Cincinnati, attended the meeting and signed an application card for membership in the Socialist Party immediately after the meeting, and we consider this just one more feather in "Bill's" cap.

I am anxious to see the International secure a larger circulation, in order to facilitate a completer education on scientific lines of our own membership, who show a woeful lack in this respect. The average Socialist will attempt to quote Marx while in a discussion, and when questioned, prove himself no pupil of Marx at all, nor of any other SERIOUS author, simply gaining his knowledge from the Socialist papers of the lighter nature.

Haywood compels admiration and we hope

to have him again under more propitious circumstances. Wishing both him and the I. S. R. continued success, I am, yours for the "Co-Operative," Lawrence A. Zitt.

Correcting an Error.—We are in receipt of a letter from W. J. Ogden, secretary of the Tioga Steel & Iron Company, Philadelphia, Pa., informing us that photograph shown on page 90 of the August Review and labeled a "Group of Strikers," had no connection with the strike at Baldwin's. He advises us that these men were employes of the Tioga Company and had nothing whatsoever to do with the Baldwin strike. We are very glad to have our attention called to this error on the part of the photographer who furnished us pictures for this article.

From the Auckland Social Democrat.—The comrade well grounded in the economics of Socialism is the comrade, other things being equal, that will "make good," in the Movement. "Reform," and "Unity" campaign lures, will not mislead him. And just because so many of us recognize the truth contained in the foregoing, it is difficult at times to decide upon a work that shall be short and precise, and, above all, SOUND, to put in the hands of a student. A brochure is to hand from Kerr & Co., of Chicago, entitled, "Shop Talks on Economics," by Mary E. Marcy. It is without doubt the best "starter" upon the subject we have seen. It is the thing. We want every reader of the *Social Democrat* to obtain a copy from the Literature Department of the Socialist Party, Auckland. It sells at sixpence!

Dorothy Johns in California.—Word comes from many enthusiastic locals in California that Comrade Dorothy Johns, the well-known writer and lecturer, will tour that state this fall and winter. The comrades are to be congratulated. We cannot have too many revolutionists in the field. Dates can, we believe, be secured through the office of *Revolt* in San Francisco.

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One of the Most Important Questions to Consider in the Search for Happiness and Health

The burning question to you is, "Are you getting out of life all the pleasure and the health you are entitled to?" If not, why not?

No matter whether every organ and member of your body is in a sound state of health and strength, if your stomach is in any way disordered, you are not going to be "yourself." You are going to be a worried, out-of-sorts, nervous or sullen individual, whose actions will reflect your condition inside, and people will naturally avoid you.

The world wants to smile and be cheerful, and unless you are cheerful and smile, at least occasionally, you will have few friends, fewer opportunities, no success, and you will go down in defeat—defeated by dyspepsia and a bad stomach.

A good and thorough digestion has a quick, wonderful reaction upon the brain. You must have noticed it many times, for the brain and stomach are as intimately connected as a needle and its thread, one can hardly be used to advantage without the other. If your stomach is slow and lazy in digesting your food, it will produce at once a slow, lazy and cloudy influence upon your brain. Mark it! If your stomach has absolutely quit work, and fermentation is poisoning your vitals as a result, surely your brain is going to be sluggish and correspondingly depressed. No one need tell you that.

But why continue to suffer all the miseries and torments that a disordered stomach brings you?

If your stomach can not digest your food, what will? Where's the relief? Where's the cure?

Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets are the relief and the cure. Why? Because, as all stomach troubles arise from indigestion and because one ingredient of Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets is able to thoroughly and completely digest 3,000 grains of any kind of food, doesn't it stand to reason that these little Dyspepsia Tablets are going to digest all the food and whatever food you put into your stomach? Science nowadays can digest food without having to use the stomach for it. And Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets are the result of this scientific discovery. They digest and digest thoroughly and well, anything and everything you eat.

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Send us your name and address today and we will at once send you by mail a sample package free. Address F. A. Stuart Co., 550 Stuart Bldg., Marshall, Mich.

Portland's Big Demonstration.—Again Portland heads the procession in the monster Protest Meeting held Oct. 9th, when 10,000 enthusiastic and determined workers paraded the streets, bearing such banners as the following:

"Who Blew Up the Times—O 'Tis Not for US to Say."

"Was It Dynamite or Gas? A little Gas BURNS."

"Workers of the World Unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain."

"Otis is the one blot on Southern California."—Gov. Johnson.

"McNamaras stand for organization—an injury to one is an injury to all."

Music was furnished by the musicians' union. All expenses of the parade were paid by the organizations participating and the entire receipts from the sale of over 7,500 badges and buttons went to the McNamara fund. Fifteen thousand workers attended the meeting held in the park. Allan McDonald, E. J. Brown, Col. C. E. Wood, Will Daly and others spoke. They demanded freedom for the McNamara boys. The Socialist Party, the I. W. W. and the A. F. of L. joined in the demonstration. It was a splendid example of the way the workers are getting together. Solidarity is the talk and the work of the hour.

From New Zealand.—Comrade J. Grose writes us from New Zealand that The Auckland Bricklayers, Laborers and General Laborers Union took a ballot a few weeks ago to decide whether or not they would cancel their registration from the Conciliation and Arbitration Courts, also to decide if they would join the New Zealand Federation of Labor—a fighting organization on the industrial field, based on the Class Struggle. The vote ran as follows: For cancellation, 851 to 152. For the New Zealand Federation of Labor, 918 as against 82, voting No. The tramway union acted in a similar way a few weeks before, and Walter Thomas Mills and his gang of compromisers and reactionists were whipped thoroughly. Comrade J. Grose says he thinks Comrade Charles Edward Russell did not learn all the facts while he was in New Zealand. There is there a fine fighting organization of revolutionists in the Socialist Party who have kept their integrity in spite of such men as Mills who have done all in their power to disrupt and disorganize them and to turn them over to the enemy. No Labor Party for the New Zealand Reds and industrial unionism is the talk of the hour both inside the party and out. As Comrade Grose says: 500 fighters can go further and do more than 5,000,000 crawlers.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

A Socialist History of the Human Race.—We hope that every REVIEW reader will note the new offer on the second page of our cover this month. It includes fourteen bound volumes and two works of Marx in paper covers, and taken in their proper order these books constitute the best Socialist history that has yet been offered in the English language. To the special offers included in the advertisement we add one more, namely, that on receipt of \$5.00 we will send by express prepaid any books published by us to the amount of \$5.00 at retail prices, and will also send five subscription cards, each good for the REVIEW one year, either to a new name or to one already a subscriber. This is the most liberal offer ever made by any Socialist periodical. It will enable any Socialist hustler to build up a library with no cost to himself, or to make a living by taking subscriptions and selling books.

Puritanism.—This new book by Clarence Meily will delight every clear-headed Socialist and will help open the eyes of many who have not yet begun to think for themselves. It is a clear, forceful, economic explanation of the origin and the decadence of the moral code of the Puritan. No one is a good revolutionist until he understands and rejects that code. Read this book, then sell it or lend it. Cloth, 50 cents.

The Militant Proletariat.—By Austin Lewis. It is not too much to say that this is the most important work on American economic development and the tactics of American Socialism that has yet appeared. Here will be found a complete logical statement of the position which the REVIEW defends from month to month in the course of its comment on current events. Every new party member should read *The Militant Proletariat* before discussing party tactics. Cloth, 50 cents.

The Socialist Argument, by C. C. Hitchcock, is a handsome volume attractively printed in large, open type, and contains a number of essays on Socialism,

part of which are new and part of which have had a wide circulation in booklet form. A friendly critic says: "Mr. Hitchcock is an attractive and interesting writer, and his papers are well adapted for circulation among the educated classes who are beginning to investigate Socialism, but to whom the language of the 'scientific, revolutionary' Socialist is sometimes objectionable." Cloth, \$1.00.

Incentive Under Socialism, by Warren Atkinson, will shortly be published in a revised and enlarged edition of 64 pages. Price 5 cents; 10 copies 30 cents; 100 copies \$2.50. Note that our stockholders' discounts apply only to retail and not to wholesale prices. All these new books will be ready for delivery on or before Dec. 10. Advance orders will receive prompt attention.

A Woman's Place, by Robert H. Howe, is the latest booklet in the Pocket Library of Socialism. Price 5 cents; 10 copies 20 cents; 100 copies \$1.00. We are now keeping the number of booklets in the Pocket Library of Socialism at exactly fifty, dropping old ones to make room for new ones. A full set of the fifty books, together with the REVIEW six months, will be mailed for \$1.00. A thousand of these booklets, assorted among not to exceed ten titles, will be sent by express, charges prepaid, on receipt of \$7.00. Remember that they retail for five cents each.

Lyric Columbia Graphophone \$25.00.—On another page will be found our offer of a phonograph free with 25 yearly REVIEW subscriptions. The machine described on that page is exactly the thing for use at a Socialist meeting, either in a hall or in the open air, but it is a little too loud in its tone to be best suited for a small room. If you want a "Lyric" graphophone for the home, we can send you one for \$25.00. The price is fixed by the manufacturer, and we are not allowed to deviate from it, but some of our friends may be glad to order from us and let the retail profit help our work along instead of going to a capitalist.

A Record-Breaking Year.—As we go to press we have complete figures for only ten months of the year 1911, but these indicate a big increase over any previous year. The receipts of the REVIEW for these ten months are \$18,824.26; our book sales \$30,377.11; sales of stock \$1,190.00, and contributions \$33.00, making a total of \$50,424.37. Our running expenses including wages, advertising, rent and miscellaneous expense, printing the REVIEW, printing books, purchases of books, postage, expressage, interest, and payments to authors, amount to \$48,540.44, leaving a small margin which has been applied to the payment of loans. On the last day of October our paid-up capital was \$36,820.00 and our total indebtedness of all kinds amounted to \$6,549.46, or about an average month's receipts. This we expect to reduce considerably during November and December.

An Enlarged Review.—This is coming just as soon as you are ready for it. Our publishing house pays no dividends; no one connected with it makes any profits. As soon as we have a small surplus above necessary expenditures, it will be used to enlarge the REVIEW. The quickest and best way to reach this point is for you to

send \$5.00 for your own renewal and four new subscriptions. You will receive five dollars' worth of our books for your trouble, and you will be doing your share to enlarge the REVIEW without delay.

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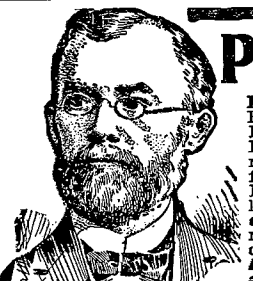
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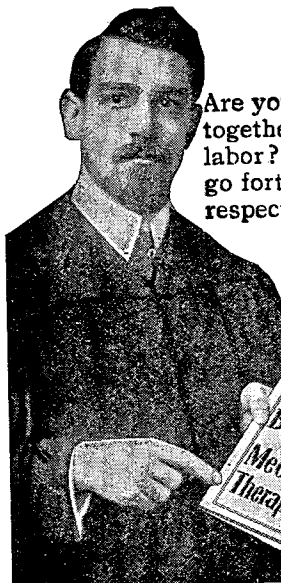


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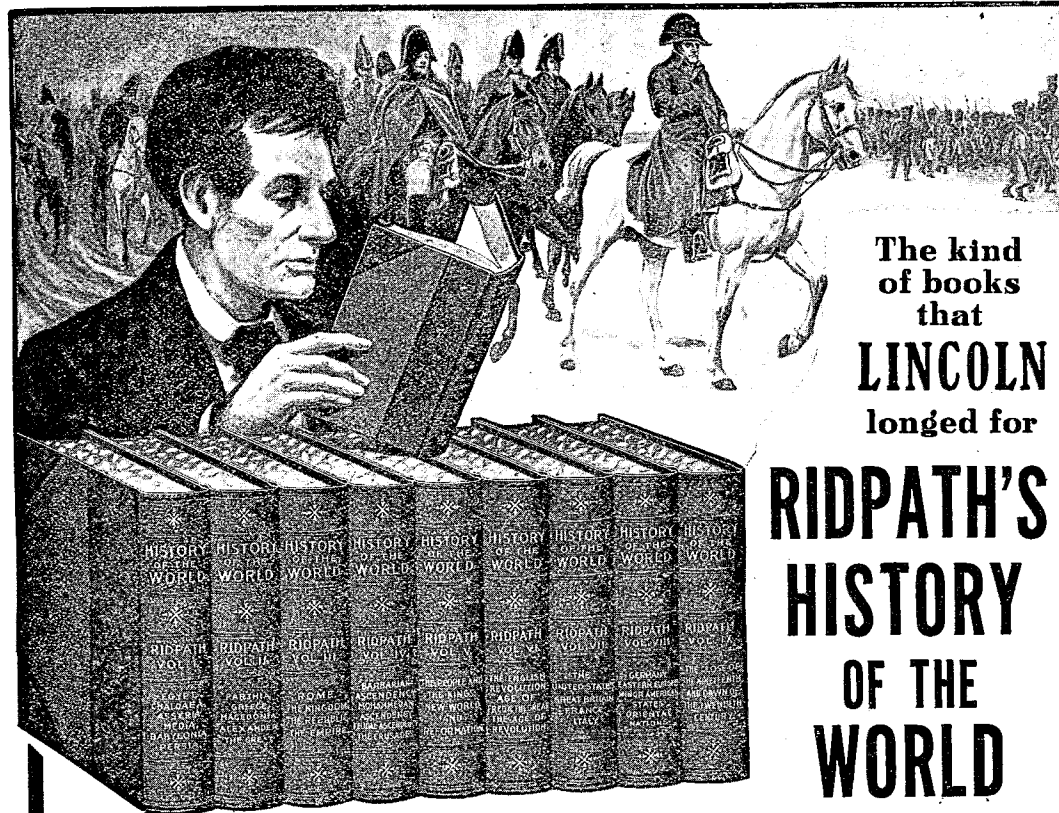
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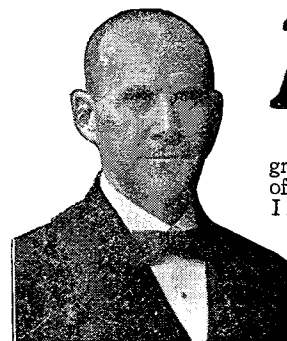
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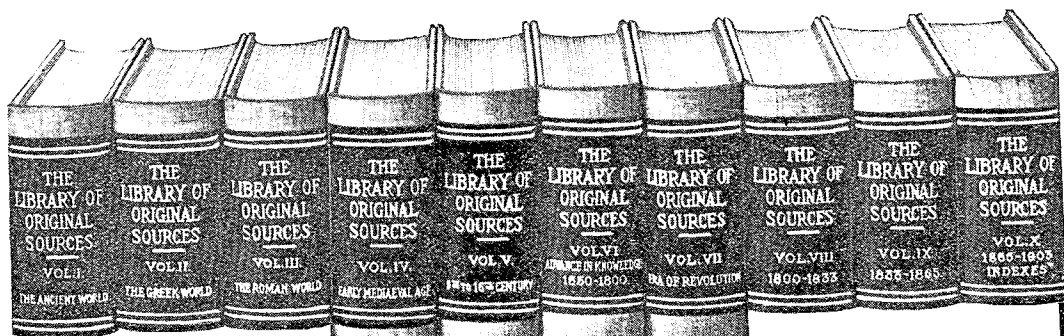
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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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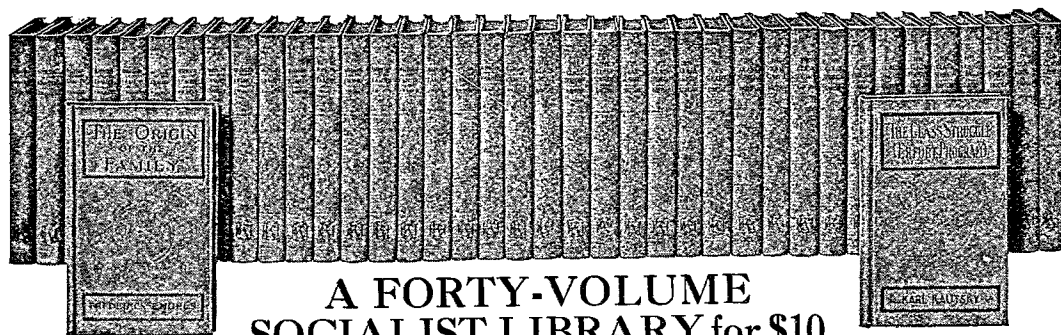
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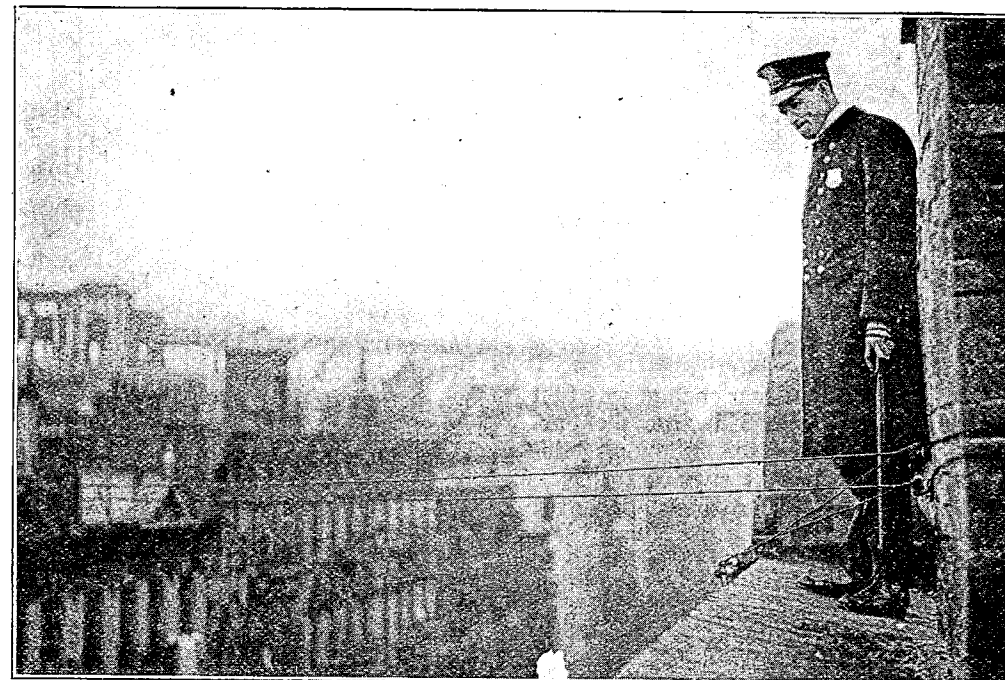
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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XII.

JANUARY, 1912

No. 7



SPYING ON STRIKE SYMPATHIZERS.

The Strike of the Scavengers

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

IF 4,000 Wall street brokers or 4,000 assorted employers suddenly left their offices or were carried off by a pestilence in New York, the life and activities of that city, after the first sensation, would go on much as usual. Society and industry would proceed with but little in-

terruption. But when 4,000 humble street cleaning employes suddenly quit work in the metropolis in the second week in November the entire administration of the second greatest city in the world was upset and for a time demoralized. High-salaried officials could do little but gnash their teeth

and issue numerous orders which couldn't be carried out. Rich and powerful merchants shrieked and groaned at the sight of the piles of odoriferous garbage standing untouched in front of their palaces of profit. Comfortable and well-fed householders and property owners held their noses and begged the agitated city government to do something. Four million people were threatened with pestilence and disease, which inevitably would have been widespread had not these despised and usually silent workers chosen a cold and freezing period in which to strike.

On the night of November 8 these garbage wagon drivers went out, their demand being a return to the daylight collection of garbage instead of the continental system of night work recently installed by Mayor Gaynor. The men contended that they were imposed upon, by this continental system, the work at night being much more of a strain, and that in addition the hours had been increased from eight to ten or eleven without any additional pay.

When the demand for a change was first made of Commissioner Edwards the garbage cleaners received the following bulldozing reply, duly expressive of the feelings of a politician toward his underlings:

I understand that there is some dissatisfaction on the part of the drivers on account of night work. I want the drivers in the Department of Street Cleaning to thoroughly understand that night work will go on as usual, and any absentees or men failing to go to work will be dismissed from the Department of Street Cleaning and never be allowed to return.

Stable foremen will suspend any men failing to go to work and will forward charges to the main office.

WILLIAM H. EDWARDS,
Commissioner.

This reply was backed up by the following communication from Mayor Gaynor to Edwards:

Sir: In regard to the threatened strike of the drivers and garbage collectors of your department, be so good as to notify them at once by general order to strike just as soon as they see fit. And see to it that not one of the strikers gets back into the city employment again. We can get along without them. It will inconvenience the householders for a few days, but they will stand it patiently. Let the contract system be resorted to, if necessary.

The city pays the men of your department the highest wages for the shortest hours, and, in addition, a pension law was passed for

them last winter. If they think they can make the city conform to their dictation by striking they will find themselves grievously mistaken. The city's business has to be done as the charter prescribes, and no strike can force it to be done in any other way. The city is not in a position of a private employer and able to make any terms with its employes it sees fit.

W. J. GAYNOR, Mayor.

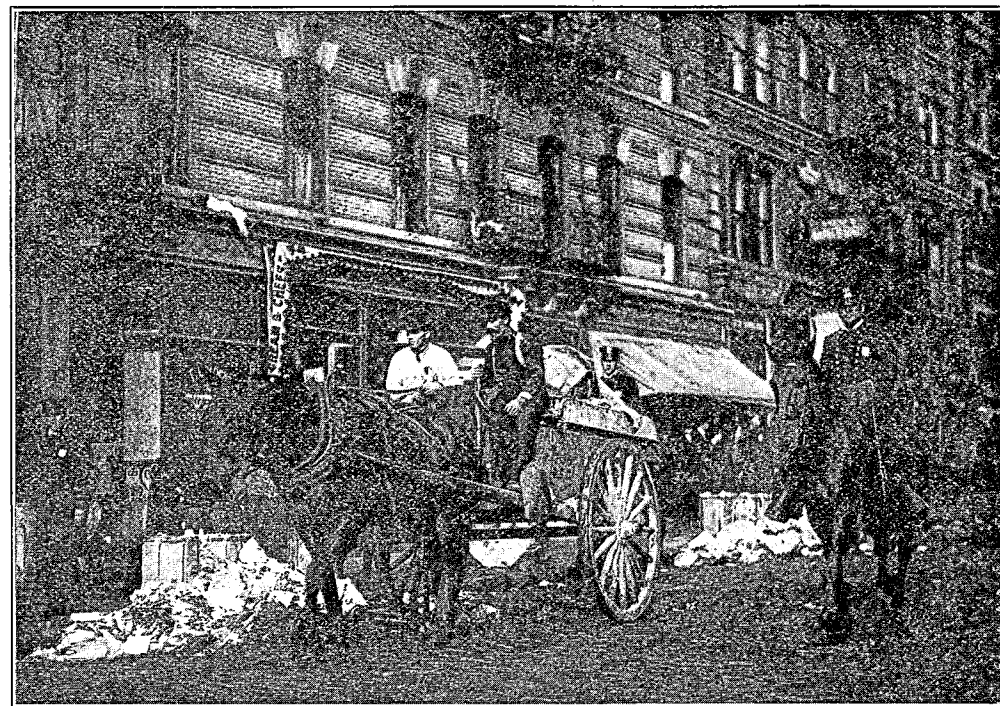
In the face of official opposition and stern determination as expressed by the foregoing communications, the men themselves stood firm, with at least the result that the political scientists have a practical lesson to help solve as well as discuss.

Thousands of wagon loads of garbage were piling up in the streets, and in the congested districts of the east side there were some streets almost impassable. Extraordinary efforts were made to remove garbage from business centers and elite residential districts. It is in this instance as in all others that the poor and uninfluential are discriminated against. The fashionable localities looked fairly clean, while just a few squares away in the tenement districts the fermenting piles of cast-off filth were breeding disease germs that would first attack the poor, but that might indeed ravage the city.

The city officials made every effort to break the strike, and although they resorted to the brutal tactics the employing and ruling classes are accustomed to use everywhere in like cases, they met with little success.

Detective agencies were enlisted and were paid \$5 for each man they secured, the strikebreaker receiving for his services \$3 per day. It requires at least three scabs to do the work of one husky garbage driver, in addition to the number of police required for guard duty. The change was an expensive experiment on the part of the city authorities.

There were many bitter popular demonstrations against the strikebreakers. One man was knocked senseless by a brick thrown from a near-by roof, and was then run over by a wagon that broke both of his legs. He died shortly after being taken to the hospital. A child was run over and killed by one of the mayor's scabs. Some policemen were injured, but this is not worthy of particular mention, as they are all still alive. Many arrests were made and strikers were cruelly beaten



GUARDING THE SCABS.

One of the chief lessons to be learned is the inefficiency of scab labor. This is obvious on every hand. While no particular skill is required in the collection of garbage and sweeping of streets, it requires a certain physical standard that is not reached by the casually employed, who do the work slowly, gingerly, spilling at least a third on the street in their clumsy efforts. This same inefficiency prevails in every shop strike, but there the bosses are able to furtively conceal their helplessness behind closed doors. The spirit of many a strike has been broken by apparent success which perhaps is as much of a failure as New York's strike-breaking department.

The importance of the least considered, even the scavenger in the machinery of modern living is another lesson to be learned. If this strike had occurred in the summer season the sweltering heat enveloping the piles of filth on the streets would have borne this home with deadly emphasis.

But the piles of garbage in the streets of America's greatest city grew higher and higher. Abominable enough in other parts of town, the stench in east side streets was

almost unendurable. So bad did the situation become that the Merchants' Association issued an appeal to "good citizens" to come out and take the strikers' places.

So frightened did the city officials become that they allowed the piles of garbage to be set afire, though this could not fail to do great damage to the streets and endanger lives and dwellings from flying sparks. Gaynor and Edwards declared they would never take the strikers back, but would turn over the street cleaning to private contractors. Such is the deal handed to the workers under capitalist "municipal operation."

The Socialist Party was quick to take a hand in the fight and held a big mass meeting in Cooper Union at which the treatment accorded the strikers was denounced.

The teamsters' and truck drivers' unions also pledged their "moral support," but they didn't give the strikers the kind of support they needed most. A general walk-out of all the teamsters in the city—"a stoppage of everything on wheels," as one speaker put it—would have ended the fear of pestilence and won the garbage collectors' strike for them in about one day. But that, though "threatened," never came.



VICEROYS ESCAPING TO SAFETY.

The Chinese Rebellion

BY

TIOKA YAKAMA

THE wide world had long given up hope that China would ever awake to the marvels of science and modern production when the Celestial Empire was already wiping the sleep of centuries from her eyes.

Those whom Old China still calls the learned men of the nation are insisting to this day that old ways are best. They are still searching the musty past for the solution of present problems.

But the rebels of China represented the New Era. They have Necessity and Progress on their side, and whether it be that, rising from the last great massacre of their fellows, or fighting a year or so hence, victory is bound to be their portion.

Peking desires a trained police and a strengthened army and navy that will keep the Powers off and permit them to continue in the enjoyment of the exploitation and unequalled graft of the hundred million

hard-working Celestials. The Chinese Government is opposed to the westernization or modernization of the empire, with the exception of the promotion of railroads. Like the pioneer railroad kings of America, they care nothing for the building of these roads, but favor them only because of the remarkable opportunities they offer for official graft. They have not yet learned that the exploitation of wage workers is the most profitable graft in the world.

"Reform" is upon the tongues of the government officials as it is in the mouths of the rebel patriots. But the government "reforms" are such only as will open new sources of revenue to the officials. They have not yet thought of the possibilities of "legitimate" profit taking. The patriots of China, on the other hand, are fighting for industrial training, universal education, improved agriculture, freedom of the press, the expenditure of taxes for the benefit of

the workers instead of in huge salaries to the idling government job holders and the responsibility of the government to representatives chosen by the people.

Were it not for its advocacy of the railroads, the government would be wholly reactionary, while on every side the rebels stand for more freedom in industrial and educational matters.

Prof. Ross, writing on China in a recent number of *The Independent*, says:

In a gorgeous native restaurant in Peking I sat at meat with five men, and four languages were needed for communication. The one white man was born in China, the son of a missionary. The rest were foreign-educated Chinese retained in government service as experts. One was a Berlin Ph. D., another a Cornell doctor of philosophy, a third came from the University of London and had spent two years in the British post-office. The fourth was an A. M. of the Antwerp School of Commerce, licentiate of the University of Paris and had served two years in the Banque de France. They had been in government service for from two to six months.

"How do you like it?" I asked.

They threw up their hands in despair. They were patriotic, eager to apply their hard-won knowledge to their country's need, but all had found that the Manchu blocks the way. "What is the use," said one, "of my studying the gathering of statistics in the various countries and reporting a plan for the coming imperial census, when my chief is an ignorant Manchu who will light his fire with it?" "How can I put any heart into working out a reform for the postoffice," said the London man, "after I realize that my recommendations are not even read?" "We now see," said another disgustedly, "that the government gives us posts and salaries in order to keep us educated men under surveillance here at Peking where we can't reach or influence the people. 'Reform' is all for show and the one absorbing thought of our rulers is to keep their graft."

The head of a provincial college, a ripe scholar, a Han-lin man, in fact, told me he could hardly endure his position. "How can I keep my self-respect," he broke out, "when constantly the Board of Education at Peking forces me to do foolish things?"

Here is an applicant thirty years old, who passes a brilliant entrance examination; but Peking won't let me admit him to my college because, forsooth, he is not 'a graduate of a middle school.'"

The Manchus are not a cultured people, mark you, and when they climbed into the saddle of empire about the time of Cromwell, they were on a level with the Afghans of today. They are to the Chinese what the Goths were to the Romans; and a Manchu directing the new education of China is as out of place as a Goth presiding over the schools of Athens in the fourth century. It is the brilliant Chinese, not the Manchus, who travel and study abroad. Yet when they return they are balked by the huge pervasive Manchu machine.

Sometimes high Manchu officials are totally illiterate, and I heard of one Manchu "literary chancellor" who could not even read, the examination essays submitted for provincial honors. So he piled them on top of his bed canopy, poked them with his cane as he lay smoking, and the thirteen that slid off first were declared winners!

In the Board of War at Peking are six hundred employes; but fifty do all the work. The rest are Manchus who sit in a chair, suck the pipe and watch the clock.

One of the directors of the Shanghai-Hangchow Railway—a purely Chinese line—told me their chief trouble in building the road was the harrassing "inspections" which obliged them to bribe the officials in order to go on with the work. Moreover, Peking forced upon the company a large, unneeded foreign loan which would have been expended by government men without the stockholders knowing how much stuck to the fingers of the officials. So, instead of using the money for building the road, the company loaned it out in small amounts at a high interest and will repay it as soon as the terms of the loan permit.

Not long ago a queue-cutting movement starting at Hongkong spread among the people. But the stupid government, which had obliged its soldiers and its foreign representatives to cut their queues, recalled that in the old days the Manchu conquerors had forced the queue upon the Chinese as a badge of submission. Accordingly they construed the unauthorized

cutting of the queue as a kind of treason. They persecuted the short-haired; false queues came into style and the movement ceased; but imagine the disgust!

But even the Chinese Government is eager to learn new methods of warfare and desires a practical army and navy. Ever since the Russo-Japanese war she has sent her sons to Japanese military academies, for she realized that China must change her fighting tactics if she meant to hold her provinces. But her acceptance of anything modern depends solely on its practicability in keeping out the foreigner, in suppressing her people and in the opportunities offered for securing more money for official pie.

Over 10,000 young Chinese are sent yearly to Japanese universities. Many are educated in France and Germany and still more attend American schools and colleges. Hence the youth of China educated along modern lines returns home to swell the army of rebellion against the reactionary policies of the government.

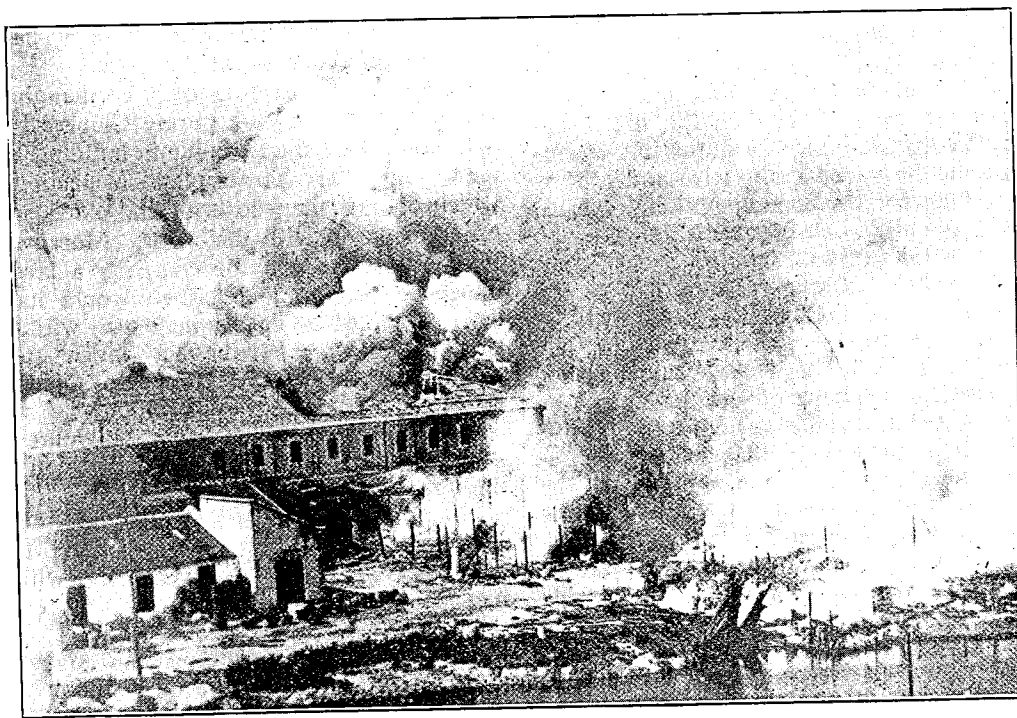
You may travel to the farthest corner of the empire, but you cannot go far enough to escape the Standard Oil Company. Rude

huts may be seen in out-of-the-way villages with roofing of German manufacture, German clocks, and German lamps burning Standard Oil from America. The Chinese workers have nearly all been touched and captured by things Western. Many of these ally themselves with the coming and New Regime.

Big Business is growing slowly in China, owing to the obstacles constantly being put in its way by the old graft or Manchu administration; consequently every modern Celestial enterprise has thrown in its cause with the rebels.

Ultimately Big Business and Modern Industry will throw off the yoke of the Manchu and will establish a government that will give it freedom for full development, as they have done everywhere the world over.

More power and more strength to the Chinese rebels! More speed to the modernization of Celestial industry! For it is only modern industry that obliterates the classes of past ages and divides the world into two great irreconcilable classes—proletarian and capitalist. And the next step is Socialism.



REBELS FIRING A TOWN.



The McNamara Case and the Labor Movement

BY EUGENE V. DEBS

THIS article is inspired by the report I have just read in a morning paper of a two days' conference held in Washington by the "McNamara Ways and Means Committee of the American Federation of Labor," and telling of the cowardly and contemptible action of that body, with Samuel Gompers presiding over it, in denouncing the McNamara brothers and exonerating themselves; and not only this, but "expressing the satisfaction of organized labor that the culprits have been commensurately punished for their crime"; and all of this abject sycophancy to curry favor with the capitalist class.

It is truly a spectacle to see these national leaders of the American Federation of Labor joining the Otises, the Posts, the Parrys and the Kirbys in savage denunciation of their own union brethren, whose crime consists in their having carried out the policy of Gompers craft unionism to its logical conclusion. The McNamara brothers, whatever

else may be said of them, are at least, in this respect, more decent and self-respecting than their former official associates; their lips are sealed. They have accepted the penalties imposed upon them without a word and they have refused to implicate anyone but themselves.

The acts to which the McNamaras have confessed and for which they are now in prison I do not approve, nor does any other Socialist; and such acts would never be committed if it were in our power to prevent them. But realizing as I do, as a working-class brother of the McNamara brothers after as well as before their confession and conviction, that there are mitigating circumstances of a vital nature to take into consideration, I absolutely refuse to join in the capitalist clamor and craft union clique of denunciation of these condemned unionists.

First of all, I am not caring what the capitalist class think of me and I am not tempering my judgment or shaping my acts to meet their favor. I am concerned

only with what is right and with what is my duty, and the rest can take care of itself.

Admitting that the McNamaras are guilty of all they are charged with in the way of dynamiting buildings and bridges, *their acts are the logical outcome of the impotency and hopelessness of the craft form of unionism*, typified by Samuel Gompers and his official associates in the American Federation of Labor, and of which the condemned men are faithful disciples and loyal devotees.

The McNamara brothers were not "Socialist fanatics" and "unbelievers"; they had no sympathy with industrial unionism; but they were members of the Democratic party, and of the Catholic church, and of the pure and simple labor union. They were active allies of Gompers in the support of the Democratic ticket, and with their chieftain they believed in "rewarding their friends and punishing their enemies."

And then they saw the representatives of pure and simple unionism kicked out of congress and out of all the state legislatures, year after year, under both republican and democratic administrations; they saw their unions paralyzed by court injunctions; they heard the president denounce union men as "undesirable citizens," deserving of the gibbet; they saw governors calling out the militia and sheriffs swearing in deputies to shoot union men dead in their tracks for striking against famine and picketing to save their jobs; they saw the Steel Trust crushing one union after another, discharging and blacklisting their members, throwing them into jail and putting human bloodhounds on their tracks to deprive them of employment and literally starve them and their wives and drive their daughters into prostitution; and understanding little or nothing of the philosophy of the class struggle and of the enlightened methods of working-class warfare, reflected in the class-conscious movement of the workers, based upon the unity, not of the craft but of the entire class, who shall say that these craft unionists, the McNamara brothers, defeated at every turn and threatened from every side by the remorseless power of the trusts and the forces of government, are conscienceless

criminals when in such a desperate extremity they resort to the brutal methods of self-preservation which the masters and exploiters of their class have forced upon them?

As between this blind and cruel extreme and the opposite extreme of abject and cowardly surrender, the former is infinitely preferable; for at least the spirit of resistance to oppression, and the poverty and misery which spring from oppression, keep the hope alive that the horrors of slavery shall not endure forever. But for that spirit the sun of labor, if it ever had one, had long since set in everlasting gloom, and if unfortunately, or tragically as in the present case, that spirit is expressed in blind ferocity and brutal revenge, at least those who are morally responsible by having inculcated the teaching and doctrine which led to crime, should have humanity enough in their hearts to restrain their cruel hands from stoning the victims and rejoicing in their calamity. If they lack the moral fiber to avow their own responsibility and accept it as becomes men they should at least preserve the decency of silence.

Samuel Gompers and his official associates should be the very last to join the labor-crushing magnates of the trusts and their swarms of mercenary hirelings in condemning the McNamara brothers and expressing satisfaction over their tragic fate. Rather should they weep in anguish that in their moral cravenness they not only deserted their own deluded followers, but joined their enemies in the cry to crucify them *to exculpate themselves*. And here I leave them, the prey of their own remorse, whose keen pangs will torment them in the days to come if their hearts are not dead and their moral sensibilities turned to stone.

We Socialists are making no apology for any word or deed of ours in the McNamara case, and as for myself personally I shall not denounce them. I condemn the crime, but I pity all the victims, all of them, the McNamaras included.

Jim McNamara said he did not intend to take life in the blowing up of the Times. I believe him against all the corporation detectives on earth.

Jim McNamara pleaded to go to the gallows, loaded with infamy, accepting it

all to himself, to save the life of his brother. The love and fidelity of these two brothers for each other in the shadow of the gallows put to shame the spirit of those good Christians (!) who now traduce them, and if the Nazarene of twenty centuries ago, who was also crucified for opposing the rich, were here his voice would not be heard mingling with the voices of the Pharisees in the cry for their blood.

We are not forgetting in this hour of wholesale denunciation that the McNamaras were kidnaped; that an outrageous crime was perpetrated upon them, and we are not unmindful of the fact that their kidnapers have not been and will not be punished, nor of the reason why. We are going to see to it, moreover, that that fact is not forgotten, no matter how long it may be, until that crime against the working class has also been atoned for.

We Socialists are revolutionists, not murderers; we stand for education and organization, not assassination; and for that very reason we are opposed to capitalism, the prolific breeder of all these revolting crimes.

Roosevelt, who morally is still in the jungle, says that "Murder is Murder" in denouncing the McNamaras and congratulating Burns, but murder is not murder when it is for capitalism, and killing is not killing when it is for capitalist profit.

More than half a million of American wage-slaves, men, women and children, are killed, maimed and lacerated in industry every year, but this is not murder.

The capitalist owners of the St. Paul mine at Cherry, Ill., buried nearly three hundred miners alive two years ago, some of them surviving for over a week. Compared with this heart-breaking catastrophe the Los Angeles Times affair pales into insignificance, but this is not murder. The coroner's jury fixed the responsibility upon the capitalists, but they are not guilty of crime.

The capitalist proprietors of the Bayless mill at Austin, Pa. as deliberately killed their employes in the dam disaster there, according to the coroner's inquest, as if they had placed dynamite under their hovels, but this is not murder, and not one of them will be punished.

The capitalist mine owners of Pennsylvania had the sheriff and his deputies

massacre a body of miners who were marching peaceably along the road near Latimer, with an American flag at the head of their procession, but this is not murder.

Under the ethical code of capitalism the slaying of workingmen who resist capitalism is not murder, and as a workingman I absolutely refuse to condemn men as murderers under the moral code of the capitalist class for fighting according to their light on the side of the working class.

If the McNamara brothers had been corporation detectives and had shot dead twenty-one inoffensive union pickets, instead of placing dynamite under the Los Angeles Times, they would have been protected by the law and hailed by admiring capitalists as heroes.

I utterly abhor murder, but I have my own ideas as to what constitutes murder. John Brown was an atrocious murderer in the eyes of the slave power, but today he is one of the greatest heroes of history. Sherman blew up and otherwise destroyed all the property within his reach, killed indiscriminately, and spread desolation and despair all the way from Atlanta to the sea, but he was a hero and not a murderer.

Do the capitalists ever rave and tear their hair over killings committed by them, or their mercenaries, in their interests and for their profit?

Does an Otis ever howl with rage when workingmen are buried alive or blown to atoms in a mine through the criminal greed of their capitalist masters?

It is only when a killing interferes with their piracies that it is murder. All their tender sensibilities are then aroused and in frenzied concert they cry about "the law" and invoke all its terrors to glut their merciless vengeance.

I have not changed my mind about the theory that the dynamiting of the Los Angeles Times was instigated by the capitalists themselves. I am convinced that all these dynamiting crimes had their inspiration in capitalist sources and their genesis in capitalist camps. I have many reasons for this which time and space will not now permit me to fully set forth. I can but suggest a few of these, which to

most of the readers of the REVIEW are sufficient in their suggestiveness:

First, the war of the steel trust on all the iron and steel workers' unions and the declaration of Morgan that the unions had to be destroyed.

Second, the fate of the Amalgamated Association, the Lake Seamen's Union, and others which were crushed beneath the iron heel of the trust.

Third, the joining of these unions by the police spies and detectives of the Steel Trust, such as McManigal, who was permitted to continue his career of crime for three years without being apprehended, and if the whole truth were known it would be found that McManigal, the corporation hireling, who will be cleared, if tried at all, is far more guilty than the McNamaras and led them into crime instead of being their dupe.

Fourth, the fight between the Erectors' Association and the independent contractors. When the Whisky Trust was organized the war raged fiercely between the trust and the independents and a number of distilleries were blown up with dynamite for the same reason that incited the war of the night-riders in the tobacco growing states of the South.

Certain it is that Otis and his Merchants and Manufacturers' Association who had sworn to wipe organized labor from the Pacific coast had everything to gain and nothing to lose by the blowing up of the *Los Angeles Times*, while organized labor had everything to lose and nothing to gain from this and similar outrages.

But even if Otis and his union-wrecking pals were totally innocent of any direct connection with the crime, it would still be the fruit of their own mad policy and the responsibility for it will finally lodge upon their own heads. The *Times* explosion was one of the echoes of Otis's declaration of war of extermination, one of the answers, sharp and fatal, to his tyrannical pronunciamento against union labor. It was also an answer, and not the last, to government by injunction, anti-picketing ordinances and other capitalist devices to stay the march of organized labor and keep the workers in bondage. It was likewise an answer to federal court

decisions legalizing the kidnaping and and blacklisting of workmen at the command of their capitalist masters.

And now a word to those who over their champagne and in sleeping cars and at the clubs and other cozy places, with their stomachs well filled, are demanding that we join them in denouncing the McNamaras "to rid organized labor of its enemies." If the McNamaras had really been the enemies of organized labor this gentry would not condemn them and they would not now be in prison.

But there are some who are conscientious and who really feel that we ought to howl with the capitalist press against the McNamaras "to clear the skirts of the labor movement," and to these we want to say that before they are qualified to condemn the McNamaras they must put themselves in their places. The McNamaras were reared as wage-workers in the capitalist system. They were never taught in the delicacy and refinement of things. Life to them has been a struggle in which they and their class have always gotten the worst of it.

Who of those who are so fierce and relentless in condemning John McNamara would dare to serve as a structural iron worker, suspended in midair on a swinging beam, for a single day?

It is impossible for these people to know the psychology of a worker who is compelled to risk his life every minute of the day to provide for his wife and loved ones.

Every skyscraper is built at the sacrifice of an average of one structural worker for every floor in it.

This worker joins the union to better his condition and he finds that it is a crime to be a union man. His union is attacked, he is discharged, put upon the blacklist and hounded from place to place until he is an outcast and in rags. His little home is broken up, his family is scattered, and possibly the daughter he loved with all his honest heart is in a house of shame.

Have you, my friend, had these experiences, or any of them? If not, you are not qualified to sit in judgment upon men who have been driven to these cruel extremities and forced down to these infer-

nal depths as thousands of honest men have been and thousands more will be in the class war that is being waged with increasing bitterness and intensity all over the civilized world.

The lesson of the McNamara tragedy will not be lost upon the American workers. It will be one more experience added to the many they already have and all of which are necessary to clarify their vision, increase their knowledge and strengthen their determination to put an end to the system in which classes war on each other to death and destruction, and workmen are imprisoned and hanged for crimes of which they are only the blind and deluded victims.

In closing I want to express my satisfaction that the lives of the McNamara brothers have been saved. For this neither praise nor censure is due to the capitalist class. The self-confessed dynamiters owe their lives to the Socialist

movement. The American Federation of Labor did not save them.

Had it not been for the menace to the Otises of the impending Socialist political conquest of Los Angeles both the McNamaras would have been sentenced to the gallows. As to this, there is no shadow of doubt.

There is in this incident food for reflection for those who sneer at political action and decry the political power of the working class.

If the McNamara case teaches us anything it is that we *must organize along both economic and political lines*, that we *must unite in the same union and fight together*, and in the *same party and vote together*, and stick unflinchingly to that program, growing stronger through defeat as well as victory, until at last the triumphant hosts of labor crown the final class struggle with the glory of emancipation.

The Passing of the McNamaras

BY FRANK BOHN

"HANG 'em!" "Hang 'em!" "Give 'em the limit!" "Kill 'em!" were the murderous cries of the mob of all classes when on December 2nd black head lines declared that the McNamaras had confessed their guilt. The popular thirst for their blood was shared by most labor union leaders and by some Socialists.

To the average American Citizen, to whom the old barbarian custom of "An eye for an eye" is still good law, this uncontrolled rage was the natural result of his sense of "justice." The McNamaras have killed others, why not kill them? Scores of labor unions are said to have sent in urgent demands that they be punished "to the extreme extent of the law." The rumor that admonitions were received urging the killing of all their relatives, including their old mother, has not been substantiated.

What about the theory of our inquiring into the causes of human conduct before taking action? The blood cry raised against the McNamaras is simply a result of the old-fashioned and ignorant method of looking no further than the individual for causes and effects which are entirely social in their nature.

What does the McNamara case signify? Why did these men do as they did? If any may be held accountable, who are they? And by far the most important of all, what do these facts signify in the development of the American labor movement?

The history of the American labor movement for the past twenty years is a record of the murder of innocents. The newly developed plutocracy, flushed by revolutionary confidence and courage and an assured victory, has moved rapidly and steadily forward in its work of reorgan-

izing the industrial and political life of America. As Wall street swung its sharp ax on the lean hands with which the middle class clung desperately to its little all, that middle class whined and whimpered about "law and order," "justice" and "the golden rule." The trusts were "crimes against society." As the middle class let go of its wealth, political power, by that very act, slipped away from it. On December 5th Attorney General Wickersham stated that "John H. Patterson and his associates, by wrongful and illegal acts, have destroyed more than 150 cash register companies and now control more than 95 per cent of the trade."

"By wrongful and illegal acts," says the Attorney General of the United States, "a great trust has destroyed more than one hundred and fifty competing companies." This statement means that hundreds of middle class families have been, by a single trust, crushed down into the wage-working class or thrown ruthlessly upon the wayside to perish. And all these "wrongful and illegal acts" were simply according to that old and ever valid higher law—"Might makes right."

THE TRUSTS AND THE LABOR UNIONS.

The one trust we shall describe in this connection bears directly upon the subject now under discussion. Many of the trusts, during the time when they were killing and eating the middle class, compromised with the old-fashioned craft unions. In fact, these antiquated craft organizations could thrive only where they did compromise with the trust. Sam Parks was a structural iron worker. He was a "brother" of the McNamaras. Sam Parks was a power of the Structural Iron Workers' Union during that period when the great contractors and allied interests were crushing out their smaller rivals. Sam Parks was paid by the big interests to call strikes on the jobs of the little interests and put them out of business. When the group of great construction companies which made use of Sam did not need his dirty work in their business any longer they sent him to jail. And thus ended the first chapter. By 1903, the year Sam Parks was sent to prison, the Steel Trust was well on its way toward the control of the structural iron work of the nation. And the Steel Trust never needed

men like Sam Parks. The professional labor fakir belongs to the period of transition merely and is discarded when the trust is completed. But labor "leaders" like Sam Parks got salaries from the big interests such as would never be paid to labor fakirs who represent men who work in shops. The reason for this lies in the fact that in building construction both the middle class capitalist and the organized craft unionist can live longer than in any manufacturing industry. If men go on strike in Pittsburg the Steel Trust can close down the Pittsburg shops and have the work done in Pueblo, Colorado, or Windsor, Canada. But a building which is to be put up at 100 Tenth street, New York, cannot be constructed in St. Louis or San Francisco and then imported. It must be built right there on the spot. Under these conditions the middle class has a much better chance to secure contracts, to profit by local political influence and otherwise to compete with the trust. Also, for this reason, the building trades of their own strength and volition can maintain a stronger hold on the situation than the workers in any other modernized industry.

The International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers has been the last craft union to look the Steel Trust in the face.

Even before the trust was organized the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers had been broken and driven. Its real power was lost in the great Homestead strike of 1892. At that time Carnegie and his hirelings shot and starved its members into submission. Open-shop conditions at Homestead and vicinity meant that closed-shop conditions elsewhere helped drive the little capitalists who compromised with the union to the wall. When the Steel Trust came upon the scene what was left of the Amalgamated Association was quickly snuffed out. The next great union for the Steel Trust to crush completely was that of the Lake Seamen. Iron ore is first and foremost of the products shipped on the lakes. The Steel Trust owned its own fleet of ore vessels. It forced every other shipper on the lakes to join it in black-listing the Lake Seamen's Union. All that is now left of that union are a few

old starved workers, who, for 50 cents a day, carry signs about the lake cities stating that the strike is still on.

In its war upon organized labor the Steel Trust committed murders without number. Innocent men whom it imprisoned are still languishing in jails and penitentiaries. It reduced the standard of living and drove to disease and premature death scores of thousands of working men and their families.

The roadway of the triumphal progress of the Steel Trust is smeared with blood and lined with the graves of its victims. All industrial and social life in Pittsburg, in Homestead, in McKees Rocks, in Gary, is simply organized pillage, organized starvation and organized murder.

In the blackness of the night which pressed upon this broken and disheartened army of wage slaves, one single craft union for a time has been able to maintain a semblance of organization. It is the last to leave the field of battle. Its end has now most surely come. Against the steel armor and the high power steel rifles of the greatest of trusts it remained to use the bow and arrow and the war club of craft unionism. These poor weapons have now fallen from its nerveless hands.

The McNamara brothers saw union after union collapse. They saw their class spit upon and then starved and murdered. They saw all the powers of a mighty government, over which their class had not the slightest degree of control, turned ruthlessly against the workers.

Other labor "leaders" became liars, traitors to their class and grafters upon the enemy. The McNamaras, in their blundering and ignorant way, resolved to be true to their class. When the Steel Trust used every force within reach to crush the working class, the McNamaras sought to repel force by force. For men who had been receiving \$5 a day for eight hours to be forced down to \$2 a day for ten or twelve hours meant death to the working class. The McNamaras chose to die fighting.

With every convention of morality known to their minds despised and every law made for their protection broken by the enemy, how could any one, they argued, expect them to obey the law or

accuse them of wrong-doing when they ignored the constraints of customary morality?

Had the McNamaras been wiser in their day they would have said to the workers in every branch of the iron and steel industry, "Organize one union. Join the Socialist party. Organize that union of workers as the trust had organized its union of capitalists. Protect that union from the police powers of the state and from the injunction as the capitalists now protect their property from you—by gaining control of the political government. Do not organize to make peace. Organize to fight. The fight must go on until we completely possess and control the trusts. That we can do only through one union and one party and by means wholly different from those used in the old craft organized pure and simply union. Throw away your old weapons and take for yourself weapons out of the armory of modern science and scientific methods. Let us organize as a class against a class. Let us use every weapon we need for victory, discarding none. For the old-fashioned union to fight the trust is suicide. To attempt at present to use force against force would be worse than suicide. Let us peacefully educate ourselves and organize ourselves unto that day when we have developed the power necessary for an assured victory."

But in the labor union world of the McNamaras there was no such message. With Gompers they were good Democrats in 1908. In ignorance and despair they turned to the only means which seemed available to them.

In blowing up the Times building the McNamaras killed nineteen non-union men. This is suggestive of the methods of the antiquated unions. Their war has been one-tenth a war against the enemy and nine-tenths against unorganized workers. An average craft union makes scabs through high initiation fees, high dues, closed books and discrimination. Then when those whom the union cannot or will not organize get the jobs it is at their peril. Most of the craft unions have among their membership a large proportion who got in by taking the jobs of strikers and later, when they kept the jobs, being organized by the union. In

view of these facts, the outcry against the scab is, nine times out of ten, a hollow mockery.

So the miserable end of the McNamaras is a natural result of the decay of craft unionism among a working class which has, until now, lacked the insight and courage to build up a union which the times demand.

But responsibility does not end with this conclusion. When the McNamaras went to an average Socialist political meeting, what did they usually hear? Something like this: "The labor unions are dead. They have served their purpose. You have failed by striking. Now you must vote. Don't waste time fighting on the job. Wait until election day. Vote for what you want and you will get it." From such lop-sided piffle as this the McNamaras turned away in disgust and filled their suitcases with dynamite. Socialists who are too cowardly to teach the class war on the industrial field cannot now escape the censure of all right-thinking workers. And in 1911 ignorance of the situation on the part of Socialist speakers and writers is as inexcusable as cowardice.

Yet the McNamara case cannot hurt the Socialist party in any way. They were Democrats and members of the Knights of Columbus. Had they been Socialists we would have been kept busy for years to come protesting that we do not favor their methods. As it is, we shall refrain from placing the responsibility upon Woodrow Wilson and W. J. Bryan or upon Cardinal Gibbons and the Roman Pontiff.

Furthermore, the confession cannot in reality hurt our cause in California. The non-Socialist labor union vote in Los Angeles we had far better do without. When the workers of Los Angeles are ready to vote for Socialism we shall carry the city with or without the consent of the union officials.

Gompers and Mitchell, or the average craft union leaders, in the place of the McNamaras, would have played the part of weaklings and grafters or slunk out of the fight altogether. Thousands of such have quit in despair or gone over to the enemy when the trusts proceeded to smash the unions. The McNamaras, strong but ignorant, woefully misguided

but true to their class, threw themselves like fanatics into a hopeless and losing fight. Why could they not, in the hour when each, in his inmost self, was put to the crucial test, act like men and die as they had lived? From such a going out the revolutionary workers might have drawn that measure of comfort which comes from the reflection that members of the working class may be depended upon to suffer death for their cause. But their vision was too limited to inspire calm courage. Their confession is a dying groan from the lips of a dying form of the labor movement.

The McNamaras were just as misguided, but no more so, than was John Brown. With twenty-one untrained fanatics John Brown started a war upon the South and upon the government of the United States. Could Brown have been successful in freeing the slaves he would have been "right." Failure made him wrong. Were the McNamaras' old-fashioned union methods successful in bringing freedom to the working class they would be "right." But such methods cannot win. Hence, for that reason, and for that reason alone, they are to be condemned. The hearts of the McNamaras were right. It was their heads which were in error. A pity that they might not have gone to their doom like their elder brother, who, when he marched down between the ranks of soldiers with loaded muskets, bowed his head and bent his back but once, and then to kiss the black child of a slave.

A few days later, at the grave of old John Brown, Wendell Phillips, rising in the face of the bitter opposition of every cowardly, slavery-defending wage-worker, of every cringing, sniveling parson, of every dough-face politician and every swindling, prostituted lawyer and shop-keeper who hastened to assure the South that they were "law abiding" and that they gloried in the death of John Brown, said to the whole dirty rabble what revolutionists may well repeat today:

"John Brown had more right to hang the governor of Virginia than the governor of Virginia had to hang John Brown. Virginia stands at the bar of the civilized world on trial."



The Growth of Socialist Sentiment in Alaska

BY AN ALASKAN MINER

THE average Socialist looks on Alaska as a place where there is little or no industrial development and consequently a poor field for the Socialist lecturer and organizer; a place where Socialist talent and money would be practically a total loss. I shall endeavor to show that such is by no means the case.

It is perfectly true that the industrial development, thought by so many of the comrades to be absolutely necessary to the growth of Socialist sentiment, is lacking here, but there is more *intellectual freedom* here than I believe is to be found in any other section of America.

We speak of countries being "ripe for

Socialism." We mean that these countries are so well developed industrially that machine production has reached a high stage; that the national resources of these countries are controlled by comparatively few of the people, and that the masses are so tightly held in the bondage of wage-slavery that they will gladly listen to what Socialists have to say and jump at our doctrines as offering the only means of relief.

If industrial development is really all that is necessary to the rapid growth of Socialist sentiment, why is England not in the lead in Socialism? She is surely "ripe"; at least I don't think anyone will be willing to go so far as to call her

"green." I think the answer is that the ruling class of Great Britain is wise to its own interest, and that the ruling class of other countries cannot teach them anything regarding the control of the workers.

Along with the development of the machinery of production—the machine with which they shear the workers—they have caused to be developed almost equally a machine to hold the workers still while the shearing process is under way; a machine so gentle in its grip that the average worker does not feel it, does not know he is being held at all. I refer to the pulpit, the press, the public schools and all the other means employed to keep the Englishman quiet, to keep his *mind* in bondage, a more effective way of controlling him than all the other means they could possibly use. What is true regarding England is largely true when we speak of the United States.

Many Socialists employed in the big centers of industry think that it is impossible for a person to become a real class-conscious revolutionist anywhere else. Their idea seems to be that to become a real Socialist it is necessary to work at some job in a big factory. No doubt this is often true, but not always. While the worker in the city and factory is learning that there is a class-struggle, he is also where he is likely to have his mind befuddled by "reformers," "labor fakers," capitalist preachers and all the dishonest horde of lackeys of the system that is exploiting him.

It may be urged that this is good for him, that it develops him, makes him keen, and that the man who is not subject to these things will necessarily be dull and slow to see anything that is directly in front of him. Maybe some comrades can't imagine how men who have lived ten or fifteen years in this undeveloped country can become Socialists, not having had the pressure of a highly developed industrial life to drive them to it.

The Socialists here, as a rule, take very few capitalist papers or magazines. Many of them are prospecting a part of the time, often being alone for days, weeks or even months without seeing anything in the shape of a human animal.

Men so situated do a great deal of thinking, and if it is not possible for such men to rid their brains of the accumulated rubbish of early teaching, I think there is less hope of the city wage worker ever accomplishing it, surrounded as he is by all the distractions of modern civilization. I think the worker who has managed to clear his "garret" of dust and cobwebs is likely to "take" Socialism, if exposed to it, whether he is roaming the mountains in this northern solitude or working amid the whirr and rattle of machinery in a Massachusetts factory.

The Socialist here is more in the position of an onlooker than an active participant in the industrial struggle. He is far enough off not to be blinded by the smoke or deafened by the noise of the conflict. From his position here on "the top of the earth" he watches earnestly the battle rage around the world and contributes his mite toward the "cause." Alaska may not be industrially "ripe," but I believe the people that live here are *mentally* "ripe."

As evidence of the kind of Socialists we have here I will state that since the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW changed from being a record of the "hairsplitting" matches of the "intellectuals" and developed into a real workingman's magazine, filled with articles couched in language that the worker can easily understand—articles dealing with subjects of vital interest to him—I have heard not one word of complaint regarding the magazine. I think that is sufficient to show that we are not "half-baked," but that we are class-conscious and revolutionary. I don't know, but I imagine the milk-and-water kind don't appreciate the I. S. R. in its present form.

If more of our papers followed the lead of the REVIEW and printed less matter that is pleasing to craft unions and advocated *industrial unionism*, I believe the time would not be far distant when we would no longer have as a reminder that the workers are not united, the discouraging "spectacle" of union trainmen hauling scabs, soldiers and thugs to defeat workingmen who are striking for better conditions in some other branch of industry; a more inexcusable, shameful and traitorous act on the part of so-called union men it is impossible to find.



HOMEWARD BOUND.

From Pick and Shovel to the Breaker

BY

EDGAR LLEWELLYN

THE wonderful transformation that has taken place in the mining, transportation and preparation of anthracite coal since the inception of that industry, employing 150,000 men and boys, has created a revolution in the Tucawana, Luzerne, Schuylkill and Northumberland counties of Pennsylvania.

When this industry was in its infancy a man named Remy owned a tract of land in Trevorton, a town situated in the western end of the lower anthracite coal field. Un-

derlying this land lay a rich deposit of the finest anthracite coal. Mr. Remy mined this coal with a pick and shovel. He used also a simple hand-drill. He transported the coal in a wheelbarrow, broke up large lumps with a sledge and waited for customers. Mr. Remy prospered. He received the full value of his product and he built himself a home within a stone's throw of the scenes of his labors. The total cost of his tools did not exceed ten dollars.

As the demands for coal increased Mr.

Remy engaged men to help him supply the demand. He bought additional tools. The simple drill was superseded by a larger and better one. A screen was no longer used in breaking up the lumps of coal as an inventive genius had evolved a revolving roller with projecting teeth that broke the coal into pieces of a uniform size. This roller was manipulated by men or women. Soon steam began to be used, the poor grades of coal being used under the boilers. This was the first instance of the substitution of steam power for hand power in the mines. Mules were used inside the mines as the owners found it was cheaper to feed one mule than to pay wages sufficient to keep ten men in good working condition.

Steam power accelerated coal mining and the coal burned under the boilers made possible the use of steam power. The demand for coal grew by leaps and bounds. Now was the time for the entrance of the big capitalist.

At this time the Philadelphia & Reading Company were trying to secure control of the lower anthracite coal fields. Mr. Remy found that he had struck a mass of rock running across his fields and decided that he was nearing the end of his coal deposits. But the P. & R. Company engaged experts who assured them that beyond the small "fault" lying in Mr. Remy's coal beds lay millions of dollars worth of the finest anthracite coal. By persuading Mr. Remy to sign a cunningly worded document the company secured his entire fields by promising to pay him one dollar a day for the remaining years of his life.

Upon Mr. Remy's death friends appealed to the officials of the corporation in the hope of inducing them to provide for the widow. But Mr. F. B. Gowan, the president, who posed as a kindly Christian gentleman, advised the committee that if he contributed one dollar to Mrs. Remy's support he would feel like a thief going down into the pockets of the company. He felt such a donation would be **ROBBING THE STOCKHOLDERS.**

When such incidents come to mind, do not forget the questions that are so often hurled at the socialist agitator by the business men of today: "How will you **PAY** the **OWNERS** of industry when you take control?"

Of course, the corporations immediately enlarged their operations in the coal field. New gangways were built above the old ones. Steel railroad tracks were built; more mules were put to work. The primitive breaker was replaced by one with a capacity of 1,000 tons a day, 20,000 men were employed to work in the mines.

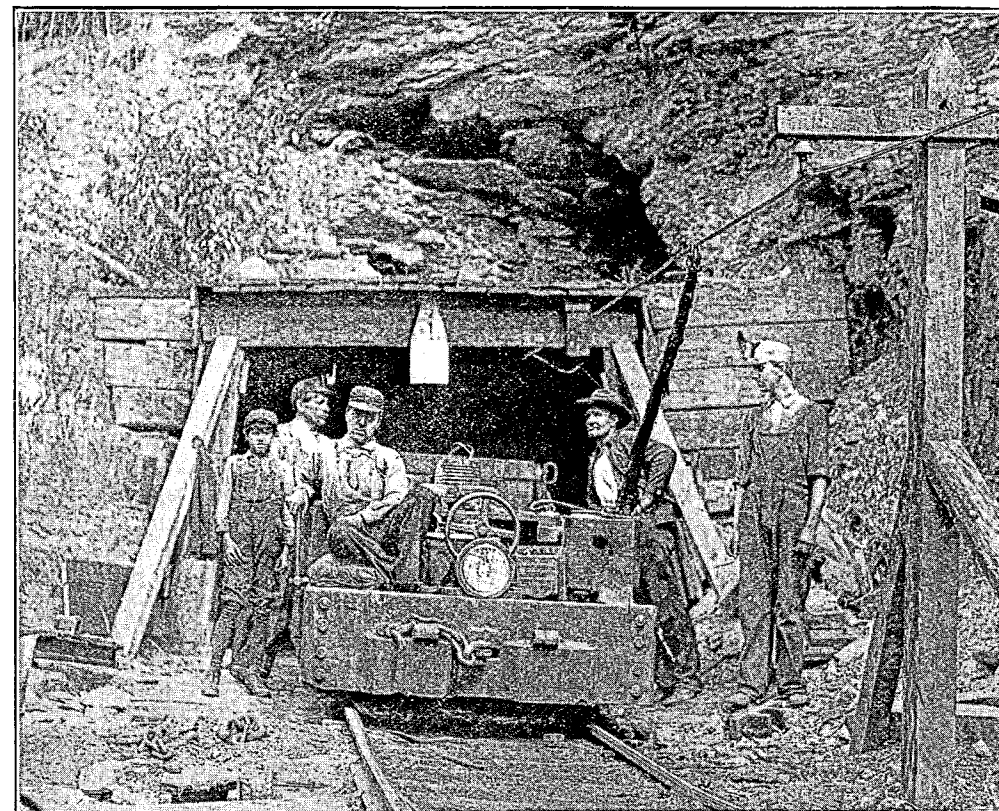
Eight miles away lay Shamokin where men could be secured. But the coal corporations did not propose to pay 48 cents (in additional wages), to cover the daily fare from Shamokin to the mines. They solved the transportation problem and themselves hauled the miners to and from work for 11 cents a day.

For a long time Sunday and all religious holidays fretted the mine owners. The men did not work, but gradually the miners who were greatly in need of more wages began to cut out church going and to work in the mines instead.

One of the peculiar features of coal mining is the increase of the cost of producing coal. The longer a mine is worked the more it costs the owners to get coal out of it. The transportation to the surface grows all the time. The amount of water to be drained off increases. Additional roofing and supports are needed everywhere. Naturally the mine owners looked to improved machinery to keep down the increasing cost of mining coal, and the further elimination of human labor power for steam power running improved machinery began. Compressed air or electric locomotives—eight ton locomotives—eliminated the mules. Water is pumped out cheaper and faster by huge steam pumps.

Ventilation of mines has been cheapened by the installation of electric fans that run faster than the old style steam engine. The new motive power works practically automatically—so that the men working on these jobs were made unnecessary. The use of reinforced concrete and steel beaming which is subjected to a scientific preservative is prolonging the life of the mine supports and reducing one item in the cost of mining coal.

But it is in the preparation of coal that we see the machine displacing human labor power almost to the point of elimination. In the modern breaker, as the coal falls out of the mine car, it is automatically separated,



ON THE WAY TO WORK.

the smaller pieces going to the sorting machine and the larger falling onto a machine running diagonally from the direction the coal travels. Through the law of specific gravity the coal is automatically separated from the slate. One of these machines displaces sixteen boys.

The smaller pieces of coal have been carried to the screens that no longer revolve, for the inventor has discovered that a flat screen operated in an oscillating manner works better for coal screening, provided a stream of water is automatically poured over it.

From the screens the coal is run into what is called the "jig" machine, watertight, of from one to two ton capacity. The water is continually agitated by dashers and the coal being lighter rises to the surface and is carried off into chutes, where one or two boys complete the work. It took from twelve to fifteen boys to accomplish the work now performed by one boy and a "jig."

Very often the product of the inventor displaces men and makes room for boy workers. Not so here. Here it is the boys who are going. The machines do the work formerly done by boys. A few men are hired to repair the machines and this is too heavy and too difficult for boys to perform.

This explains why the coal companies did not fight the 14-year-law limit for the breaker boy. They no longer need them. Very benevolently then they permit the state law-making body to say that boys of fourteen or under shall no longer be employed as breakers. Verily are these company officials humane when there are no profits at stake.

Often I am asked, "What will the Socialists do for the inventor?" We will surely do more for him than do the coal companies. I shall cite two instances with which I am familiar.

A man in the employ of the P. & R. Company planned a method for reducing the cost of coal preparation. So good the com-

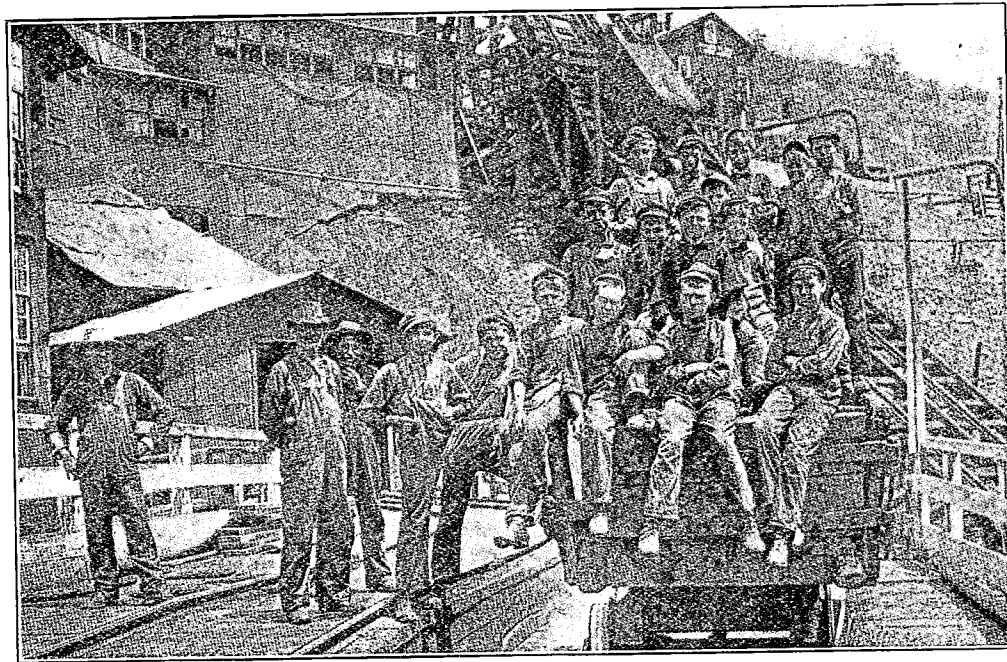
pany thought it that it was put into use on every breaker. This workingman had labored incessantly for five months, during all his spare time, to perfect the process. When the general manager and his staff paid a visit of inspection to the mines, the humble workingman asked them what they thought of his invention. Then the great man patted him on the back after the manner of the successful politician, the day after election, and said, "Very fine, very fine!" But when the workingman made bold to ask what compensation the company intended to make him the haughty manager replied that he should be made foreman upon the next vacancy at the enormous increase in wages of \$20.00 a month. This for his work in saving the company many hundreds of dollars every DAY.

A foreman at one of these collieries invented a device for preventing the falling of mine cages (or elevators), whereby the lives of many wage slaves will be saved. At a trial test in the presence of the manager he proved beyond question that his was a real life saving device. It was the impression of everybody that the invention would be installed in all the P. & R. mines. Visions of wealth and leisure filled the mind of our

working class inventor for he had protected himself by having his device patented. But the manager knew this fact and the plans were dropped like a hot brick. The company preferred to take the lives of its producers rather than pay this man a royalty for the product of his brain.

I have seen the man work this great mine with his single pick and shovel and I have seen the mine pass from his hands into the hands of the P. & R. Company. I have seen gigantic steam shovels installed and weighing eighty tons of coal, supplant the labor of 300 men. I have seen coal mined lying near the surface of the earth by the use of these shovels, which help to keep down the value of coal and its price to the consumer.

Not till recently was a market found for smaller sizes of coal such as pea, rice, barley, buck, etc. This was formerly thrown onto the refuse pile, but the inventor has created the fire boxes and stacks wherein these small sizes are used for generating steam. The coal operators are able through the use of automatic machinery to reclaim the small sizes. While the heat value of this coal is very inferior many companies are not at all averse to mixing it with fresh



DINNER HOUR.



A YOUNG MINER.

mineral coal just as the old grocer formerly spilled sand in his sugar barrels.

The labor cost for reclaiming this coal does not exceed 27 cents a ton, and if anybody doubts the above statements, I shall be glad to furnish the names of companies that are freest in mixing the bad with the good. In some places the cost of reclamation is gotten down as low as 12 3-5 cents a ton.

A story is told of an old man who was employed in one of the mine boiler houses,

when a labor-saving ash handling device rendered unnecessary the work of several men. When the men told him about their dismissal he walked up to the new machine and shook his fist into its face (figuratively speaking), and said:

"You can snort and puff and you CAN haul the ashes," he said, "but by all that is holy you can't VOTE and just as soon as we realize that we CAN organize and CAN vote, we can take you over and USE you to our own profit."

We have traced the coal industry from the day when one man owned, mined, transported and prepared the coal for market with tools costing less than ten dollars and we have seen it develop into an industry employing over 150,000 men and boys using tools costing more than \$250,000.

Men of every nation are working in the coal mines. There are mechanics, carpenters, blacksmiths, machinists, trackmen, bricklayers, electricians, engineers and miners galore. They are doing the work in the mines. They are producing the coal. They are being paid small wages—a part of the value they are producing. They are working for a boss.

This is because the capitalists own the mines and the machinery used in the mines. Socialism proposes that the men who operate the mines and the other industries shall own them. That these men shall gain the reward of their labor. Socialism shall sweep aside all class lines. We will have no rich idlers nor starving workers. And happiness will dwell in the homes of every worker upon the face of the earth.



Capital and Labor

A Short Catechism

BY ARCHIBALD CRAWFORD

QUESTION. What is meant by the term "labor"?

Answer. Mind and muscle (i. e., power) capable of being applied to the material resources of the earth to produce wealth.

Q. What is "wealth"?

A. Things worth something—articles of value.

Q. What is "value"?

A. The result of labor economically (i. e., wisely and without waste) expended upon things required by society for its maintenance and satisfaction, mental and physical.

Q. Does not land produce wealth without labor?

A. No. Land is merely the valueless material out of which labor creates wealth.

Q. How comes it, then, that individuals become rich by becoming possessed of "land values"?

A. What is called "land values" exists by virtue of the mere fact that *labor* exists, and fluctuates in accordance with the degree of certainty that labor must inevitably use it (the land). "Land values" realized is prepaid surplus value, or money advanced upon the calculation that much more money will be realized at a future period from exploited labor.

Q. Does not machinery produce wealth?

A. Not in itself. Machinery is a labor-created aid to labor. It supplements the muscle of labor.

Q. And superior ability?

A. Superior mental ability is a social quality and growth which does not belong to but manifests itself in the individual. Like machinery, it produces nothing in itself, but supplements the *mind* of labor.

Q. Can you explain it more fully?

A. Labor consists of two factors—mind and muscle. The former directs the latter, but both are absolutely necessary and interdependent. One cannot create

values without the other, and neither is inferior nor superior. Both, in fact, are *one* and called "labor." Mind and muscle exist in degree among individuals, and mind particularly is a social product. It is manifest in all the works of man we see around us. The greatest mind is perhaps more than 90 per cent social and less than 10 per cent (if at all) individual. It is not more surprising that one man should have a superior brain than that another should have a superior arm or muscle. An individual mind might contribute but the merest iota to a great scheme and get almost the entire credit. Superior mental ability makes a superior laborer, but nothing can be *thought* into becoming wealth. It must be transformed by physical effort.

Q. What is "capital"?

A. Capital—i. e., the means of production—is wealth used to produce surplus values.

Q. What do you mean by "surplus value"?

A. Value created by labor in excess of its hire is *surplus* value. "Surplus value" is that portion of wealth produced by labor which is appropriated by the capitalist (owner of the means of production). It might be termed "unpaid labor" or "wealth of which labor is robbed."

Q. What is "profit"?

A. "Profit" is or should be "surplus value." The term is in practice meant to convey the idea of gain. Some employers include the value of their own labor with the "surplus values" appropriated from their hired laborers and call it "profit." With many small traders "profit" is the reward of their toil, and in many cases they are underpaid, their labor not being "socially necessary" labor. In the cases of big corporations, the profits are less than the surplus values, because much of the latter is written off in press subsidies, donations to charities, churches, political parties

and other pillars of the capitalist system. The term "surplus value" is used in preference to "profit," because it has an exact meaning.

Q. What is "wages"?

A. "Wages" represents the price paid for the hire of labor. The conditions of wage payment is that the laborer should create values in excess of the price paid for his hire.

Q. Who owns capital?

A. The capitalist class.

Q. Has not the capitalist class as owner of the means of production, the right to all labor produces by the help of its capital?

A. Certainly, if we admit the right of the capitalist class to own the means of production, which we don't.

Q. Why do you dispute the right of the capitalist class to own the means of production—land, mines, machinery, factories, etc?

A. Because land, the private property which first enslaved labor and led to its divorce from all forms of capital, was originally stolen from aborigines who held it in common. The right of the capitalist class to these things was its might to take and hold. Labor's might to retake and hold is its "right." Labor alone has a *use* for land and will come into its own.

Q. Has labor no moral right apart from its power to take and hold?

A. It has. The capitalist class did not produce land and sources of wealth and has therefore no moral right whatever to claim ownership in these, especially when its ownership is a detriment and means of suffering and death to so many members of human society.

Q. Will not the capitalist class recognize the justice of this claim and hand over the means of production (life) to society?

A. History and present tendency point the other way. At all times classes have fought to maintain their privileges irrespective of what was or wasn't moral.

Q. Can you provide a good example?

A. A leaf out of Washington's life perhaps will serve.

Q. To what do you refer?

A. To Washington as a slave owner and the analogy it provides to the "good and moral" owner of capital.

Q. What are the facts?

A. Washington owned something less than a thousand slaves. He freely expressed his abhorrence of slavery. When Lafayette bought an estate and freed the slaves on it, Washington wrote: "Your late purchase is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God a like spirit would diffuse itself generally in the minds of the people." Yet Washington clung to his private ownership of human slaves as long as he lived, just as owners of capital do today. Many of the latter leave wills bequeathing their property in whole or part to society, just as Washington left a will expressing his desire to have those slaves freed which he held *in his own right*; but not until *the decease of his wife*.

Q. But Washington in a *letter* to Jefferson declared it one of his first wishes to see a plan adopted by which slavery in America might be abolished by law. Is that not so?

A. Sure. And even *his* superior intelligence and six subsequent years' presidency of the United States did not evolve any plan. No modification of society has ever been *planned*. Society is a growth and in its development upsets the grandest theories and plans of mere men, this because it obeys "economic" and not "man-made" laws.

Q. Do you mean to suggest that we cannot be legislated into a new and grander form of society; that we cannot abolish private property by law?

A. Not unless it registers a stage already attained in economic development. Laws may go with economic development, but the latter will never follow legislatures or the plans devised by politicians.

Q. Do not leading Socialists assert that capitalism will be abolished by legislative authority?

A. To some extent, but that does not and will not alter facts. To use Washington again for illustration. Referring to the abolition of slavery he wrote: "There is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority." It was, however, accomplished by nothing less than a revolution. The same may happen again.

Q. And how do you propose to abolish capitalism?

A. By the "proper and effectual" mode,

which has a different meaning at different periods. We can only organize the forces at our command and prepare for the course nature in the exercise of her divine, inexorable and irresistible laws will dictate.

Q. What are the forces at your command today and whence come they?

A. As only the working class is exclusively and unquestionably interested in abolishing capitalist domination, it is exclusively and unquestionably the source of our revolutionary movement. Today the working class is manifesting its powers in (to the capitalist class) an alarming degree. The working class is being prepared by natural evolution for its great work—or as it is sometimes described—its historic mission to overthrow the capitalist system of private ownership of things socially used and production for profit and substitute a new society wherein things socially used will be socially owned and wealth be produced for the use and enjoyment of society as a whole.

Q. How is it being so prepared?

A. The growth of the trust, with its corollaries—subdivision of labor and elimination of craft, destruction of small capital and elimination of the middleman, thus decreasing the number who control the industries and increasing the numbers and “consciousness” of the working class—is bringing us to a stage when the bulk of the workers, being reduced to a common level of misery and degradation, will observe the enormous benefit to be derived from the change of ownership of the means of production from the few to all society,

and the ease with which this desirable change might be accomplished, and will take the necessary action to inaugurate a new, and, it is anticipated, a happier era. In other words, co-operation is now a rapidly developing feature of production and will inevitably force the same (co-operative) principle upon all other phases of our social existence. We will co-operate to enjoy as well as produce.

Q. What action can the working class take?

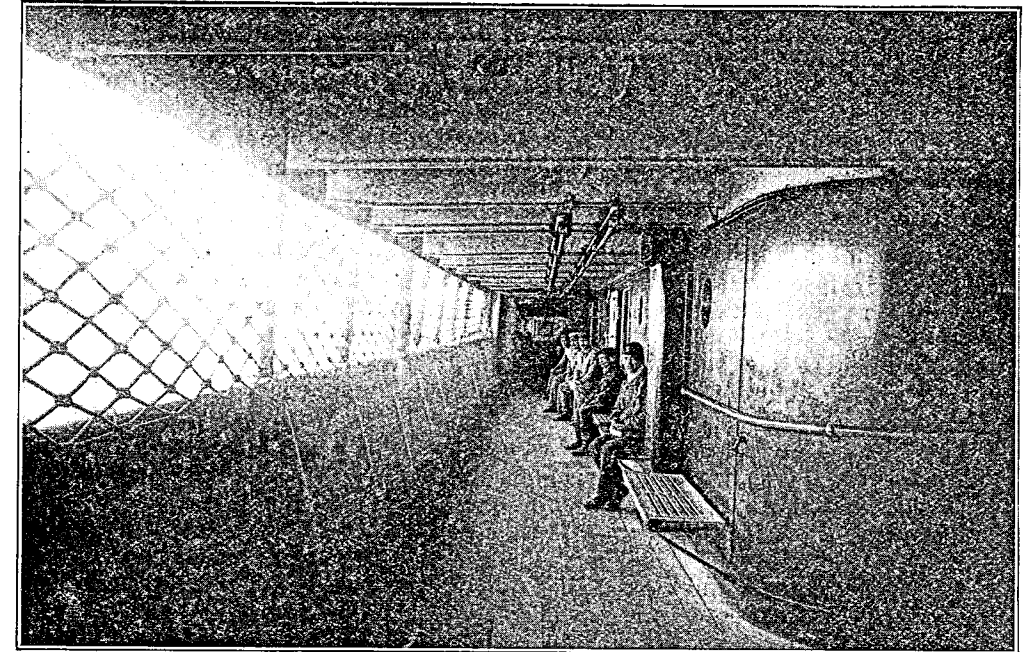
A. The working class is already taking action. The passing of trade unionism represents the final destruction of privileged sects which were accustomed in defense of their privileges to fight, and thus enervate, the class to which all belonged. The growth of industrial or “class” unionism is the recognition of all workers that all workers have a common cause to fight for, and that, to win, all must stand together—engineer with scavenger, clerk with chimney sweep, miner with railway man, farm laborer with shop assistant, for the overthrow of capitalism. The Socialist Party exists to reflect and serve the economic organizations upon the political field.

Q. Will the emancipation of the working class be won on the political or the industrial field?

A. It will be won on both if it is to be won speedily and well. All depends on the wisdom of the fighters in using each field in just its proper proportion for just its proper purpose. But it *will* be won.

Q. And your guiding principle?

A. We express it with the phrase, “Co-operate with evolution; educate towards revolution!”



COAL PASSERS COOLING OFF.

A Sailor's Life

BY WINDEN E. FRANKWEILER

BECAUSE of the recent strike of seamen in England and general unrest among them, it undoubtedly will interest the REVIEW readers to hear something about the working conditions on ocean steamers.

The above photograph shows a part of the firemen's deck of one of them. This deck is closed toward the sea with a fence made of strong hemp rope.

What do you think this fence is there for? To keep out the waves or to catch flying fishes? A few words will explain its purpose.

It must be remembered that a large modern steamer has about 100 to 150 furnaces (fires) and uses about 600 to 1,000 tons of coal daily. The coal necessary for the voyage is stored in different parts of the ship.

The boilers and coal-bunkers usually are situated below sea level and it is obvious

that the air in such a boiler room is hot and full of coal dust and filled with oily, disgusting smells.

It is the work of coal passers to shovel the coal into small wagons, not unlike those that are used in coal mines. These bring it before the boilers. On their way there they sometimes have to pass through dark, small gangways between the boilers—mind you, between the boilers—which are often not high enough for a man to stand upright beneath.

In order to keep up the high pressure of steam the firemen in the meantime are hard at work to shovel these enormous quantities 600 to 1,000 tons daily of coal under the boilers.

Now you can imagine what it means to do such hard work under such hard conditions; but this isn't the worst yet.

When there is only a weak wind or no breeze or the wind goes in the same direc-

tion as the ship little or no fresh air passes through the air-tubes into the boiler room. Or when the air is warm and damp like it often is the Gulf stream, which is several hundreds of miles in width, the situation grows worse and even the electric air pumps—if there are any—bring no relief.

On such occasions the atmosphere becomes simply unbearable and sometimes dozens of men lose consciousness and have to be brought to the open air to recover.

The other workers who are strong enough to escape fainting become half crazy, so greedy for fresh air and coolness, that many of them at the end of their shift would jump overboard, regardless of certain death. Only the above-mentioned fence prevents them from doing so.

A bourgeois economist might call this fence a "protection" for the working men. The newspapers sometimes bring the news that some fireman jumped overboard, but they never go any deeper and tell why.

The steamship companies in their descriptive pamphlets tell the passengers that after four hours of work the men are "allowed" (as they term it) an eight-hour rest. The simple reason is that it is impossible to work any longer and for the man who goes deeper it means eight hours a day of exceptionally hard work under unusually bad conditions.

When there is rough weather, which happens quite often and sometimes for several days in succession, the firemen cannot sit down on their little deck to get the same fresh air. This deck is not much above the sea level and is therefore flooded by the waves. The firemen on such occasions must go to their lodgings, where, on account of the rolling of the ship, they have a hard time to keep themselves in their beds and are so deprived of the much-needed rest.

By the way, if the boiler room is a "hell" these bunks certainly are some kind of a purgatory. Usually they are in a comparatively small room, half dark, poorly ventilated, where sometimes 60 to 80 men live together. The place is so small that two, often three, beds are placed one above the other.

As compensation for this work the men get about \$15 a month and free meals and lodgings on the German steamers, while their English brothers get in the neighborhood of \$25.

Oil is used as fuel, which is making striking progress, in combination with the steam-turbine and will bring great changes. It will do away with this hard and degrading work, but also with the firemen and coal-passers. While today on a large modern steamer about 300 to 400 men are occupied in the engine room, 30 to 40 men probably will suffice to do the same amount of work.

Now a few words about the other men on board of a big steamer. The sailors (deck hands) work twelve hours a day—four hours' work alternating with four hours' rest. The payment of overtime, however, is usually unheard of.

The cabin stewards have no fixed working time at all, from six o'clock in the morning till eleven at night they must be at the service of their passengers. Besides that, at least one-half-night's watch a week.

Each complaint on the part of the passenger—founded or not—means a sure discharge for the steward. On the German steamers the stewards get about \$10 a month, free meals and lodgings. Of this money they have to pay for missing or broken dishes and lost or stolen (sometimes by passengers) knives and forks, etc., which sometimes amounts to \$2 or \$3. From this money they must also buy their uniforms and other things and finally yield some graft to pantry men and cooks. Usually nothing is left of these \$10 and so the stewards depend entirely upon the tips of the passengers, which they are not allowed to demand under penalty of immediate discharge, but for which they are heavily taxed in Germany.

The stewards on the English steamers get much better pay and besides are free during the stay of the ships in the home port.

The difference of the treatment between the German and English sailors originates in the fact that the latter mostly belong to the International Sailors' Union, while the former do not.

Sailors know little or no family life. Those on fast steamers between Europe

and North America see their families once every three to five weeks for a few days, while those on steamers plying between other countries or on sailing ships do not see their home—if they have any—for five or six months and sometimes not for several years.

When a sailor is dissatisfied with "his" ship, he cannot leave it in a foreign port, and if he does he is arrested and brought back by force and has to continue to the home port.

Bourgeois economists will prove by statistics that the sailor's life is a healthful one because so few die while at work. It

is for the simple reason that most of them give up their jobs when comparatively young and of course do not die active sailors. The firemen quit their jobs as soon as they have some other employment, while the stewards and deck hands, because of the hard work and ever-changing climate they pass through, are "worn out" at fifty.

The average man on land thinks the sailors have an easy life, full of liberty, but they are utterly mistaken, for the crushing claw of capitalism clasps the seas as well as the land.

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

BY LOUIS WEITZ, ORGANIZER

A general meeting of the Young People's Socialist Federation of New York was held Sept. 10th, at the Terrace Lyceum. The meeting was well attended. Several important and decisive results were obtained.

The meeting was opened by the organizer, and comrade Minkow later took it over, acting as presiding officer. The organizer, recording secretary and financial secretary, rendered their reports. The recording secretary added the information that the federation, as at present constituted, numbered some two hundred strong; with prospects of immediate gain. A glad surprise awaited us. Mrs. Ludwig Lore addressed us.

Though the manner of her delivery was masterful, the matter of her discourse was still better, in its logic, simplicity and usefulness. In the introduction she placed especial emphasis upon the study of the young socialist movement abroad, since much could be learned from them, in the matter of avoiding errors, and finding out the best methods of organization. Comrade Lore related the neglect by the Socialist party of the young Socialist movement there, at the beginning of its attempts at organization. She was thus drawing a parallel to our own Socialist party's former neglect of this question; which neglect

has not by any means passed. Only in certain localities has the party given this subject due consideration.

At the time that the idea of a young Socialist movement in Germany was conceived of, despite the party's gross neglect, some enthusiastic Socialists, tried as individuals, to spread the idea of its need, and the resulting organization which must necessarily follow, because of this need. The aid rendered by these handful of comrades soon brought some surprisingly good results.

The organization grew so steadily and rapidly that the government became alarmed at the impending danger. Governmental restrictions of all sorts were saddled on the backs of the young Socialists of Germany, in order to weigh them down to obedience and ignominious defeat. It was mainly by outlawing all political organizations of young people that the government thought to turn the trick.

These tactics could result only in final failure, because the young Socialist movement had come to stay, and also because it was in harmony with the law of evolution. It is true, great suffering, on the part of these youthful revolutionists, was a natural consequence of their rebellion.

The government, by its pestilent oppression, had somewhat disorganized the young

people's forces. At this critical stage of the game, the trade unions, which are composed mainly of Socialists, resolved to take a hand in these affairs. The trade unions began to organize them into industrial sections, thus getting round the political restriction. The socialist party at last awakening to the realization of the importance of its young Socialist movement, sent a committee to the young people, and this committee assumed the duties of instruction.

The proof that their power is growing can be seen in their numbers, and in the various activities in which they are engaged. Their numbers, reckoning by groups, is 147. These various groups each have their own club rooms, which are called homes. And as Comrade Lore remarked, they are really and truly homes in the best possible sense of that much abused word. A picture of one of these homes appeared lately in the *Young Socialist Magazine* of New York, and it was a sight fit to draw sighs of envy and admiration from all who saw it. Their representative press organ *The Arbeiter Jugend*, has a circulation of sixty-five thousand. But their anti-militaristic demonstrations, after all, are the most wonderful part of their work, since the question of militarism is the all-important one in Germany. It is reported that during the late Morocco affair, in certain cities of Germany, demonstrations to the number of forty and fifty were held each night; the young Socialists engineering them. Another good feature of their organization is the attempts to induce all their members to join their trade unions.

The various other European countries, though inferior in their organization of young Socialists, are not by any means backward. Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Belgium are strong in this respect. France is exceedingly weak, due to the many conflicting elements within the ranks of the Socialist Party itself. The lack of clearness as to its policies does not permit of any effective young Socialist organization, founded on concentrated effort, and oneness of purpose.

The foregoing is the substance of Comrade Lore's remarks on the movement abroad. From it several lessons can be learned. Most important of all is the fact

that where the Socialist Party has a strong, working organization, there, too, the strength and growth of the young Socialist movement is great. Where such is not the case, of course, the reverse is true. Many other conclusions may be inferred from a study of the movement abroad. But space compels me to proceed with Comrade Lore's criticism of the movement in the United States.

Comrade Lore's criticism of the movement in America had necessarily to confine itself to what she knows of the organization in New York and Brooklyn. In fact, it is hardly possible that there are a dozen locals in the United States, where the young Socialist movement has been started. The first imperfection named was that we lacked the true, working class spirit. That it rather smacked of an organization of young philosophers, high school students, and the like, instead of what it should really be—an organization to better industrial conditions for the working class. She admonished us because we paid more attention to philosophical meditations than to the real work—assisting the Socialist Party in its battles for industrial freedom, by taking out the platform, by giving out literature, and attending protest demonstrations, and showing in every way that we are liberty loving in action, as well as in name.

The only reply possible to this criticism is to remind Comrade Lore that this class-conscious spirit cannot be instilled within so short a time as the existence of our federation warrants, but that it will eventually arrive. The criticism is based somewhat on false premises, because we are attempting within our present capacities to do the agitation work referred to. But, unfortunately, not in as great a degree as might be desired. Time alone can remedy this defect.

Comrade Lore did not by any means neglect the importance of educational work, but in addition cautioned us to give it its proper proportions; and not let it be the only object of our organization. The need of party members to act as directors and to assist in numerous other ways was also touched upon.

At the conclusion of her speech, Comrade Lore gave us much advice of inestimable

value, some of which cannot be followed at present. The following is a portion of this advice: Suggestions as to better methods of promoting sociability, especially at entertainments. That the young Socialists, individually and as an organization, should support their own press. And lastly that they should agitate industrially, in trade unions and elsewhere.

My object in writing this article is twofold. First of all, I wish to impress upon the Socialist Party, the necessity of starting a national organization of young So-

cialists, and also to have our national organizers mention this topic in their speeches, as was suggested by Comrade Lore. Secondly, that wherever any organizations are already formed, or about to be formed, that they should try to avoid the errors of our cousins, the Germans, and others, and to get into closer touch with the Socialist Party. If this article will be the means of injecting even the germs of this thought into the minds of the Socialist Party members, my task shall not have been in vain.

THE CLOSED DOOR.

By J. Edward Morgan.

The door of Opportunity
Is closed and stoutly barred,
A sceptred hand has turned the lock;
Within a sound is heard
Of mirth and sumptuous feasting
While without the myriads press
And, pleading at the entrance,
Cry: "Open unto us."

Knocking at the door of Privilege
With shout and deaf'ning din;
Crying: "Open wide the bolted door
And let the masses in!
Within is royal feasting
For king Mammon's chosen few,
Without we fall with famine,
Oh, let us share with you."

But the guarded door of Plenty,
Is closed and double barred;
And crafty hands have turned the lock,
Within a sound is heard
Of ribald mock and jeering
As without the myriads press
And, pleading faint and famished,
Cry: "Open unto us."

But the iron door, long mocking,
Shall one day be unbarred,
And crafty hands shall tremble,
From within a sound be heard
Of wail and hopeless pleading
While without the myriads press
Made mad by strength of famine
Thundering: "Thus we make redress."

Life's greed-ruled house of Plenty,
With all its pilfered store
Of Nature's wealth and art of man
By Mammon lorded o'er,
And shared among the golden few
Must all its doors unbar.
Nor brute's device nor will of man
Shall ever close them more.

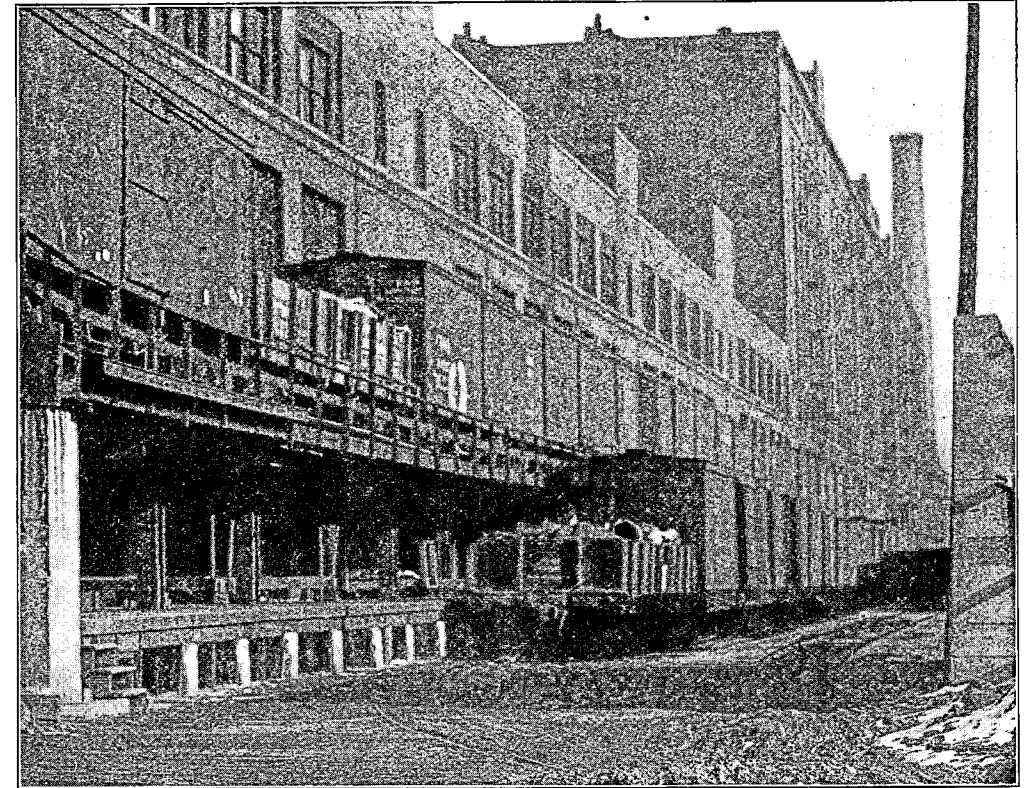
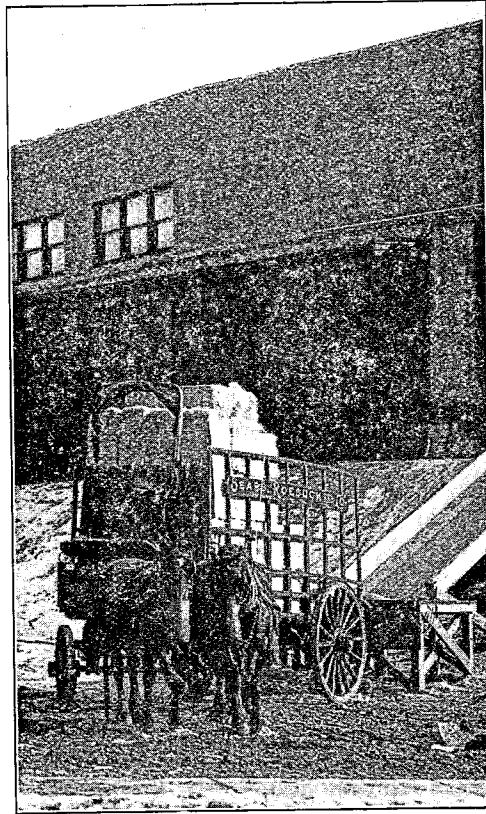
For rebel arms shall storm the doors
And sceptred kingdom fall,
The earth shall shake and tyrants quake,
The slaves will take their all;
And then no more the favored few
Will gorge while myriads press
And pleading at a bolted door,
Cry: "Open unto us."

A Study in Distribution

Sears, Roebuck & Company

BY

PHILLIPS RUSSELL



TWO TIERS OF TRACKS.

WE Socialists have a good deal to say about production. We can give figures and facts pertaining to the subject at a rate which frequently reduces an argufying enemy to silence. But what about distribution? Have we not rather neglected the study of this important branch of modern industry in our keenness to inform ourselves on the more prominent science of production?

It must be kept in mind that some day it is going to be up to the working class to take over the industries—the factories, the big workshops, the mines, the railroads, the great stores, etc.—and operate them for ourselves. Consequently we must be prepared. We must know as well as possible beforehand exactly what we are going to be called upon to do and how to do it.

When in doubt, see how the big capitalist does it. It is to his interest to bring out the greatest amount of efficiency with the least expenditure of effort.

One of the groups of capitalists that are

pointing the way to efficiency in distribution is the firm of Sears, Roebuck & Co., of Chicago, that bugaboo of the little merchant and petty business man.

Sears, Roebuck & Co. are the biggest and best known mail-order retail distributors in the United States, if not in the whole world. They have made their name known wherever the postal service can carry a catalogue, and that bulky volume, weighing two or three pounds and carrying the price and description of everything from a paper of pins to a furnished house, has made its insinuating way at some time or other into perhaps every community of the United States. Sears, Roebuck & Co. will handle your order for a buttonhook with the same facility and ease as for an automobile and they will send you the same grateful acknowledgment by post card.

They are also manufacturers on a large scale, but most of the energy and attention of their 9,000 employes is given to distribution.

Sears, Roebuck & Co. do a business of more than \$60,000,000 a year and at times their sales amount to as high as \$250,000 in one day. From 45 to 65 carloads of freight alone are daily hauled away from their doors.

Yearly their business grows and daily their sales climb higher and higher. Steadily they are making it harder and harder for the keeper of the general store at Cross Corners, as well as the small merchant of Kankakee, to make a living. This is the day of Things on a Big Scale and it is up to the little man either to get in line or get out. For instance, only the other day the newspapers chronicled the fact that Marshall Field & Co., the great department store distributors of Chicago, had just bought the controlling interest in several of the biggest textile mills of North Carolina. What chance will the little retailer now have against Marshall Field & Co. in dealing in these textiles? No wonder that statistics kept by the commercial agencies

show that only 5 per cent of the persons who start a business eventually succeed!

In other words, 95 out of every 100 men who in these days put all their money, brains and energy into the founding of a new concern are foredoomed to failure! They *can't* succeed. The cards are stacked against them.

Now, Sears, Roebuck & Co. belong to the 5 per cent that have won. Hence it is worth our while to discover the reasons why, to learn how they do things, to discover upon what basis they have achieved their supremacy.

Sears, Roebuck & Co. occupy a group of big buildings situated on several acres of ground on the west side of Chicago—where land is cheaper than in the business center of the city and where workers can be had in abundance. These buildings are, in effect, merely huge warehouses where products are stored until called for.

By inspecting the Sears, Roebuck plant we can get a very good idea of what the

distributing centers of the new society will be like in the coming era in which production will be for use, not for profit making, and in which distribution will be carried out for the comfort and convenience of all, not for the enrichment of the few who at present control it.

It is a commonplace to describe a great store or factory as a beehive. The Sears, Roebuck plant really resembles one very closely. Each floor is partitioned off into so many rooms or cells, rising tier upon tier. These cells are divided into so many groups, each group being a department devoted to the handling of one particular product.

For instance, there is the clothing department. In one cell are great tables piled high with overcoats. Six hundred overcoats shipped make a fair day's business. In another cell are endless racks of ready-to-wear suits. In a third is a regiment of tailors busy making these suits. They cut up one bolt of cloth at a time, do you think? Not by a considerable sight. From 50 to 100 layers of cloth are spread upon a giant table at one time and an electric machine cuts out the different parts of 50 to 100 garments at once like a hot knife through a pad of butter.

One group of workers does the basting, another does the sewing, a third puts in the lining and so on. Fifty men can do the work of 300 by the old way. Less and less labor power is wrapped up in a suit of clothes every year. That's the reason you and I can get a hand-me-down for \$9.75 that looks almost like the merchant tailor's \$25 suit and wears just about as long.

Suppose Sears, Roebuck & Co. receive an order for one of these suits from James P. Jones, of Jonestown, Ark. The order is duly recorded by one of a thousand clerks and a requisition is sent to the ready-made clothing cell. Here a young man—there are very few old ones with Sears, Roebuck—this young man selects the proper suit from the huge stock and deposits it in a basket. A boy seizes this basket. Does he walk down seven flights of stairs and tell the people there to send it off to James Jones? He does not. He drops the basket into a chute and down it shoots into the wrapping department, where another

young man seizes it, places it in a neat pasteboard box and turns it over to a third young man who swiftly wraps it up. Another boy comes along and dumps the package into a chute again. Down it drops into the shipping department, sliding out on the floor, where one of a line of men reads the tag it bears. If it is to go by express, he shoves it over to one side; if by freight, to another side. Again it is seized and properly addressed and labeled. If it is an express package, down it drops again into the express office—every company in the United States has an office in the Sears, Roebuck main building—whence it is immediately dispatched.

Perhaps James' suit is part of a regular family order, comprising, say, a mantel clock, a family Bible, a horse bridle, three suits of flannel underwear, a bottle of perfume, a case of canned oysters, a driving buggy, a woman's hat, a churn, a pair of baby's shoes, a coal stove, a half dozen shirtwaists and a carpenter's saw—to give a few items frequently received in one order. In that case all the articles are packed into one box when possible and sent by freight. This is the sort of order that will make half a dozen of the small dealers in Jonestown gnash their teeth when they hear about it. It makes them realize their helplessness.

Now, when this box for Jonestown is ready to go out, it is not put on a wagon and hauled to a distant railway depot. The furthest it travels before being loaded into a freight car is about 50 feet. Six railroad tracks run right under the big shed of the main building and the freight cars are backed clear up to the doors of the Sears, Roebuck shipping department.

That is the way Sears, Roebuck & Co. achieved "success"; that is, made money as distributors—they use as little labor power as possible. They employ no human labor where a mechanical device will do as well. They permit no employe to take 50 steps where five steps can be made to do. Their plant is virtually a great machine, and it works almost automatically. Just enough workers are employed as will keep the machine running properly. There are 9,000 employes at present. If we applied the Supreme Court or "unscrambling eggs" process to the Sears, Roebuck plant and com-



A FRUGAL LUNCH AT NOON.

elled it to split up into small and competing shops, we would probably find, say, 5,000 good-sized stores on our hands, employing about ten persons each. In short, 9,000 people are doing work that would have required 50,000 not many years ago. That is the same as saying that 41,000 persons have lost their jobs—forced out of employment by the machine process.

Not only do Sears, Roebuck & Co. employ as little human labor as possible, but they pay for it at lowest rates. That is because most of the labor they need in their business is unskilled, and unskilled labor is always plentiful and therefore cheap. It requires no high degree of training or intelligence to copy off an order, to arrange a row of packages on a shelf or to pack a goods box, and work of that nature is about all that is required of most Sears, Roebuck's employes.

Pick up the Chicago papers and you will always find standing advertisements from Sears, Roebuck & Co. in the "help wanted"

columns. The concern is always short-handed, principally because comparatively few workers can endure the high speed and the low wages. As soon as they acquire a little experience they go elsewhere.

I once met a man on a train out of Chicago who told me that his sister stayed nine years with Sears, Roebuck & Co., and when she left she was being paid \$7 a week.

Sears, Roebuck & Co. have built up a great fortune, then, out of the merciless exploitation of their workers. Not that the latter are ill treated. On the contrary, the firm is most "benevolent" to its employes. It has provided restaurants where workers can obtain meals at a few cents. There are rest rooms for the women and girls and athletic grounds for the men and boys. There is even a beautiful little park, with a lake, gold fish and so on, for tired employes. And, oh, yes—on a corner of the Sears, Roebuck grounds is a Y. M. C. A. building. The firm gave the land for it, also \$25,000 towards its erection. The big

capitalists discovered some years ago that the Y. M. C. A. is a good thing for the soothing and amusement of their slaves.

Has Big Biz a reason for encouraging the Y. M. C. A.? You bet it has!

Sears, Roebuck & Co. put their money into the Y. M. C. A., into restaurants for their employes, and other "welfare work," for the same reason they put it into any other investment—because they expect it to pay.

Take the matter of cheap restaurants, for instance. Why do big employers go to such pains to furnish low-priced meals to their employes? Let us see.

A big corporation pays a girl worker, say, \$4 a week. It provides for her and her sister workers a restaurant in which a fairly wholesome lunch can be obtained for eight cents, or 50 cents a week. But suppose this girl had to go outside for her lunches and was forced to pay 20 cents each for them, or \$1.20 a week. In that case the firm eventually would have to raise

her pay 70 cents a week, or the difference between 50 cents and \$1.20.

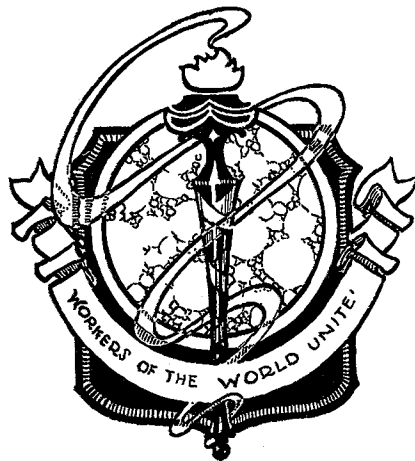
So with all the "philanthropy" of employers. When analyzed it is always found to be a cold-blooded business proposition.

Here, then, are 9,000 workers toiling faithfully away, nine and ten hours a day, distributing the things that other workers have produced.

And over both armies of producers and distributors stand their employers, doing absolutely nothing, but absorbing the wealth as fast as their slaves pile it up.

Could a crazier scheme of things ever have been invented? Could anything be more wretchedly farcical than the capitalist system under which we live?

Some day the workers in the Sears, Roebuck and similar plants will quit being slaves. All together they will organize and unite with the producers and then good-bye to Sears, Roebuck & Co. and their class. They will have to go to work.



The Enormous Thefts of Texas Lands

A Statement of Facts for the Large Number of Tenant Farmers in Texas

BY GUSTAVUS MYERS

Author of the "History of the Great American Fortunes," "History of the Supreme Court of the United States," Etc.

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—The striking and original facts compactly given in this article are but a few of an immense mass of facts, all taken from the official records, embodied in Comrade Myers' forthcoming "History of the Supreme Court of the United States." Every tenant farmer in Texas should receive a copy of this important article. Further articles will follow addressed to the tenant farmers of other states.]



GUSTAVUS MYERS.

They do nothing; you do everything; but they own the basis of your existence, and you own nothing worthy of mention. The work that you do is for their benefit. How has it come about that they have the power of compelling you to turn over the bulk of the fruits of your produce to them? They are a part of the system that has put you in bondage, not the whole part, however. Land is essential, but so are all of the varied tools of production, necessities and means of transportation and communication indispensable to modern life. But primarily you are yoked to the land.

Why?

Because the land proprietors hold paper titles to the land you cultivate. Backed by the law, the courts and, if necessary, by armed force, these paper titles are more powerful than iron chains. Yet so worthless at bottom are these paper titles that if they were to disappear the proprietary capitalists would have nothing to prove their ownership which they hold not by useful occupation, but purely by a fiction of law. How and when and where did they or their predecessors get those paper titles? This article will tell you.

The State of Texas contains 274,356 square miles, or 175,587,840 acres—an area exceeding that of the original thirteen states. Long before Texas became detached from Mexican rule, the gigantic thefts of its lands began. Starting in the year 1821, when Texas was still a province of Mexico, various promoters or coloniza-

YOU tenant farmers of Texas tilling soil, not an inch of which you own, wonder how it is that vast stretches of land are owned by capitalist landlords, frequently absentee proprietors. To them the results of your labor flow.

tion contractors ("empresarios") came forward with large plans of loot.

Ostensibly, they publicly professed to be moved by a noble desire to colonize the Texas wastes. But one quality could not be claimed by most of them. That was the quality of "patriotism." Some of the contractors were Mexican, but the larger number were Americans, and a more predacious crew of capitalistic adventurers it was impossible to meet. The Mexican officials, lax, corrupt or secret accomplices, were more than accommodating. They grossly violated the Mexican laws, and fraudulently gave away great domains on mere promises of fulfilling certain conditions which were never carried out.

From 1821 to 1832 thirty-three of these colonization contracts were made covering tens of millions of acres of the finest lands in eastern, southern and middle Texas.

A number of the contractors were American politicians and capitalists who, after obtaining by fraud all of the land that they could get east of the Mississippi, had moved on to pillage Texas. Some of them were heads of great land syndicates grabbing areas in different places at the same time. Among the colonization contractors were Moses Austin, Stephen Burnet, Joseph Vehlein, Lorenzo D. Zavala, Benjamin R. Milam, John L. Woodbury, John Cameron, General Thomas J. Chambers, Hewitson, Powers and others. Considering what followed, it is well to keep some of these names in mind.

Each of these contractors or colonizing corporations was under contract to introduce so many specified families as settlers. According to the terms of these contracts or concessions, each bona-fide colonist was to get the ownership of a league and a labor of land (about 4,605 acres) and the "empresarios" were to receive, as compensation for their colonization work, certain stated premium lands.

The moment these contracts were signed, fraud on an immense scale began. In the first place, many of the contractors at once sold their immense concessions to groups of New York, Boston and other Eastern capitalists.

Thus the Burnet, Zavala and Vehlein contracts became the property of a corporation calling itself the "Galveston Bay

and Texas Land Company." The huge frauds committed by this corporation, at the head of which was Michael B. Menard, are described at length in the "History of the Supreme Court of the United States." The records reveal how it bribed land commissioners, stole vast areas of agricultural and timber lands and on one occasion boldly took 1,700 acres of water front property in Galveston.

The officers of the "Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company" were such New York politicians and capitalists as General John T. Mason, George Griswold, Stephen Whitney, Dudley Selden and others. Whitney "made" \$7,000,000, largely in his land operations, and all of the others got rich. Griswold was at the time concerned in an enormous successful grab of a claim of 1,200,000 acres in Florida.

Another New York corporation formed to exploit fraudulent Mexican concessions was the "Colorado and Red River Land Company," with offices at No. 8 Wall street, New York City. This company based its claims upon the colonization contracts made by the Mexican officials with J. C. Beale. It computed the area in its grants at *twenty millions acres*.

These absentee capitalists had, of course, to make a show of introducing some settlers. A number of the capitalists were owners of packet lines bringing over immigrants from Europe. Numbers of immigrants were dumped into Texas, but instead of their getting the land each was entitled to, the settlers were usually compelled to sign a contract giving back one-half of their land to the contractors.

The number of settlers brought in, however, was insignificant compared to the immense number of fictitious awards made in the names of settlers that never existed or in the names of dummy settlers.

When the colonization contracts were made, commissioners were appointed by the Mexican authorities to determine and award lands to the settlers and premium lands to the contractors. The notorious Samuel M. Williams, forger or abettor of forgery, adventurer and swindler, was the commissioner for the Austin colony; the almost equally notorious George A. Nixon acted in the same capacity for the Burnet, Zavala and Vehlein grants; the likewise

corrupt William H. Steele for the Nashville Company's colony; the commissioner for Martin DeLeon's colony was DeLeon's brother. Other corrupt commissioners acted for other colonization grants.

The frauds committed at this time by these men, as was later proved by a legislative committee, were enormous. They were, in fact, so gigantic that the grabbers saw that the only way to retain the tens of millions of acres that they were stealing was to overthrow Mexican rule. Not a single one of their contracts or concessions was legal; forgery and theft had been committed on a vast scale. The fear that the central Mexican Government would sooner or later declare their fraudulent operations null and void, made the capitalists concerned nervous. They began to plot for the separation of Texas.

These were the men who were behind the movement for Texas independence. It was they who engineered the agitation, and it was they who supplied the chief incentive.

The records show that the Mason-Whitney-Williams combination advanced much of the money to Texas for carrying on the war for independence. This money was part of the proceeds of their land thefts. They were richly repaid for their "patriotism"; they received from Texas 1,329,000 acres of its finest lands for their money advances. But this was far from being all of their "returns" for their glowing patriotism. Some of them made contracts to supply soldiers and ammunition. They never did so, but that omission did not prevent them from getting more land for these alleged services.

Their fears that if Texas remained under Mexican rule their huge thefts of land would be annulled, were only too well grounded. General Santa Anna, president of Mexico, did, in fact, issue two sweeping decrees in 1853-1854 denouncing the vast concessions of land hitherto made as fraudulent. He declared them null and void, and ordered their restoration to the Mexican Republic. But by that time Texas as well as California and other territory had been wrested from Mexican rule.

When the Texas Republic was established what happened? Many of the foremost land grabbers, or their associates, men such as Burnet and Milam, became the head

officials of the Texas Republic. It was a land grabbers' government.

If the frauds had been small, doubtless the Texas constitutional convention of 1836 would have said nothing. But so stupendous were the frauds, and so many millions of acres had been stolen by absentee capitalists, that the convention tried to confiscate the plunder. Section D of the constitution prohibited any but citizens of Texas from holding land except by direct title from the republic. Section I was designed to annul an immense grant fraudulently given by the legislature of Coahuila and Texas to General John T. Mason. Under this spurious grant, "the enormous amount of eleven hundred leagues of land [nearly five million acres] had been claimed by sundry individuals, some of whom reside in foreign countries, and are not citizens of the republic." These grants, it was declared, were contrary to the laws of Mexico and were pronounced null and void.

But the grants were never voided. Why? Because the Supreme Court of the United States held in a certain case that before a constitutional clause could become effective a specific legislative enactment was necessary to carry it into force. The grabbers, being themselves members of the Texas congress, took good care that no such legislative act was passed.

By 1838 not less than 20,000,000 acres of land had been patented under colonization contracts and various other grants. The report of a Texas congressional investigating committee disclosed the details of the stupendous frauds consummated. Of these details a few examples will be given here.

Samuel M. Williams and two associates had made a claim for, and received, four hundred leagues of land (1,771,200 acres) in Nacogdoches, Red River and Harrison counties. For what? They agreed to supply a thousand men to fight the Indians. But John P. Borden, commissioner of the Texas General Land Office, testified that Williams and his associates had supplied only forty-one men. This being so, how was it that title papers to four hundred leagues were given? Borden was forced to admit two facts. One was that the title papers were forged; the other fact was that Borden had received a present from Wil-

liams of ten leagues of land, and each of Borden's two brothers had been the recipient of a gift of a league of land.

The commissioner for giving titles at Nacogdoches was one Aldrete. Although it was proved that he was an impostor and had no real authority, yet in 1833-1834 Aldrete had issued titles to 150½ leagues of land (666,414 acres) in Liberty, Houston and Red River counties to alleged colonists. And who as commissioner had issued titles to John T. Mason? None other than the notorious Colonel James Bowie, of Arkansas land fraud fame, and on pretended authority, at that; in the year 1835 alone, Bowie had presented Mason with titles to ninety-five leagues of land (410,660 acres) in Harrison and Nacogdoches counties.

General T. J. Chambers made a claim for "judicial services." He succeeded in getting sixteen leagues of land on one occasion, and twenty-three leagues on another (altogether 171,692 acres), near Waco and in other sections. Titles were issued to Chambers, although the former Governor Viecsa testified that he had never authorized the concessions.

George A. Nixon, commissioner for issuing titles, granted titles in 1834-35 to eight hundred and seventy-one leagues of land (nearly four million acres) in Libby, Jefferson, Jasper, Sabine, Nacogdoches, San Augustine, Houston and Montgomery counties to the "Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company" on the Burnet-Vehlein-Zavala contracts. Nixon himself received a gift of eleven leagues of land by order of Steele, title commissioner for the Nashville Company.

E. L. R. Wheelock, a surveyor, testified that in 1835 he accused Steele of acting without authority in giving titles, and that thereupon Steele became greatly agitated and refused to show the documents upon which he pretended to base his authority. Steele invited Wheelock "to join them in a combination to let no man who came have land, unless it was poor or refuse land, unless they would let one of the company clear it out on shares." Wheelock swore that Steele tried to bribe him with an offer of seven leagues of land to turn over to Steele all of his field notes in blank.

A typical example of how land was granted to bogus colonists was that of the

commissioner for the DeLeon Colony, who gave his own son, Francisco DeLeon, a grant of a quarter of a league of land, and made an affidavit that Francisco possessed all of the requisite qualifications, although, as a matter of fact, Francisco was only a boy of ten years of age, and was attending school in Louisiana at the time.

Borden, commissioner of the General Land Office of Texas, gave the investigating committee an itemized list of a huge number of forged and antedated titles in the Nashville, Vehlein, Burnet, Zavala, Cameron and other grants. Not less than 22,492,507 acres of the very best lands in eastern, southern and middle Texas were permanently alienated into the private ownership of a few capitalists by means of the fraudulent methods which have been here given. The original papers in the cases of these fraudulent titles were carried off or destroyed, so there later was no eventual way of proving the forgeries.

In 1842 more colonization contracts were made with Castro, Mercer and Peter. Not one of them carried out their contracts; the alleged settlers that they introduced were, as Governor Pease reported, bogus settlers; a large majority of the affidavits were made out in the names of boys of fifteen, sixteen and seventeen years old. Nevertheless, bills were lobbied through the Texas legislature in 1850 and 1852 by which the Castro, Mercer and Peter companies received a total of 4,496,806 acres.

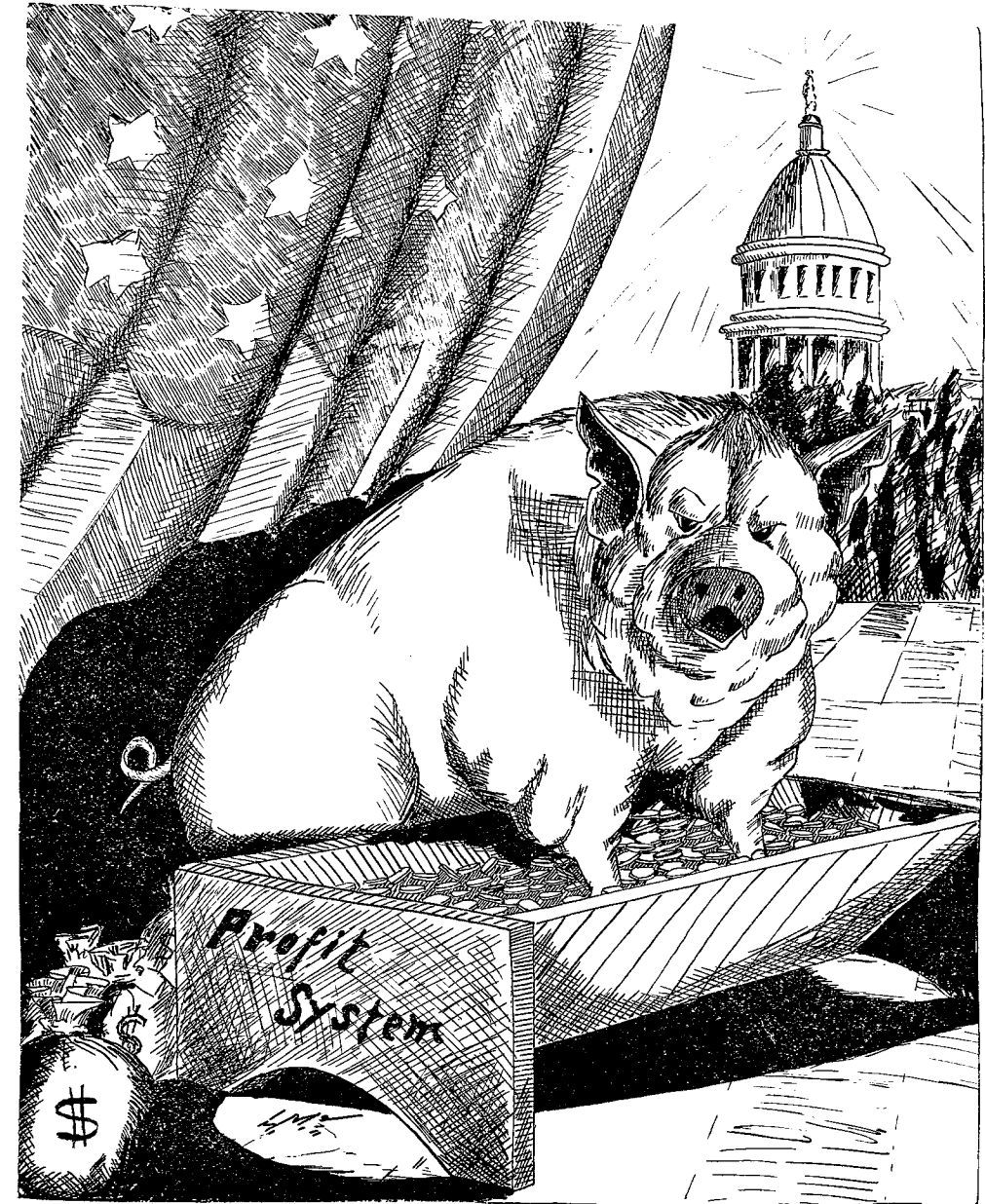
Immense numbers of fraudulent land certificates were issued under the act of 1837 giving bounties and donations to soldiers of the Texas war for independence. Few of the soldiers ever got any land, but millions of acres were grabbed by combinations of capitalists and politicians, including judges and other United States officials. When, in 1855, a move was under way to expose these colossal frauds, the Adjutant General's office at Austin, where many of the land archives were stored, was set on fire one night and burnt down. Thus the evidences of the frauds were destroyed.

These are but the merest glimpses of the crushing array of facts described at great length in the author's "History of the Supreme Court of the United States." In that work the details are given in full, with the references from the legislative and

court records. By the year 1858 fully 68,000,000 acres of Texas lands had been patented to individuals, mostly absentee capitalists. It was during the years in question that the lands in the older settled parts of Texas were stolen. But the thefts have continued elsewhere in Texas to this very day. Among many other facts dealing with more recent times, the "History of the Supreme Court of the United States" describes how those multimillionaires, the

Farwells, of Chicago, got away with 3,000,000 acres of Texas land for the contract for erecting the state capitol at Austin, which was built largely with convict labor.

Capitalism is theft. Its property represents theft. If you seek to abolish theft, abolish the cause. This cause is the capitalist system. And will you ever consent to pay the holders to recover what they or their predecessors obtained by forgery, perjury, force, fraud and theft?



EDITORIAL

Better Than Barricades. We Socialists hope, as has been repeatedly emphasized, that the Social Revolution, and our minor victories leading up to it, will be accomplished by peaceful means. We have no desire to squander our lives and bodies in armed conflicts with capitalist forces, because one good, live energetic Socialist is worth a hundred dead ones.

But there seems to be quite a feeling prevalent that we are not going to be allowed to march uninterruptedly into victory merely by obtaining a majority of the votes in successive elections. Down in our secret hearts it is probable that most of us believe the capitalists are not going to surrender their political power without a struggle. In fact, a conspicuous party official and an ardent supporter of what he calls "regular and lawful methods" recently conceded that "it is not impossible that before we reach the final stage an attempt will be made by the ruling classes to frustrate our victories by force, as, for instance, by attempting to steal a decisive election or preventing our elected representatives from taking office.

"In which case," says the leader, "we will fight like tigers and mount the barricades, if need be."

Exactly how he would fight our comrade does not say, but leaves it to be inferred that he can be thinking of nothing better than the methods pursued by the French *bourgeois* and their working class allies in their Parisian street fights with the royalist forces years ago.

It is well for Socialists to discuss this point and discuss it now. If the ruling class does some day attempt to frustrate one of our important victories by force, what are we going to do? What have we to fall back on?

How long would an army of people, hastily summoned from office and factory, last against trained servants like the police and the militia, armed with riot guns and the latest death-dealing instruments of capitalist governments? Let us remember, too, that each of us adult citizens under the Dick military law is liable to instant conscription and if we re-

fuse to shoot our brothers we can be shot as "enemies of the government."

Is it possible that we have nothing better than barricades to fall back on? Let us take in illustration, for instance, the town of Gary, Ind., which is dominated by the Steel Trust. The workers in Gary, we'll say, have decided it is to their interest to control the city government for their own protection. They work through the Socialist Party and elect representatives of their class to all the offices. But the capitalist officials refuse to surrender the city government. Or perhaps the angered Steel Trust threatens to close up its Gary mills and thus destroy the town.

But the workers of Gary are aroused and determined. They say to the Steel Trust: "Interfere with us and we'll pull out every worker in this city. If necessary we'll stop work in every plant you own throughout the United States. We'll paralyze the entire steel industry." Facing such action, would or would not the Steel Trust consider it wise to allow the Socialists in Gary to occupy their offices?

Of course, to bring the Steel Trust to its knees in this way would presuppose a wide industrial organization, comprising every worker in any way associated with the steel industry, in production and distribution alike.

Is not our economic power a mightier and more resistless weapon than all the guns and barricades in the world?

The capitalists do not fear guns and barricades. They won't have to do the fighting. They will leave that to their hirelings—their police, their Cossacks, their hired thugs, their trained soldiery.

One weapon only the capitalists have cause to fear, and that is the thing they are absolutely dependent upon—the labor power of the workers. Is not the withdrawal of that power better than barricades?

What Kautsky said: "We have no ground to think that barricade battles and similar warlike accompaniments will play a decisive role today."—*The Social Revolution*.

What Marx said: "The Socialists disdain to conceal their views and aims.

They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions." There is that dreadful word "forcible" right there in the Communist Manifesto. What did Marx mean by force? Guns? Childish. Dynamite? Hopeless. Force proceeds from power. There is only one kind of power that counts in the world today—labor power.

Why Not Now? In our view political action through the Socialist Party not backed by the industrial organization of the workers will prove well-nigh futile when some day the great crisis arises. But at present the framers of our party policies are careful to refrain from advocating such industrial form of organization. They call such advocacy "dictating to the workers" and are even disposed to read out of the party those who point out the necessity of the industrial union. "In time of peace prepare for war." What is the objection, then, to preparing now?

A Crushing Rebuke. The defeat of Referendum D, by a vote of 12,308 party members against 7,585, is a crushing and a well-deserved rebuke to the majority of the present National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. The facts are these: Local St. Louis some years ago was ruled by a group of politicians whose thirst for votes and offices was such that they resorted to fusion with a capitalist party. After a long and thorough investigation, the Socialist Party of Missouri, by a referendum vote, revoked the charter of Local St. Louis, and issued a new charter to such party members in St. Louis as were opposed to fusion. But the fusionists did not yield to the vote of the majority. They maintained an organization of their own, and issued bogus dues stamps which their supporters pasted on genuine party cards. They also obtained several hundred questionable signatures to a petition inviting the N. E. C. to order a new party election in which the suspended members should be allowed to vote. The N. E. C., Comrade Carey dissenting, voted to grant the petition. Lo-

cal St. Louis, now reorganized by the revolutionists, appealed to the National Committee, and the action of the N. E. C. was reversed. The fusionists, through a small Missouri Local, then started Referendum D to reverse the action of the National Committee and sustain the N. E. C. The result of this vote shows that a majority of the members of the Socialist Party care more for Socialism than for offices.

How to Conduct Party Elections. Our present method of election by plurality is open to grave objections. When seven members of a committee are chosen by ballot from among more than forty candidates, the seven highest being declared elected, it is almost inevitable that the selection will be made by a comparatively small minority. The average member will naturally vote for seven candidates whom he knows either personally or by reputation. Probably he will have one or two personal friends on the list of candidates; he may vote for one lecturer whom he has heard and whom he admires, and finally he is pretty likely to fill out his list with some or all of the candidates for re-election, simply because he is familiar with their names. This makes it exceedingly difficult to dislodge a man who has once been elected to the N. E. C., and that fact reacts on the official, making him feel as if he ruled by divine right and as if any one opposing him were a traitor to the movement. The next National Convention ought to devise some method by which a committee can be chosen that will be fairly representative of the wishes of the membership. If no radical change is desired, we might at least provide that only candidates receiving at least twenty nominations from locals in five different states shall have their names placed on the ballot. This would prevent the scattering of votes among candidates with no chance of election, and would make it easier to get rid of a chronic candidate for re-election. Another necessary change is to provide for regular meetings of the National Committee, whose authority has been usurped by the N. E. C.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

Nationalism and Internationalism

On November 9 August Bebel said in the German Reichstag: "You have said, you who support the government, that in forcing concessions from France by making a descent upon Morocco you have served the interests of all good German patriots. This is nothing new. It is merely a confirmation of a sentence in the Communist Manifesto, published by Marx and Engels in 1847. It was proclaimed there, as you proclaim today, that governments are nothing more than administrative committees of the propertied classes.

"What the patriotism of the conservatives really amounts to we saw when the new fiscal law was under discussion; they were united in the support of a measure designed to collect the taxes out of the pockets of the poor and miserable. At that time they were very careful not to make any demands on property. They defended themselves against an income tax. All this the government seems to have forgotten when it talks of patriotism and sacrifice for the fatherland."

This speech of Bebel's would be appropriate just now in any of the parliaments of Europe. For we are witnessing today such a recrudescence of brutal and expensive nationalism as no one would have dared to foretell six months ago. If ever men cried, "peace, peace" when there was no peace, it is now. The gentle voice of the Hague Tribunal is drowned amidst the rattle of arms. The peace societies should take heart; they have business enough on hand to warrant large donations for many years to come.

France and Germany have just signed an agreement not to fight; England and Germany are still growling at each other; Italy is pitching into Turkey; Russia has an expedition headed toward Persia, and Europe and America are watching eagerly for a chance to begin work in China.

The most astonishing thing about all of these affairs is the frankness of every-

body concerned. Modern capitalism has dropped the mask of idealism. Nobody pretends that God or righteousness has anything to do with the movements now going forward.

Take the case of France and Germany for example. Both nations had been much wrought up by the outcries of patriotic journals and the long-continued "conversations" of professional diplomats. The situation was said to be very "delicate." The "honor" of both nations was at stake. But now the "conversations" are finished and the "honor" of the two nations, so it is said, has been saved.

That of France has been re-established by the acknowledgment of her protectorate over Morocco; that of Germany has been rehabilitated by the cession of certain slices of territory on the Congo. The "delicacy" of the operation seems to have been involved in determining which of these great nations had the more insatiable appetite for territory and "backward" subjects.

The case of England and Germany is mere comedy for the present, but at any moment it may be turned into the most awful tragedy. The statesmen of these two lands are engaged in the dangerous game of fanning the savage chauvinism of their respective populations. England was not involved in the Morocco affair. There was no reason why the English government should get excited. But nevertheless Lloyd-George and Earl Grey have issued one statement after another just to keep the English people from forgetting that they are to be ready to fight Germany at a moment's notice. The German government, to be sure, has not been a bit backward in the same sort of forward-looking management. When the entanglement with France was being discussed in the Reichstag the young crown prince showed his mettle by nodding approval whenever anything was said against England. England and Germany

are carrying on a contest for the markets of the world, and the two peoples must always be kept ready to fight, each one for the profit of its own group of patriotic exploiters.

The descent upon Persia offers a number of interesting aspects. Of course Persia is a "backward" nation and so ought really to submit to the process of foreign domination with more than the proverbial meekness of the sacrificial lamb. She cannot complain of neglect on the part of her more advanced neighbors. Russia and England have been whetting their knives over her for years past. But Persia certainly does show a lamentable lack of good manners. Two or three years ago she rose in revolution and overthrew a shah who had been supported on his throne by the power of Russian influence. Since then Russia has been backing this overthrown shah in his fight to regain his throne. Meanwhile England has kept her hand in and demanded that concessions to her be kept about equal to those made to the Bear. Now Persia has some young capitalists of her own. It was they who engineered the revolution. In order to make sure that their government was carried on according to the best capitalist models they imported from America an energetic young business man and diplomat named Shuster. There is nothing "backward" about our countryman, Mr. Shuster. He knows what he was hired for, and he is doing it. He is trying to run Persia for the Persians; that is, for the rising bourgeois class of Persia. In pursuing this policy he had occasion to disregard a concession which had been claimed by Russia. Russian Cossacks were ordered to the territory involved, and now a large military expedition is on its way from Russia to Persia. The English papers can't help admiring Mr. Shuster's courage, but deplore his lack of "diplomacy." A real diplomat would have managed the whole affair without any such awkward obstreperousness on the part of a "backward" nation.

In China the powers really have not had a fair chance. The great yellow kingdom lies a long way off, and the revolution took even the most astute politicians off their guard. Of course the revolution is only the old story of bourgeois domi-

nation all over again. It is seldom indeed that a hereditary monarch is really equal to the demands of the modern business world. Enlightened and enterprising Chinamen saw their country slipping out of their fingers. On the throne was a baby surrounded by a band of grafters as wicked and incompetent as could well be got together. Fortunately for China, it happened that the baby on the throne was a foreigner, a representative of a hated race of conquerors. It was easy to incite the people to insurrection against him and his advisers. So the revolution was soon got under way, and before foreign troops could be transported the revolutionists were in command of the situation.

Russia, however, is said to be sending troops to China. You never can tell what may turn up in times of disturbance, and it is always well to be on hand when things are happening.

But it is in the little matter between Italy and Turkey that the flower of capitalistic patriotism is seen at its best. When the Italian government started the invasion of Tripoli it expected an easy thing of it. Turkey would be easy to conquer, and a great stretch of exploitable territory would be won. Turkey was easily shoved out of the way, but there were the miserable Arabs filled with that strange, wild "fanaticism" which so frequently leads miserable "backward" natives to fight for their sands and their palm trees. These miserable creatures, not knowing anything about modern warfare, have surprised the world by putting up a great fight against the Italian invaders.

The Italians, being civilized, have naturally shown them no mercy. Here is an account of their heroic method of conquest from the pen of Mr. McCullagh, correspondent of the Westminster Gazette: "In order to protest against the murder of innocent men, women and children I have returned to General Caneva my pass as war correspondent. About 4,000 men and 400 women and children have been killed, of whom fewer than a hundred were guilty of having risen against the Italians. Cripples and blind beggars were shot in cold blood; invalids whose houses had been burned down were left lying on the ground. Even

a drop of water was refused them.

"I have personally viewed scenes of horror and taken photographs of them. There was not even a pretense of justice. The Arabian quarters of the villages raided were overrun by hordes of crazed Italian soldiers armed with revolvers; every Arabian man or woman was shot down. The officers were worse than the men.

"The scenes enacted were worse than any Russian pogrom or Armenian massacre."

Speaking of this report and others like it, the English field marshal, Lord Roberts, remarked: "Such things are, unfortunately, inevitable in war. Only those who have had experience of war in all its phases have the right to judge of the expediency of them."

Nevertheless, the working class has had the temerity to speak, not only against these monstrous horrors, but against the whole war being carried on by Italy and the war fever which is evident in most of the great governments of Europe. To be sure, there has been no actual uprising like that which struck terror to the hearts of the Spanish rulers two years ago. The Italian labor unions were unable to place any real difficulties in the way of the mobilization and transportation of the army. But they did their best. And in some form or other they have received the support of their fellow workers of all the continental nations. There have been imposing anti-war meetings in Paris, Berlin, Brussels and many other cities. Early in November the International Socialist Bureau sent out a manifesto "to the workers of all nations." After a brief statement of the facts of the Italian attack upon Tripoli the position of the working class is defined as follows: "In the presence of such an attack the international movement of the working class cannot be anything but unanimous in its opinion. Our comrades in Italy found themselves in accord with our comrades in the Ottoman empire in protesting against an enterprise as criminal as it is foolhardy, an enterprise more disastrous, perhaps, for the conquerors than for the conquered, an enterprise which threatens to plunge us into a general war, to open a gulf between Europe

and the world of Islam, and, as last result, to furnish to the governments a new pretext for making heavier the burden of armaments.

"The expedition into Tripoli is, in fact, but one among many manifestations of the policy followed by all the great powers: if Italy has gone to Tripoli, England has taken Egypt, France and Spain are quarreling about Morocco, Germany made the attack on Agadir, Austria-Hungary took Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to this complicity of example there has now been added the complicity of acquiescence. If the government of Italy dared to act, it was not without the consent of its allies.

"Therefore, it is not only the policy of Italy, but the policy of all the great powers, that international Socialism must denounce before all the nations as a policy of savages, equally terrible to those who are the victims of it and to those who believe themselves its beneficiaries.

"To this policy of brutality and violence the international proletariat must more than ever oppose all the forces of which it stands possessed.

"Already our Italian comrades have done what they could under the existing unfavorable circumstances to protest against the expedition into Tripoli. They have fought, they will continue to fight, against nationalist brutality.

"But it is necessary that their efforts be supported by the entire international movement. It is necessary that all our sections give proof of solidarity.

"Workers of all lands, unite against war! Make demonstrations for peace, for disarmament and for the solidarity of nations!"

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Catarrh of the stomach has long been considered the next thing to incurable. The usual symptoms are a full or bloating sensation after eating, accompanied sometimes with sour or watery risings, a formation of gases, causing pressure on the heart and lungs and difficult breathing, headaches, fickle appetite, nervousness and a general played out, languid feeling.

There is often a foul taste in the mouth, coated tongue, and if the interior of the stomach could be seen it would show a slimy, inflamed condition.

The cure of this common and obstinate trouble is found in a treatment which causes the food to be readily, thoroughly digested before it has time to ferment and irritate the delicate mucous surfaces of the stomach. To secure a prompt and healthy digestion is the one necessary thing to do, and when normal digestion is secured the catarrhal condition will have disappeared.

According to Dr. Harlanson, the safest and best treatment is to use after each meal a tablet, composed of Diastase, Aseptic Pepsin, a little Nux, Golden Seal and fruit acids. These tablets can now be found at all drug stores under the name of Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets, and not being a patent medicine can be used with perfect safety and assurance that healthy appetite and thorough digestion will follow their regular use after meals.

The plan of dieting is simply another name for starvation, and the use of prepared foods and new fangled breakfast foods simply makes matters worse, as any dyspeptic who has tried them knows.

As Dr. Bennett says, the only reason I can imagine why Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets are not universally used by everybody who is troubled in any way with poor digestion is because many people seem to think that because a medicine is advertised or is sold in drug stores or is protected by a trade-mark it must be a humbug, whereas, as a matter of truth, any druggist who is observant knows that Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets have cured more people of catarrh of the stomach, indigestion, heartburn, heart trouble, nervous prostration and run-down condition generally than all the patent medicines and doctors' prescriptions for stomach trouble combined.

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Send your name and address today for a free trial package and see for yourself. Address F. A. Stuart Co., 550 Stuart Bldg., Marshall, Mich.

NEWS AND VIEWS

About the Investigation. I suppose you know that you are to be investigated. Comrade Hunter has moved that a committee of the national committee be appointed to investigate the publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Co. So get your clerks to look sweet when the committee arrives. Of course you might return the insult by telling them to attend to their own business, but you won't, because you want to advertise the company and I am sure this will do it.

I am again reminded that the Socialist movement cannot be killed, but that it can or may commit suicide by playing the two ends against each other. Both ends are necessary and the middle too. Let us hope that the investigation will not prove the national committee a bunch of incompetents like the investigation of Barnes by the N. E. C.

COMRADE STONE, Avon, Colo.

Going Some. Enclosed money order for more copies of the December number. Received the bundle at 5:30 p. m. and sold out by 6 p. m. Saturday.

COMRADE INGLEHART, Weatherford, Okla.

Wide-Awake Canton, Ill. Comrade Esther Edelson has a little story to tell of the comrades in Canton, Ill., that is too good to keep. The Canton Socialists elected six out of nine aldermen at the last election and are going out to organize the county to carry it next year. When a stranger comes to town, the comrades are right on the job to get acquainted and offer any friendly assistance in their powers. The comradeship in their social life draws everybody to the local and the movement is growing in Canton by leaps and bounds. One reason why the local headquarters are so attractive is that the women have taken hold and shown the men how to make politics "clean enough" to suit them.

Illinois Central Strike Makes Socialists. Since the Illinois Central strike has broken out, the Socialists of Freeport, Ill., have taken advantage of the attitude of the capitalist newspapers to ignore the strike situation, and have carried on a campaign of Socialist agitation and distribution of Socialist papers which gave the strike news. As a result, the strikers began taking the Socialist papers and the capitalist newspapers became alarmed and tried to catch the waning interest of the workers by printing strike news too. But the men were not to be caught again. The strike showed them just where to look for their friends, and they will not forget it.

ESTHER EDELSON.

In Fifteen Minutes. I am sending you money today to pay for the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEWS sent me. I sold them in about fifteen minutes and want more of the December number as soon as they are issued.

COMRADE ALSPAUGH, Colorado.

Will You Help? I think everyone who carefully reads Walling's great article on "Capitalistic Socialism" in the November REVIEW will agree with me that that article, in fact the entire number, ought to be in the hands of every elected Socialist in America.

Can't we get up a fund for the purpose of sending the REVIEW to each one of the elected officials of the party for a year?

The *Appeal to Reason* used to get up big funds for sending the *Appeal* to doctors, editors, preachers and what-not. Can't we do something better than that in sending the REVIEW, beginning with the November issue, to the men and women who are representing the Socialist Party in legislative and administrative posts? Let's help them to do the right thing by keeping their eyes on the *real goal*. I believe we ought to try and that we could spend no money in a better cause than in this one thing. It will take less than \$100 to do it. Won't 100 comrades give a dollar apiece? I will give a dollar. Won't you, Mr. Editor, give the scheme a boost?

Let's at least get that Walling article into every Socialist official's hands at once. We ought to get it into every Socialist's hands as well.

A. H. SPENCE, Oakland, Cal.

Hot Stuff. Enclosed please find money for more REVIEWS. I sold all the other ones last night in ten minutes. They are the "hot stuff." Just let them come.

COMRADE GRIFFIN, Snyder, Okla.

Good Work at Cobalt, Ontario. We are in receipt of a letter from Cobalt as follows: "Enclosed find P. O. money order, for which please send me five hundred copies of Mary E. Marcy's 'Shop Talks on Economics.'" I think you had better ship them by express, as we want to get them distributed as soon as possible, and it may take some time to get them by freight. Address them to me care Miners' Union Hall. I would like to know if you could let us have Frank Bohn for a few weeks during this election campaign. The elections take place on Dec. 11, so that we will need to get him here right away if he is to cover much of the district. Yours fraternally."

M. J. G.

Haywood in Ohio. The Ohio State Committee has taken Comrade William D. Haywood for one month starting Jan. 15, to Feb. 15. Comrade Frank Bohn was in Ohio all open dates for December and, among many other efficient speakers that will speak in that state this winter, Robert La Monte has been engaged for the month of March.

Haywood in Pennsylvania. "When Comrade Haywood finished and sat down the crowd was so interested and spellbound in his remarks that it remained seated to a person, and Comrade Haywood had to come back."

JAS. H. HARPER, Beaver Falls, Pa.

The Review in Factories. Comrade Rosse and Bohan of Auburn have sent in 25 yearly REVIEW subscriptions during the past month which they secured from their comrades working in the factory in that city. They have promised to send 25 more. This is the kind of work that counts in the movement. Hope our other friends in the factories and shops will get their friends interested in the "fighting magazine." Try their plan. We will send you samples free if you care to do so. The comrades mentioned refused to take any of our premiums. All they wanted was more factory readers for the REVIEW. Keep your eyes on Auburn. The boys there are all wide awake.

Stay Away from Oklahoma City. Oklahoma City today is a reeking, seething mass of unemployed human beings, scrambling for a mere existence. The big boom is over; the reaction has set in. The bottom has dropped out. There is no work for one-half of the present population.

* * *

Here are some of the conditions in Oklahoma City at present:

Empty dwellings, about 800.

Empty store rooms, about 200.

Empty office rooms in various buildings, about 600.

About 1,000 women and girls working for less than \$6.00 per week.

About 372 children working for less than \$3.50 per week.

* * *

Working men of the world, to show you some proof of the above statement of the condition of Oklahoma City, thousands of people all over the United States have been duped into buying lots all over the city by smooth-tongued real estate grafters, on which lots they cannot realize 25 per cent of the original investment. Miles of these vacant lots surround Oklahoma City in every direction. These lots are absolutely worthless and even unfit for cultivation.

Business depression is appalling. The wage paid here is small. And this in the face of the fact that living expenses are as high here as any place in the United States.

There are ten men for every job.

D. C. COBB, Secretary,

Organizing Committee, Oklahoma City Trades and Labor Council.

Capitalist Candidates on Socialist Ballots. Early after the November elections, in which our party was successful in so many sections, vague rumors of "Socialist fusion" were spread abroad, principally in the Eastern states. Specific charges were made by correspondents of at least one New York capitalist newspaper that the names of Republican and Democratic candidates had appeared on Socialist ballots in certain localities in three different states, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York. The REVIEW did not believe any such reports, but considered it worth while to get the facts and

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TYPEWRITER SALES CO., 172 N. Dearborn St., CHICAGO. Gentlemen: I accept your special offer of a No. 4 Model UNDERWOOD VISIBLE TYPEWRITER for \$58.50, f. o. b. Chicago. It is understood that I may try the machine for five days. If entirely satisfactory, I agree to remit \$5 within five days of receipt and pay the balance in eleven monthly installments. If the typewriter does not come up to my expectation in every way, I reserve the right to return it immediately without incurring any obligation on my part. Title to the machine to remain in your name until the machine is fully paid for.

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lay all doubts at rest. The replies to our inquiries, given below, show what cunning tricks are resorted to by both the old capitalist parties and how incessantly the Socialist Party must be on guard to prevent such skullduggery. These communications plainly reveal what may be expected when our party fails to name complete tickets. They also emphasize the fact that weak organizations can be easily imposed upon by such methods as are described here and that locals must make themselves powerful if they would stop capitalist politicians from riding into office on top of a Socialist wave. This lesson must not be forgotten in the next election.

How D. F. Dunlavy Got on the Socialist Ticket at Ashtabula. On July 14 the Socialist Party of Ashtabula, O., selected candidates for a municipal ticket to be nominated at the primary election on Sept. 3. As no Socialist was qualified for the office of city solicitor, no one could be found who would accept the nomination, because the election laws require the nominee to sign a statement that he will serve if elected.

The Socialist Party had no candidate for city solicitor and the space for the candidate's name was necessarily blank on the primary ticket.

As time for the primary election drew nigh the Socialist Party had developed surprising strength and that blank space on our ticket was viewed by some of the old party candidates with envious eyes.

The result of the primary election showed that no less than five different names had been written in our ticket and by coincidence the person who was nominated on the Republican ticket received the highest number of votes on our ticket and became the legal nominee.

It is not a case of fusion. It is merely one of the paradoxes made possible by our capitalist election laws.

Local Ashtabula, Socialist Party, by R. W. EARLYWINE, Secretary.

Tricking the Socialists in Pennsylvania. Our primary laws are so fixed that any political crook, representing the Republican or Democratic parties can go into a polling booth, ask for a Socialist ballot and, if all offices are not nominated for, write the name of some Republican or Democrat in the vacant space and his name appears on the official ballot under our column. We have had a whole lot of trouble about this but positively have no way to protect ourselves in places where the organization is weak. Where we have any strength and all offices are nominated for it is easy to blockade this game, but in the places above mentioned there are weak and practically helpless branches and this trick can be played upon them until they are strong enough to protect themselves. It is not a case of fusion or compromise. It is simply that the comrades are the victims of political tricks.

Pennsylvania is ruled by as rotten a gang of politicians as ever afflicted the earth and this is one of the results of their manipulat-

ing of the ballot laws. We have protested and, in fact, tried to invoke legal aid to eliminate this game, but the authorities decide that if a man's name is written on our ballot he is the nominee, where no other nomination has been made, so we are helpless in the matter and the only thing we can do is to keep on fighting for organization until we are strong enough, in every place, to nominate a full ticket wherever an election is to be held and if we can do that and only get three or four boys out to vote at the primaries, we are safe.

ROBERT B. RINGLER, State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania.

As to "Fusion" at Allentown. The present Ballot Law in Pennsylvania forces all townships, boroughs, cities and counties to elect their officials at the election held in the odd numbered years. Our candidates are nominated by direct ballot at a primary election held about five weeks before the general election. In order to get a place on the primary ballot, a person wishing the nomination must file with the county commissioners a petition signed by a number of voters in his election district, the number varying according to the office desired, some requiring only ten signers and some fifty. In some election districts it was impossible for us to get enough comrades to fill our ticket. The law provides that at the primary election a voter can write the name of any person he wishes to vote for on the ballot, providing the man's name is not already printed on it.

The Republicans and Democrats, having access to the files in the court house here, knew just where we could not fill our ticket, and at the primaries had some of their henchmen vote the Socialist ticket and write the names of the Republican or Democratic candidates on our ballot where we had no candidate, and in some cases where we did have a candidate.

That is how some of them got on our ballot, and the law also provides that a man getting on the ballot that way can't be forced off unless he goes before a notary and swears that he wants to get off.

At the election the ballot was so large that it took some of the election boards all night to count the votes for the different candidates. We tried our best to get all these men off our ballot, but the Pennsylvania law is more powerful than the constitution of our party at this time and the only thing we could do was to instruct our members to cut these men when they voted and announce that they were not members of our party and had been put there by crooked work at the primary election.

Let me assure you that we have no love here for any other political party except the Socialist Party. We expelled two of our members who voted at a Republican caucus in Whitehall township.

\$100

MONTHLY and expenses to trustworthy men and women to travel and distribute samples; big manufacturer. Steady work. S. SCHEFFER, Treas., M. X., Chicago.

We are determined to build up a powerful organization here and the writer makes it his duty to get a copy of the National Bulletin for each member in this county and see that the member gets it. We want our members to know what is going on, so that when they get a national referendum they can vote on the question intelligently.

The organizer also attends a branch meeting each night if possible, helping the members in their work. We issue a dues notice to each member who is two months in arrears, and we find we are going to have a good organization as the result of it. We don't expect another election to come around without having a full ticket in the field. You need have no fear of us fusing with any other party, as we haven't forgotten the Cossacks in this state yet, nor the men who raised their pay last year. We consider everything and everybody that lines up with the capitalist class our common enemy, and wish every other local would do the same.

DAVID WILLIAMS, County Organizer, Local Lehigh County, Socialist Party of Pennsylvania.

Candidate for Congress. Comrade Con Foley, of Pottsville, Pa., has been nominated for Congress from his home district in Pennsylvania. Comrade Foley is one of the clearest thinking Reds in the American movement and the Pennsylvania comrades cannot do better than elect him to serve and represent them. He is a staunch believer in industrial unionism and can be counted upon to fight to a finish in the interests of the working class. He is one of the men who has been tried and not found wanting. Comrade Foley is the man who made the scab slave drivers in his home town shut up shop in a wild effort to save their employees from the innocuous teachings of industrial socialism. And he will be able to do even better than that if he wins in the forthcoming election. Comrade Foley expects to accompany Comrade Wm. D. Haywood on his lecture tour in Pennsylvania the latter part of this month. We can assure the locals that they may expect a double treat in the advent of two such fighters as Foley and Haywood at the same time.

Socialism in Canada. Most gratifying reports have lately been sent in by our Canadian comrades. The amazing growth of the whole Dominion in industry, wealth and population is the primal cause of this socialist activity. Canadian politics, long a matter of form, has lately assumed great interest. The Canadian Socialist Federation has now over fifty locals organized in the eastern provinces, of which forty are in Ontario. Comrade Frank Bohn of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, upon the invitation of some of the Federation locals, has lately made a tour in Ontario. He reports an interest among the Canadian working class at least equal to that in New England and New York. Best of all is the news that the Federation and the Socialist party of Canada are making plans for unity. To this end they have doubtless been influenced by

the successful unity movement in Great Britain. Our Canadian comrades are using great quantities of sound literature. They now have two papers, the Western Clarion of Vancouver and Cotton's Weekly of Cowansville, Quebec. As Canada comes rapidly abreast of the United States in industry and industrial progress, a united Canadian Socialist party will keep step with the Socialist party of the United States in the onward march of the working class toward the conquest of the continent.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Is Our Publishing House Co-operative? This question has been raised by Robert Hunter, a member of the National Executive Committee. He asks an official investigation of the question. We go to press too early to know what action will be taken by the party organization, but we shall most certainly welcome an inquiry, since we have nothing to cover up, while, on the other hand, our work would be doubled and quadrupled in the near future if our aims and methods were clearly understood by the entire membership of the Socialist Party.

How We Began. The publishing house has been in business under the same name since the beginning of the year 1886; that is to say, it is far older than the Socialist Party of America or any American Socialist movement worthy the name. For the first seven years it was owned exclusively by Charles H. Kerr, who is still president of the publishing house. Its early publications were mainly in the line of free thought, but in 1891 it began the publication of literature in the interest of the People's Party, which surprised old-party politicians with a vote of over a million in 1892. In the year 1893 the publishing house was incorporated. Mr. A. U. Hancock invested some capital, which was used for the purchase of a printing plant, the remainder of the stock being subscribed by Comrade Kerr. Mr. Hancock was compelled by ill health to retire from business within two years and the printing plant was sold, since which time the company has done a publishing business exclusively.

The New Time. In 1907 Mr. Frederick Upham Adams, a prominent newspaper man, bought a half interest in the publishing house, and an auxiliary company was organized for the publication of a reform magazine called "*The New Time*," which reached a high-water mark of 40,000 monthly circulation during the year 1898. Owing, however, to a disagreement regarding financial methods, Mr. Adams and Charles H. Kerr parted company toward the end of 1898; the former became owner of a controlling interest in

"*The New Time*," which survived only three or four months, while the latter again became owner of over ninety per cent of the capital stock of the book business.

About this time the publishing house established fraternal relations with the Social Democracy, of which Eugene V. Debs and Victor Berger were directors, and by the middle of the year 1899 we were issuing no new books except along the lines of International Socialism.

Books at Cost to Stockholders. About this time a plan was developed which solved the difficult problem of how to secure more ready money which was urgently needed for the purpose of bringing out the new books required by the Socialist movement. Many shares were sold to locals and individuals at \$10.00 each, usually paid for in monthly installments of \$1.00 each, and the money thus raised was used to pay for the typesetting and electrotyping of new books. No dividends were paid or promised, but each subscriber to a share of stock was given the privilege of buying books at a discount of one-half from list prices, plus the cost of transportation. This has been and is a very practical method of CO-OPERATION, by means of which the Socialists of the United States, who in 1899 had no literature worthy of the name, have within twelve years put all the most important works of International Socialism within easy reach of American workers at only a fraction of the prices charged for similar works by capitalist publishers.

A Heavy Load of Debt. The money raised from the sale of stock was not enough to pay for the books which had to be printed to meet the growing demand. Our credit had to be utilized to its fullest extent. Moreover, the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, as edited during the first seven years of its existence, was a steady drain on the resources of the publishing house.

New Blood and Rapid Growth. The present editors of the REVIEW took hold four years ago—in January, 1908. The paid circulation was then less than 3,000

monthly; today it exceeds 40,000, with every prospect for a rapid increase in the immediate future. We go to press too early to give a complete financial report for the year 1911, but it is safe to say that the cash receipts of the REVIEW for the year will exceed \$22,000, while the book sales will exceed \$38,000. Nearly the whole of this sum will have been expended for wages, paper, printing, postage, advertising, rent, taxes and miscellaneous expenses, while the year's profit, amounting to not far from \$2,000 on total transactions of over \$60,000, will have been applied to the paying off of loans made during the difficult years of our beginning.

As to "Fat Jobs." A sneering phrase is a very cheap form of argument, but it has its effect, and while no other Socialist periodical makes its salary list public, the actual figures will be a quicker answer to sneers than pages of argument. The salary of Frank Bohn since he has been with the publishing house has been \$100 a month; the joint salary of Leslie H. and Mary E. Marcy has been \$160 a month for the past year, and Charles H. Kerr has received \$137.50 a month. As a partial offset to this immense sum he has, however, been paying interest on a debt of \$3,400 for money borrowed by the publishing house—a debt which he assumed last year by arrangement with the directors, receiving therefor stock to the par value of \$3,400, on which no dividends are paid. His total holdings of stock amount to \$11,370, which represent his total earnings during twenty-six years. No other employe has during the past year received so much as \$100 monthly. It will thus be seen exactly how fat are the jobs connected with the publishing house.

How the Company Is Controlled.—It is organized under the corporation laws of Illinois—the only practicable way in which a co-operative company can be organized in this state, and it is controlled by a board of seven directors elected annually. The present board, R. H. Chaplin, J. H. Greer, Marcus Hitch, Walter Huggins, Charles H. Kerr, L. H. Marcy and Charles Roux, were elected by a unanimous vote at the annual meeting in Janu-

ary, 1911. The holders of single shares constitute an absolute majority of the 3,691 shares which had been issued up to Dec. 1, 1911, and if they were not satisfied with the management they could have changed it, but, as a matter of fact, there have never been more than a dozen votes cast in opposition to the board of directors that has been chosen. And that is for the very good reason that the publishing house has been run in exactly the way the majority of the stockholders wish it to be run. When they desire a change, the remedy is in their own hands.

The Haywood Lectures. During the National Executive Committee election (not over as we go to press) there has arisen a sudden and peculiar misunderstanding with relation to the routing of Comrade William D. Haywood by this office. Friends may have imagined that Comrade Haywood has yielded to the repeated and urgent requests of former National Secretary Barnes, acting under instructions from the National Executive Committee, to become one of the authorized lecturers on the National Lyceum Lecture Bureau, as did Comrade Frank Bohn under similar pressure, but we are glad to announce that Haywood preferred to continue lecturing under the auspices of the REVIEW. The statement has recently been published broadcast by Comrade Robert Hunter, that locals securing Haywood were compelled to pay the REVIEW \$250 a night. We take pleasure in repeating here the terms we have made ever since Comrade Haywood began to lecture for us. Except in the West, where close dates cannot be arranged at this time, our terms for Haywood dates are the local's guarantee to take 500 admission tickets to the lecture (each ticket being good for a three months' REVIEW subscription at 25 cents each, amounting to \$125.00. Out of this sum we pay \$25.00 hall rent, supply all advertising material, donate 200 copies of the current REVIEW and pay all Haywood's expenses. The State Committee of Ohio is arranging dates in Ohio for Haywood from Jan. 15 to Feb. 15. Arrangements for other states may be made through this office. It might be well if our friends, who believe in fair play, would ask Comrade Hunter upon

what foundation he based his published statements in this regard.

Another "Printer's Error" (?). Comrade John Spargo, candidate for re-election on the N. E. C., has made wide allusions recently in the party press to certain alleged circular letters which he claims were sent by this publishing house (at the "expense of the stockholders") to all Socialist Party locals in the United States urging the election to the N. E. C. of Comrades Haywood and Bohn. Now, the local of which you are a member has received no such letter, because none was sent, and we think it only fair that Comrade Spargo be required to produce such letters, or copies of such letters, upon the request of your local, in order that comrades may know whether or not he acted in good faith in this matter.

An Odd N. E. C. Oversight. In the printed list of recommended Socialist books attached to the Lyceum Bureau Lecture Tickets sent out by the N. E. C. in SEPTEMBER are found many books published by Charles H. Kerr & Co. In fact, all the best books therein, those recognized all over the world as the classics of Socialism, have been brought out by this company. Among these books you will find listed by the N. E. C. (prior to nomination of candidates for the new N. E. C.):

INDUSTRIAL SOCIALISM.

by
WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD
and
FRANK BOHN

Of this book Debs says:

A splendid pamphlet is *Industrial Socialism*, written jointly by William D. Haywood and Frank Bohn, and which I heartily commend to the working class and to all who are interested in Socialism and in the group of vital questions which have sprung from our modern industrial development. Every page of this pamphlet is clear, cogent, and convincing. The true revolutionary attitude of the working class movement is here maintained. It states the industrial and political positions of the workers in plain, straightforward terms, in their own language, and is well calculated to open the eyes of the workers to the weakness of craft unionism and political Socialism, and impress upon them the necessity of proletarian solidarity, both economic and political, and supplementary to each other, as the true basis of the revolutionary movement. The pamphlet

is especially adapted to the educational propaganda of the working class and ought to be spread broadcast among the workers.

Why This Change of Front? Now readers of the REVIEW, who are also readers of some of the Socialist newspapers, are perhaps guessing! We don't blame them! Is *Industrial Socialism*, by Bohn and Haywood, endorsed, advertised and circulated by the National Executive Committee in September and October the same book that has been placed on the Index Expurgatorius by the Party Popes along 'bout 'lection time? So many unusual and subtle changes have taken place in the mental attitude of the Socialist Party N. E. C. during the months of November and December that we think it only fair to Comrades Bohn, Haywood and Kerr that every member of the Socialist Party read the book and decide upon its merits for him or herself. Do your own thinking. The strength of the movement lies in the fact that the Socialist Party is composed of thinking men and women, perfectly capable of coming to their own conclusions. After you have read *Industrial Socialism* and discussed it at your local, we want you to write us what you think of the book. Price, 10 cents a copy, postpaid; 6 cents a copy to members of locals if ordered through the secretary or literature agent.

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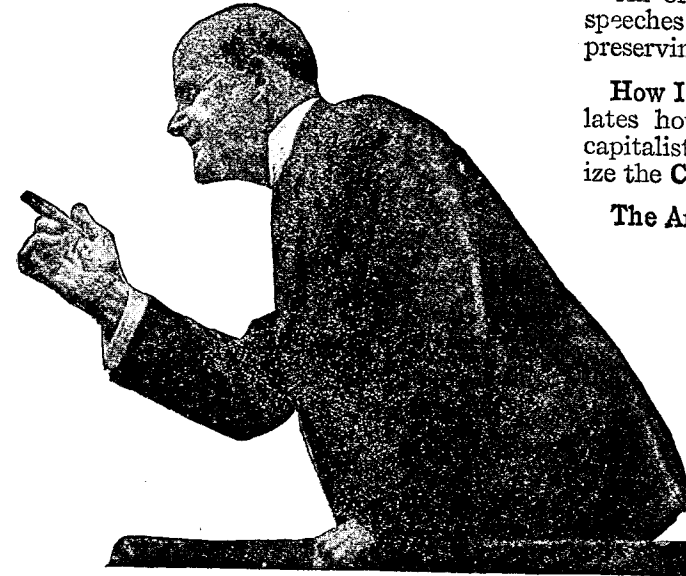
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The Socialist Party and the Work-
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Did they pick up pieces of string and save their wages when they were boys as we were taught in school? Or was it the systematic practice of bribery, fraud, thievery, and betrayed friends upon which the famous fortunes of today were built?

Socialists are well aware of the hypocritical piracies the gigantic buccaneers of high finance have practiced upon a blind public, but we all need the Myers books to drive home our arguments about the source of the Great American Fortunes.

Not One Suit for Libel has been brought against Mr. Myers or this publishing house by the multimillionaires whose shady deals have so ruthlessly been laid bare in these volumes. The grimy record of great wealth has been strewed through the legal records over the whole country. Sometimes the hunter was in turn robbed of his prey and sought litigation as a means for despoiling a successful despoiler of the swag. It is these public records that have made Mr. Myers' books unassailable.

Stories of the thrift and industry of Russell Sage do not go very far when we read of the suit brought by his co-swindlers whom he had robbed of the common loot. Place a copy of this book in the hands of your neighbors. Put copies in your public libraries. Put them in the local library. Discuss them at your Local. They are full of the data you need to convince your friends that the old idea that wealth was the product of thrift and industry is exploded.

Many books have been written about America's great financiers. They tell you how Russell Sage or some other great man worked three years at \$10 a week. He saved his money. In the next chapter we find Russell buying up street railways or some other little bagatelle. He did not do it out of that \$10 a week. Myers supplies the missing link. There are no long leaps from the humble grocery clerk to the railroad president in these volumes.

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How can "Sargol" do this? We will tell you. This new treatment is a scientific assimilative agent. It increases cell growth, the very substance of which our bodies are made—puts red corpuscles in the blood which every thin person so sadly needs, strengthens the nerves and puts the digestive tract in such shape that every ounce of food gives out its full amount of nourishment to the blood instead of passing through the system undigested and unassimilated.

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But you say you want proof! Well, here you are. Here is the statement of those who have tried—been convinced and will swear to the virtues of this preparation:

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"I have made a faithful trial of the Sargol treatment and must say it has brought to me new life and vigor. I have gained twenty pounds and now weigh 170 pounds, and, what is better, I have gained the days of my boyhood. It has been the turning point of my life."

MRS. A. I. RODENHEISER writes:

"I have gained immensely since I took Sargol, for I only weighed about 106 pounds when I began using it and now I weigh 130 pounds, so really this makes twenty-four pounds. I feel stronger and am looking better than ever before, and now I carry rosy cheeks, which is something I could never say before."

CLAY JOHNSON says:

"Please send me another ten-day treatment. I am well pleased with Sargol. It has been the light of my life. I am getting back to my proper weight again. When I began to take Sargol I only weighed 138 pounds, and now, four weeks later, I am weighing 153 pounds and feeling fine."

F. GAGNON writes:

"Here is my report since taking the Sargol treatment. I am a man 67 years of age and was all run down to the very bottom. I had to quit work, as I was so weak. Now, thanks to Sargol, I look like a new man. I gained 22 pounds with 23 days' treatment. I cannot tell you how happy I feel."

MRS. VERNIE ROUSE says:

"Sargol is certainly the grandest treatment I ever used. I took only two boxes of Sargol. My weight was 120 pounds, and now I weigh 140 and feel better than I have for five years. I am now as fleshy as I want to be, and shall certainly recommend Sargol, for it does just exactly what you say it will do."

Full address of any of these people if you wish.

Probably you are now thinking whether all this can be true. Stop it! "Sargol" does make thin people add flesh, but we don't ask you to take our word for it. Write us today and we will send you absolutely free a 50c package for trial. **Cut off coupon below and pin to your letter.** Please enclose 10c to help pay distribution expenses. Take our word you'll never regret it.

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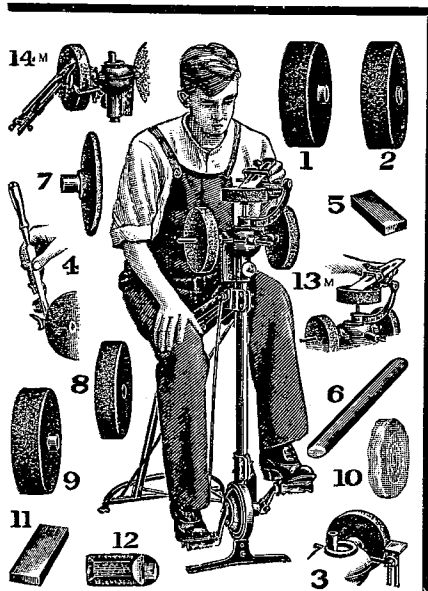
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You Need It

If you are tired of continual dosing without results, you need Bodi-Tone right now. If your local doctor has done you no good, if the ordinary medicinal combinations he used have failed, give this modern scientific combination of special remedies a chance to show and prove what it can do for you. Its greatest triumphs have been among men and women with chronic ailments who had tried good physicians without lasting benefit, and for this reason all chronic sufferers are invited to try it at our risk. If there is anything wrong with your Kidneys, Bodi-Tone helps to restore tone to the Kidneys, helps to set them right. If there is anything wrong with your Stomach, Bodi-Tone helps to tone the Stomach, helps to set the wrong right. If there is anything wrong with your Nerves, your Blood, your Liver, your Bowels or your General System, the health-making ingredients in Bodi-Tone go right to work and keep on working day after day, producing results of the kind sufferers appreciate. If you have Rheumatism, Bodi-Tone helps to drive the Uric Acid from the system while it restores tone to the Kidneys, Stomach and Blood, thereby stopping Rheumatic poison and putting new activity into muscles, nerves and joints. Bodi-Tone should be used by all women suffering from Female Ailments, for its toning properties have been found especially valuable in such ailments.

Indigestion and Bowel Trouble

LONGTOWN, S. C.—Since using Bodi-Tone I am in better health than I had for ten years. I have taken medicine from five different doctors and I can't tell the different patent medicines for Constipation and Indigestion, but none of them gave me relief for more than a few days. I felt the effects of Bodi-Tone in three days, and the benefit stayed with me. My life had become a burden to me, but it has been a pleasure since I took the first box of Bodi-Tone. I wish all who suffer as I did would take one box, for they would then know the happiness it has been to me. My return to health has given me comfort in my old age. MRS. M. J. WHITE.

Dropsy, Liver and Kidney Troubles

ASBURY, N. J.—I was taken with Liver, Kidney and Bladder trouble in the fall of 1902, and the Kidney trouble caused Dropsy. I tried everything far and near, but nothing gave me more than temporary relief. I also took X-ray treatments for six months and was very much disappointed, as it was supposed to do wonders. Since I took the first box of Bodi-Tone I have felt better than from anything I have tried in these seven years. I have used three boxes, and it has made me an entirely different man. I am 65 years of age. HENRY C. MOYLE.

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GRAND LEDGE, MICH.—I have been afflicted over six years with Muscular Rheumatism in my arms. It finally settled in my back and the doctor called it Lumbago. Then a year ago my left knee swelled up so I could not get around and I suffered intense pains at times all winter. I could scarcely walk. I took patent medicines with no results. Then I sent for a trial box of Bodi-Tone. From that time on my improvement has been remarkable indeed, and I can now walk better than in years. MRS. TAYLOR HANCE.

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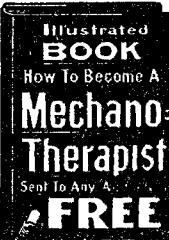
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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW



Nightly Crowd of Unemployed Workers Clamoring for Entrance to the Municipal Lodging House, New York City

THE COLD WAVE AND THE WORKERS

By ELIAS TOBENKIN

SOCIALISM THE HOPE OF THE WORKING CLASS

By WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

OUR MILLIONAIRES—The Truth About Them

Until a few years ago it was universally contended by our instructors in what-to-think that our big capitalists deserved their giant accumulations of wealth because of their superior brains, ability, energy, foresight and thrift. Then came Gustavus Myers' "History of the Great American Fortunes." There followed a death-like silence on the part of our teachers and editors, broken only occasionally by some editorial insect, who has just received a fat advertising contract, or by some professional prostitute who has a good job to hold.

In this monumental work Myers shows, and submits the proof in each case, that our millionaires raked in their great gobs of money, not only by the robbery of the wage worker, which goes on everywhere under the capitalist system, but by the **grossest fraud and corruption**, by the most cunning trickery and cynical betrayal. No doubt is left of the fact that our "great magnates" are not only systematic oppressors of the working class, but are **plain, ordinary thieves**, heaping up their riches by methods which would land the petty thimble-rigger in jail and which would make the small swindler an outcast.

In these three volumes the social rebel is provided with an array of arguments which will settle any defender of the present system, any capitalistic arguer, once and for all. The statements made cannot be answered; they are backed up by reference to documents and public records, which had been kept concealed, but which Myers dug out by years of tedious labor. If you want to hand any uninformed friend of yours a "knockout," just give him one of these volumes and tell him to look it over at his leisure. These books don't merely make charges; they **present the facts** and let you do the rest yourself.

Did you know, for instance, that J. P. Morgan began his financial career by tricking his own government by inducing it to buy some worn-out guns which the government had just sold? You will find the details in this history.

Volume I describes the rise of the great land fortunes, with a survey of conditions that prevailed in the colonial period of the United States. The facts pertaining to the Astor and Marshall Field estates are given. Volume II enters upon the story of the great railroad fortunes, especially those of Vanderbilt and Gould. Volume III contains the astounding proofs of the ways in which Russell Sage, J. P. Morgan, James J. Hill, Elkins, Crocker, Huntington, Hopkins, Leland Stanford and other magnates became rich and powerful. Each volume is complete in itself, but all are closely related, the three coming very near being a complete industrial history of the United States.

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CANADA DIVIDES UP HER WEALTH

The Great Northwest Shows Golden Favors Alike to Rich and Poor

Although under the rule of a monarchy, Canada is in effect one of the most democratic countries under the sun. Merit counts. Work brings its just reward and those with either little or much capital can invest in real estate with the safe assurance that they will get full benefit of the big rise in value which is sure to come.

And where in the world are such opportunities to make money as in lots in the railroad towns of Canada? For example, the money made in Calgary, Alta., real estate sounds like a tale of magic. It is common knowledge that Calgary lots which started at \$200 went up to \$1,000 almost at the moment that the new railroad came in, and now many of them are worth all the way from \$10,000 to \$30,000. Investors in Edmonton, Prince Rupert and Ft. George will tell you the same kind of an experience.

It is the railroad which is the wonder-worker in Canada. The Canadian Pacific brought a boom to the tune of tens of millions of dollars and now the greater new Grand Trunk Pacific is opening up a territory richer by far in prospects.


Directly on the main line of the registered right of way of this new road is the town site of Ft. Fraser, which has been an

important trading post for more than a century and is now to reap the golden harvest which the railroad will bring to it. Those who know predict a repetition of the boom in Calgary and the demand for Ft. Fraser lots is growing lively.

The railroad will come soon—surely in 1913 and probably within the year—but everyone stands an even chance of getting in on the ground floor if they act at once.

Lots in Fort Fraser, if taken now, before the railroad comes, can be had for from \$150 to \$200, but long before the rails are laid, a year or so hence, the prices will begin to jump. The present opportunity is especially good for the small investor, because easy terms are offered of 10 per cent down and 5 per cent per month, with no interest at all and no taxes until lots are full paid for. The British Columbia Government guarantees the titles.

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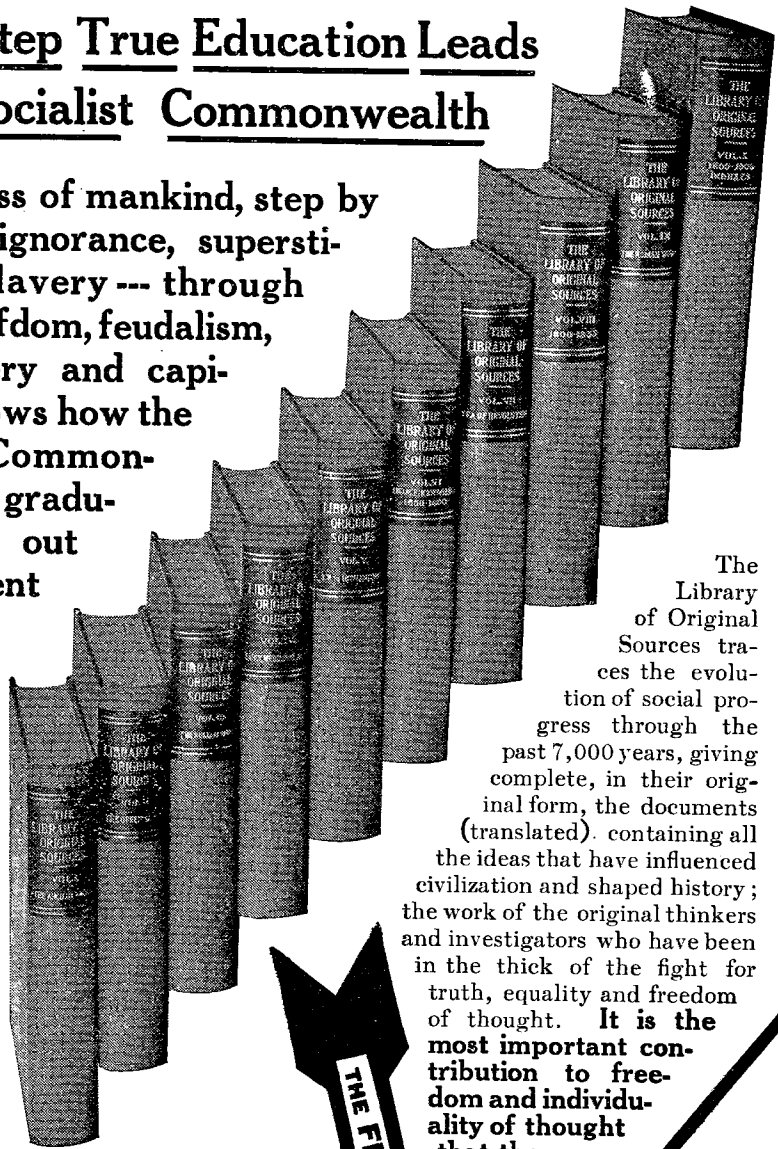
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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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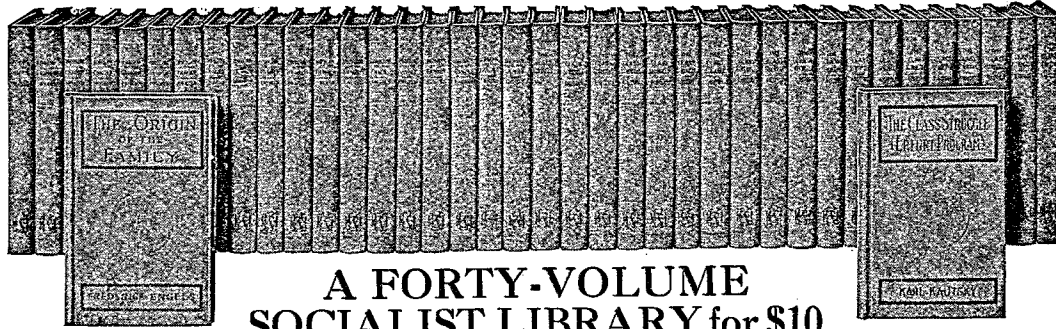
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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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FEBRUARY, 1912

No. 8



"COFFEE AND"

The Cold Wave and the Workers

BY

ELIAS TOBENKIN

ILLUSTRATED WITH PHOTOGRAPHS BY PAUL THOMPSON.

NEW YEAR'S morning, 1912, the capitalist press of New York devoted column after column to interviews with senators, governors, bankers and captains of industry in which these men of eminence assured the public that the year 1912 would "continue the record of prosperity" with which the country was "blessed" in 1911.

Governor Dix telegraphed the New York World that "the New Year finds the Empire State solvent, prosperous and serenely confident."

These optimistic statesmen had evidently not taken the weather into consideration when they talked so eloquently about the "record of prosperity."

Five days after these interviews appeared

New York was in the grip of a cold wave. And the same capitalist press suddenly discovered not only that New York has poor who suffer during the cold weather, but that the Empire City of the Empire State actually has thousands of homeless unemployed men and women walking the streets in summer clothing, and some in rags, penniless, hungry, many doomed to death from exposure, if the city does not bestir itself and rise to the situation.

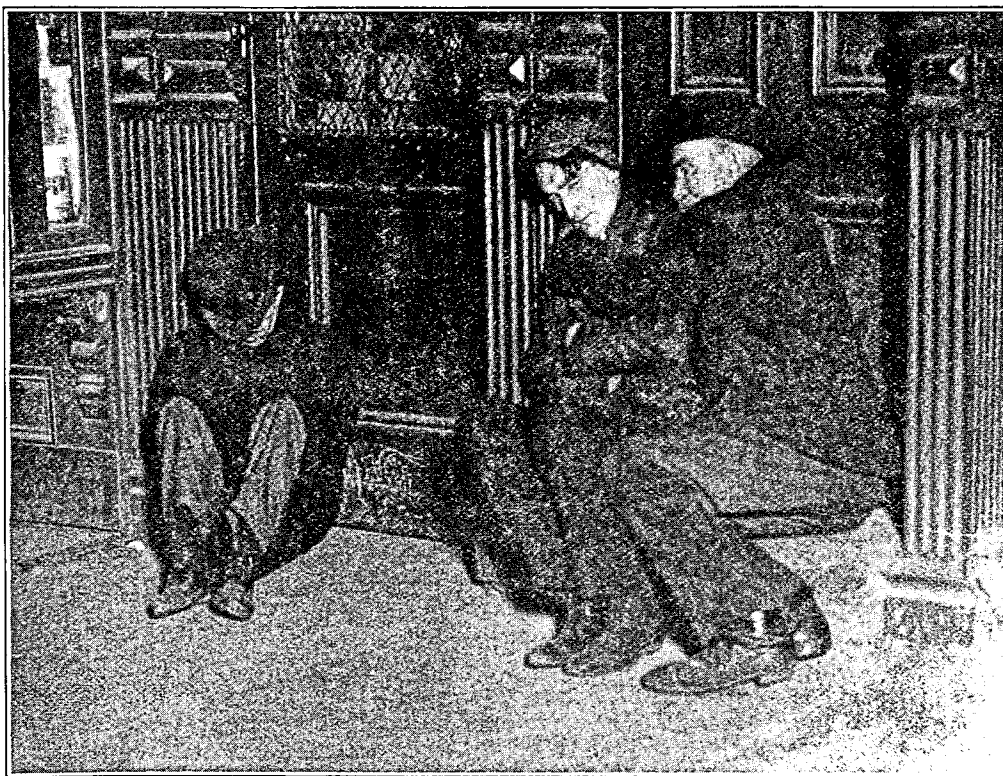
The same newspapers that five days previous were so "serenely confident" now opened their columns to frantic appeals by the heads of charitable organizations for "anything that you can give," an old coat, an old pair of trousers, socks, old shoes, and even discarded underwear. All of these things, the charity heads assured the public, would be welcomed by thousands of men who were in want of them.

Friday night, January 5, the municipal lodging house of New York broke all of its previous records. It housed 977 men, though it had room only for 738. To accommodate the remaining few hundreds,

men for whom there was no room in the municipal lodging house, the morgue was resorted to. The chapel of the morgue was thrown open and packed with half-frozen humanity, who spent the night huddled together on benches, and divided only by a thin wall from the vaults containing the usual quota of unidentified dead, that are also drawn from the ranks of these unemployed.

The Bowery Mission, which conducts the "bread line," fed more people than ever before after midnight that night. But the climax of the tragedy and suffering of the half-naked and half-starved men and women of the metropolis was reached Saturday afternoon.

All day Saturday the thousands of homeless men, who ordinarily keep on walking the streets, sought the saloons, but having no money to spend there would find themselves shoved out of the barroom by men who were a nickel the richer and could afford, therefore, to buy a glass of beer and the privilege of sitting and dozing before that glass of beer for hours.



WITHOUT THE PRICE.

The reading room of Cooper Union, a favorite resort with the more intelligent of the unemployed, was packed to its utmost capacity. Even the halls of Cooper Union were packed with freezing humanity. A bit of standing room near a radiator was at a premium.

Driven from the saloons for want of a nickel, hundreds of ragged, shivering individuals would march up to the postoffice and walk through the lobby. Here, however, watchmen are on the look out for that class of visitors, and "loitering" is not permitted. Here and there a man would try to get around the watchmen by scribbling something on a piece of paper and pretending that he was writing a letter.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon the situation changed. There was an exodus from saloons, from Cooper Union, from the lobby of the postoffice and from a hundred other places haunted by the unemployed. All started in the direction of the municipal lodging house. At 5 o'clock the sidewalk in front of the lodging house was jammed with hundreds of shivering, overcoatless men and boys. Here one could examine them carefully. Most of them wore what were once summer suits. Their shoes were torn. Their trousers, clinging tightly to their legs, when a gust of wind hit them, indicated that they wore no underwear, or at least no winter underwear. Many of them wore no stockings of any kind.

By 5:30 o'clock the army of these men and boys swelled to about 500. The wind from the river lashed against their faces until they looked as if they had been knouted, and that the blood would spurt out of their cheeks in a moment. Their eyes became red, their eyelids swollen.

The rule in the municipal lodging house is that the doors are not to be opened before 6 o'clock. But when Superintendent William C. Yorke looked out of the window at 5:30 and surveyed the crowd, his otherwise placid face was moved, and he ordered that the doors be opened at once.

From 5:30 o'clock until 10 in the evening three men were busy taking the pedigrees of these homeless men and boys. After they were "registered" they were sent up for their cup of coffee and bread. Then came the bath and the inspection by the doctor. More than a hundred had frozen fingers and toes. A few were taken to the

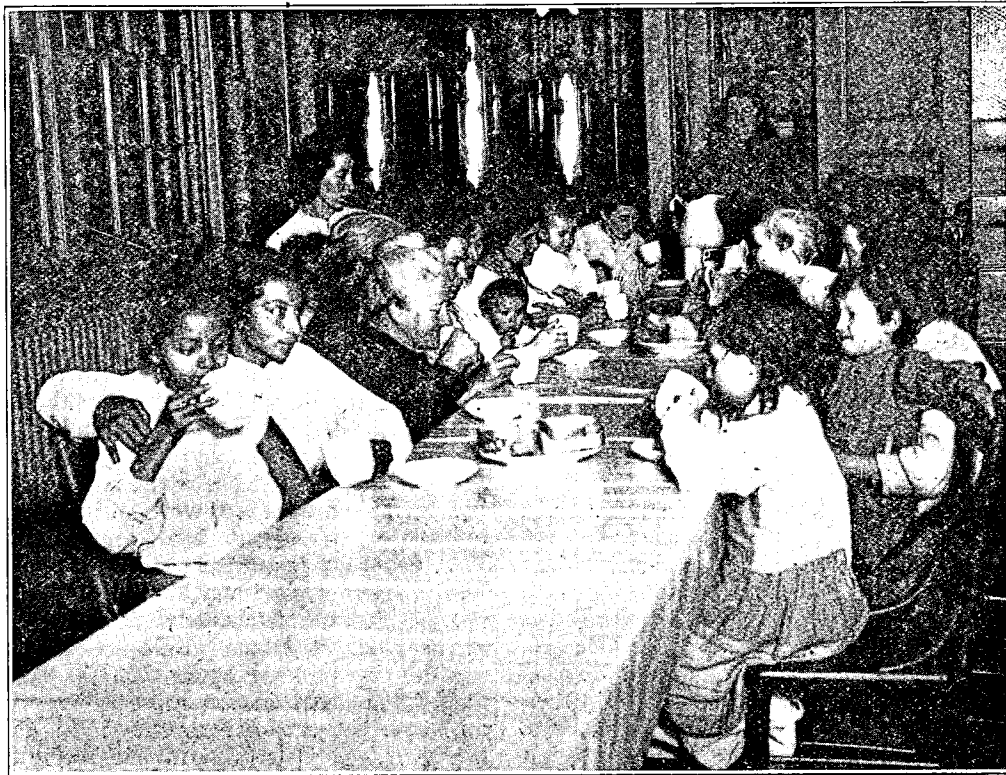
Bellevue Hospital suffering from exposure.

Before 8 o'clock every one of the 738 beds in the lodging house was occupied. Some 300 people were still on the floor, waiting to be given a place to sleep. Others were straggling in from the outside. The superintendent ordered that the waiting rooms of the municipal dock, which had been heated that afternoon, be thrown open to these men. In a few minutes the waiting rooms were jammed full of people. Here the men could not even lie down. The benches in the place were of the park variety, providing seats for four men to a bench. They were to sit this way through the night. But the men were glad to get even that.

After every available room on the dock had been used up, there were still hundreds of men who had not been provided for. They could not be turned out into the street. The morgue chapel would not hold them all. Besides, the superintendent of the Municipal Lodging House would not risk having the papers state again that the unemployed were "put in the morgue," as even the capitalist newspapers stated in their headlines. So a steamboat, used by the city for transporting criminals to Blackwell's Island, was hastily heated and put in operation. And hundreds of men for whom New York City had no room on terra firma were consigned to the boat to spend the night there.

The homeless, unemployed man is a common sight in New York. He no longer excites comment. Not so with women. One seldom sees a woman out of work and penniless. A woman can do washing, scrubbing, and earn a quarter this way. She can get a nook in some restaurant kitchen to lay her body down for the night in return for washing dishes. But there were 24 women in New York on the night of Saturday, January 6, 1912, who absolutely had no place to lay their heads. And there were five children who were likewise homeless because their mothers were jobless. These 24 mothers and five children were housed in one of the dormitories in the municipal lodging house.

The ages of the five children ranged as follows: A babe three weeks old; a little girl two years old, another little girl two and a half years old, a boy five years old, and another boy, eleven.



BREAKING UP THE HOME.

About 9 o'clock, when the rush at the municipal lodging house was beginning to subside, when nearly a thousand men had already had their cup of coffee and two slices of bread, and had been sent down to take their bath, get a physical examination by the doctor in attendance, and be consigned to their beds, Superintendent Yorke was buttonholed by the reporters and asked for facts and figures concerning these men.

Here are some the figures that were given the reporters by Mr. Yorke at that hour:

A little over 1,000 men had been registered. Of these, fully 70 per cent were overcoatless. Fifty per cent had no underwear or stockings of any kind. Twenty per cent had light summer underwear on.

"If you want to do a charitable deed," the superintendent told the reporters, "state in your papers the condition of these men, that they are half naked. Any piece of clothing that any citizen can spare will be appreciated by us and he will be blessed by some unfortunate youth or man who is half naked in this bitter cold."

One of the functions of a reporter is "to

fix the blame." When an accident occurs in which lives are lost the reporter assigned to the story is told to try and fix the blame, to try and find out who is responsible for the accident.

This function of "fixing the blame" extends to many other things. For example, many a well meaning citizen would be greatly relieved if, upon reading in the newspaper the story of the suffering of the homeless, naked and starved men who were crowding the municipal lodging house on that cold night, could find a paragraph explaining that the men themselves were really to blame for their condition; that if they had been frugal, had saved money when they were working, or had been willing to take work even now, they would not have been in such a plight; they, too, could have had homes.

It was with a view of being able to insert just such a paragraph blaming these unemployed men for their unemployment that one reporter asked:

"Are there any hold-up men among them? Any strong-arm men, any panhandlers?"



BEFORE BED TIME IN THE MUNICIPAL LODGING HOUSE.

Now, Superintendent Yorke is not a Socialist, at least not so that you can notice it. But he looked at the reporter with a semi-contemptuous smile.

"Go over and take a look at the men," he said, "see if they are the kind of men from whom strong-arm men, hold-up men and panhandlers are recruited. The class of men you refer to do not come to the municipal lodging house. They can afford to pay for their rooms."

"These men," the superintendent went on, "are all mechanics, and laborers. They are anxious to work at anything. I have had hundreds of them come to me today, each asking if I could not give them a job working around the lodging house. I have never seen such a respectable crowd of men before in all my life. Look at the faces of some of them, and you will recognize men of refinement among them. Did you see how neat some of them tried to keep themselves? It is astounding how many people there are in New York who cannot find work."

Not a word of these remarks of the su-

perintendent really "fixing the blame" for the condition of these men appeared in the newspapers the next day, though columns were printed about how the charity institutions responded nobly and came to the assistance of the poor and unfortunate.

Other figures given by the superintendent "fixed the blame" even more definitely. In 1910, he said, the municipal lodging house of New York broke the record for all years past in the number of persons it housed. But even this "record-breaking" period of 1910 was broken in 1911, when the municipal lodging house gave shelter to 51,000 more people in 1911 than in 1910. The total number of people sheltered in 1911 was 167,800. When one remembers that the municipal lodging house is hot on the trail of every man who is "not deserving," who is a professional tramp, etc., one can form a conception about the extent of homelessness and unemployment in New York and in the United States.

A remarkable, though easily explained, feature is the fact that the men applying for shelter at the municipal lodging house

are nearly all classed as natives—that is, American born. According to nationality they range as follows: American, Irish, German, English, Scotch. The Slavic races, Austrians, Hungarians and Jews, furnish the smallest number of municipal lodging house candidates. The explanation for it is simply this: American industries today need brawn, and brawn that will work cheap. The Slavs, Hungarians, Jews furnished cheap brawn. They are preferred by the steel trust, in the mines, in the sweatshops, and in all other industries, to the native American labor, to the German, English or Scotch workman. You can bully and thumb down the Slav or Hungarian more readily than you can the American or German. You can house the Hungarian

or Croatian or Italian in a shanty with much less compunction than you could an American.

Hence the American is, by a sort of tacit agreement of all industrial captains, relegated to the ranks of unemployed, while the immigrant, who willingly or unwillingly submits to lower wages, a lower standard of living, to inhuman, beastly treatment, is preferred.

The problem of unemployment has been growing in this country for years. The cold wave in New York is now showing it in all its sinister ugliness. The jobless man bids fair to become the most acute economic and social problem in the next two or three years in the United States.

UNDER Socialism all this will, of course, be altered. There will be no people living in fetid dens and fetid rags, and bringing up unhealthy, hunger-pinched children in the midst of impossible and absolutely repulsive surroundings. The security of society will not depend, as it does now, on the state of the weather. If a frost comes we shall not have a hundred thousand men out of work, tramping about the streets in a state of disgusting misery, or whining to their neighbors for alms, or crowding round the doors of loathsome shelters to try and secure a hunk of bread and a night's unclean lodging. Each member of the society will share in the general prosperity and happiness of the society, and if a frost comes no one will practically be anything the worse.—
From the *Soul of Man Under Socialism*,—by Oscar Wilde.

Socialism the Hope of the Working Class

SPEECH BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD



Delivered in New York City, at Cooper Union, Under the Auspices of Local New York Socialist Party

COMRADES and fellow workers: I am indeed gratified with this splendid reception. In fact, I am always pleased with a New York audience, and I hope this will be no different from the many audiences that I have addressed in this city.

I am here tonight, as the chairman has stated, to speak on "Socialism, the Hope of the Working Class." (Applause.) And there are some differences between So-

cialists. If we are to judge socialism by the opinions that have recently been expressed in the present controversy going on in our Socialist papers, and if our judgment were based on those ingredients, I am sure that we would have a mental chop suey (laughter and applause), the mysticism of which would baffle the ingenuity of the brain of a Chinese mandarin. (Laughter.) But not all the things that you have read from

the pens of our very learned brothers are socialism. Socialism is so plain, so clear, so simple that when a person becomes intellectual he doesn't understand socialism. (Applause.)

In speaking to you of socialism tonight I would urge that you do not turn your minds to the legislative halls at Albany or the halls of congress in Washington or the council chambers of the city hall in New York. I would prefer that you turn your minds inward and think of the machines where you are employed every day. I would like you to think of the relation that you hold to society, which occurs in three distinct phases: First, the individual relation, the relation to your home and family, the conditions that present themselves there; then the group relation, the industrial relation, without any regard to craft or trade divisions—not thinking that you are a particular craft man, but that you are working in some particular line of industry which is absolutely interdependent with all other industries; and then, having left your shop, your group or industrial relation, I would like your mind to turn home again, and you will not find that home isolated. It is a group of many homes. And there you assume another relation. There you become, not an individual of your family group, nor an individual of your social or industrial group, but you become a unit in the fabric of society. You become one then of the entire working class. And my definition of socialism here tonight will be clear enough indeed to the working class and also to the enemy of the working class; but to the go-between, to the opportunist, it will not be clear, and in all probability they would ask me to define my definition. I am not here to waste time on the "immediate demanders" or the step-at-a-time people whose every step is just a little shorter than the preceding step. (Laughter and applause.) I am here to speak to the working class, and the working class will understand what I mean when I say that under socialism you will need no passports or citizenship papers to take a part in the affairs in which you are directly interested. The working class will understand me when I say that so-

cialism is an industrial democracy and that industrialism is a social democracy. (Applause.)

And in this democracy we know no divisions. There will be no divisions of race, creed, sex or color. Every person who is a factor in industrial activity will take a part in this industrial democracy. Under socialism we workers will not be subjects of any state or nation, but we will be citizens, free citizens in the industries in which we are employed. Therefore, I want you at all times while I am speaking to keep your mind closely riveted on your own personal interests. You don't have to go outside of your own shop, the place where you are doing productive work, to establish socialism. Socialism is not a thing remote, and it is not necessary for you to follow our brothers who are standing on the heights of Utopia beckoning you to come up and enjoy the elysian fields, where you will receive \$4 a week after you become 60 years of age (laughter and applause), and where the conditions have arrived at such a perfect stage of security that no trust can do business if it holds more than 40 per cent monopoly of any particular line of industry. (Applause.) In this place that is being mapped out for you you will find that it is very much more desirable to be exploited by three 33 1-3 per cent trusts than it is to be exploited by one 100 per cent trust.

And now we will keep distinctly in mind the shop. I want to say at this point, and emphatically, that with the success of socialism practically all of the political offices now in existence will be put out of business. (Applause.) I want to say also, and with as much emphasis, that while a member of the Socialist party and believing firmly in political action, it is decidedly better in my opinion to be able to elect the superintendent in some branch of industry than to elect a congressman to the United States congress. (Applause.) More than that: under socialism we will have no congresses, such as exist today, nor legislatures, nor parliaments, nor councils of municipalities. Our councils will not be filled with aspiring lawyers and ministers (applause), but they will be the conventions of the working class, composed of men and

women who will go there for purposes of education, to exchange ideas, and by their expert knowledge to improve the machinery so that we can use it for the advantage of the working class. We will then have made machinery the slave of the working class, rather than now when the working class is the slave of the man who owns the machinery.

Having established these facts, we will now begin to understand why the conditions are so much more violent in this stage of the world's history than at any previous period. There was never a time in all the history of the world but what the working class were dominated by tyrants. There never was a period so tyrannical as now. We have heard of the democracy of Athens and of that ancient civilization. All the beauties of that wonderful city of free men, with its marvelous sculptures of marble, rested upon the shoulders of the 300,000 slaves in the valley. There has never been a period in the world's history that the working class were free. They have been slaves, serfs, chattel slaves and today wage slaves. And more than that, they are being devoured today by the Frankenstein that they themselves created. The energy, genius and ambition of the working class have brought about this marvelous age of machinery and invention, until today a machine will do the work of ten, one hundred, aye, a thousand times as much work as a man could do 50 years ago. This then is what intensifies the struggle for existence on the part of the working class. The unemployed army is rapidly increasing, due largely to the fact that labor-saving machinery has been introduced in nearly all branches of industry. We find then that the very thing that should improve the condition of the working class has contrived to make the condition of the working class deplorable indeed.

If you would travel and visit the various industries, as I have, you could speak of these things at first hand; the changes that are going on. Even here in a city like New York you can see a period of 100 years ago still hanging on. For instance, passing this street will be a street car drawn by horses; not far distant, an eighteen or twenty story building with

a platform on the top arranged for the aeroplanes that are coming as a means of transportation from one part of the city to the other. In all lines of industry the same changes have been going on. Fifty years ago the plowing on the farms was done by a yoke of cattle or a span of horses. Today it is neatly done by traction engines and steam plows. The picking of the cotton was formerly done by chattel slaves, then by wage slaves, white women—in Texas it is no unusual thing, or was no unusual thing, to see a white woman dragging an 8-foot cotton sack up and down the field all day long. In a corner of the field was something wrapped up in a bundle or a piece of blanket. As that woman approached the bundle you would see her stop quickly, pick it up and nurse it—her baby! She would nurse the little one and start again her round of weary toil. The day of the white woman and the day of the colored children in the cotton field has passed with the introduction of a great machine that goes down the field, and with a system of suction takes up all the ripe cotton, and the next day the thing is done all over again. The mining industry has been transformed in just such a manner. The steel industry likewise. Every branch of industry. Indeed, there are few, if any, lines of trade where the workingman today controls the tools with which he lives. In the manufacture of shoes, where a man used to make a pair of shoes, or a pair of boots, he was called a shoemaker. Now in the process of manufacturing a pair of shoes it goes through at least 100 different pairs of hands, and the machinery that makes the shoe doesn't belong to the shoe manufacturer, but to the United States Shoe Machinery Company, which is an entirely different concern, and one of at least as great proportions now as the Standard Oil trust.

So we find that while the worker has gone steadily on with his toil and his inventive genius, creating all this wonderful machinery by his labor power alone, he has with every step of progress exaggerated his own struggle for existence and he has brought about a keener struggle between himself and the capitalist class. And if it were not for this struggle between

the owning, employing class and the working class, the philosophy of socialism would never have been written. And here tonight, I believe, while I am speaking on the hope of the worker, that the necessity of emphasizing the class struggle is more apparent than anything else, because if the working class, if the workers will recognize this class struggle and become a part of it, there is absolutely no question as to the speedy and early results if we can ever get up against the capitalist class with our bare hands. We then will be in a position to absolutely control the situation.

And here tonight I am going to speak on the class struggle, and I am going to make it so plain that even a lawyer can understand it (laughter and applause). I am going to present the class struggle so clearly here tonight that even a preacher will know its meaning. (Applause.) And this, friends, is rather more difficult than you appreciate. The lawyer and the preacher have never fought with the under-dog. For the ages ago they have been the mouthpieces of the capitalist class. (Applause.) They are not entirely to blame. We Socialists recognize that it is largely the result of environment. You can't see the class struggle through the stained-glass windows of a cathedral. You can't see the class struggle through the spectacles of capitalist law, written by capitalist representatives in the interest of the capitalist class. To understand the class struggle you must go into the factory and you must ride on top of the boxcars or underneath the boxcars. You must go into the mills. You must look through the dirty windows of the working shop. You must go with me down into the bowels of the earth 1,000, 2,000, 3,000, 5,000 feet: there by the uncertain flicker of a safety lamp, there by the rays of a tallow candle you will understand something about the class struggle.

You must know that there are two classes in society. There are no half-way measures. Just two classes. On the one side the capitalist class. On the other side the working class. On the one side those who produce all and have little or none. On the other side those who produce none and have all. (Applause.) This

struggle is between capitalism and socialism. Socialists are not responsible for it. We say that it exists. We know the conditions that have brought it about and we know the only remedy for it. We say that it will continue just so long as a favored few are given the special privilege of exploiting the many. This class struggle will continue just so long as one man eats bread in the sweat of another man's face.

And now the workers are involved in this class struggle, and we will see what they are going to do. The men in the Los Angeles jail, 100 or more—they understand this class struggle, and so do the men who were taken from that jail to San Quentin. (Applause.) They know what the class struggle means. Let me say to you that while the capitalist class is writing the criminal record of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union it is no part of the duty of the Socialists to be assisting them in their work (applause), but it is our duty to compile the category of crimes perpetrated by the capitalist class. (Applause.) As for me, I am a defendant in every case where the working class or its representatives are on trial and the capitalist class is the plaintiff. (Applause.) Therefore my heart is with the MacNamara boys (applause) as long as they are fighting in the interests of the working class. (Applause.) Let the capitalist class bury its own dead. There are 21 dead in Los Angeles. We are too busy to go there, because tonight we have 207 dead in Bryceville, Tennessee. (Applause.) A federal grand jury has been selected to ferret out the men responsible for Jim MacNamara's crime in Los Angeles; there has been no grand jury selected to investigate the crime at Bryceville. And let me say that that explosion in Bryceville was just as premeditated, just as much a cold-blooded murder as though they had set the fuse or timed the clock. (Applause.) Every day in the year in this country there are 100 men and women killed; 35,000 every year. Seven hundred thousand killed and wounded in preventable accidents in the industries of this country. Let me say to you that when you hear of an explosion in a mine, you can mark it down that murder has

been committed; been committed with the connivance, or at least through the deliberate negligence of the capitalist class. (Applause.) Every miner and every mine owner knows that if the mines are properly ventilated, if they are properly equipped with either air shafts or suction fans there will be no accumulation of gas or firedamp. If the coal dust is wetted down or removed there will be no explosions from this source. But it requires money, and it reduces the profit in mining coal. Human life is cheaper. Therefore, they continue to murder us by the thousands every year. And until we have brought about that condition whereby we can protect ourselves, I can't find it in my heart to condemn one of my own class. (Applause.)

So I say to you that the men in the Los Angeles jail, the men who were doing picket duty while the Llewellyn Iron Foundry workers were on strike, thrown into jail for no other reason than because they were on the picket line, because they had violated an injunction—those men understand the class struggle. In Fresno, California, not far removed from Los Angeles, 116 members of the Socialist party and the Industrial Workers of the World were thrown into a prison intended to "accommodate" 24 persons. As the jail doors swung behind them they said with all the spirit and more of the earnestness of Patrick Henry, "Give us liberty or give us death." The sheriff of the county called out the fire department, turned three strong streams of water into that jail; the men were compelled to hold mattresses against the doors to keep their eyes and nostrils from being torn out by the water. One man had his eye torn from his head. They left them all night long standing up to their knees in water. They understand the class struggle.

The men who fought the terrible battle for free speech in Spokane, where there were 1,800 hospital cases and only 500 prisoners—they understand the class struggle. They were competent to do that. Their jaws were broken by the minions of the capitalist class.

But most of us out west understand the class struggle, and I don't know how I can better portray what the class struggle means than to give you here tonight a

brief history of the Western Federation of Miners. (Applause.) I don't think I have ever told this story in the city of New York. At least it will bear repetition.

The Western Federation of Miners is a fighting organization of the working class. It was born in jail (laughter and applause), and we are proud of our birth. (Applause.) We were the child of an injunction. It was the first injunction ever issued in a labor controversy. President Taft is credited with being the father of injunctions, but that doubtful honor rests with Judge Beattie of the federal district court in Idaho, and Bill Taft is only the stepdad. (Laughter.) That injunction was issued during a strike in the Coeur d'Alenes in the Panhandle of Idaho in 1892. The miners went on strike to prevent a reduction of wages, and the mine owners, violating all laws, brought in thugs and hired gun men from foreign territory, and there was a pitched battle between union men and non-union men. A few were killed on each side, and during the fight a mill was blown up and the soldiers were sent in and 1,200 union men were arrested. They were placed in what the authorities were pleased to call a "bullpen." That particular bullpen was a hurriedly erected two-story structure built out of rough lumber, where those 1,200 men were crowded in much closer than you are here tonight. They were held, most of them, for a period of seven months. During the early weeks of their incarceration they were not permitted to leave that building, not even to answer the calls of nature. They became diseased and vermin infested, and many, many of them died as a result of that cruel imprisonment. Among the number were 14 who were arrested for violating the injunction that I referred to. They were sent to Ada county jail, and by the merest coincidence they occupied the same cells that Moyer, Pettibone and myself lived in for so many weary months, commencing some 14 years later. And it was while those 14 men were within the gloomy walls of that prison that they conceived the idea and formulated the plan of federating all the miners of the west, or amalgamating all the miners of the west into one general organization.

As soon as they were released they called a convention. It was held in Butte, Montana. And on the 15th of May, 1893, the Western Federation of Miners was born. (Applause.) Quick on the heels of its inception came the Cripple Creek strike of 1894, when the miners went out to establish an eight-hour day and a minimum wage of \$3.50 to protect the members of their organization from discrimination. The mine owners at once called on the governor for the soldiers, but at this time we had a governor in the chair who was a member of the organization himself. He refused to become an ally of the operators. But they had a tool in the person of the sheriff of what was then called El Paso county, and this sheriff organized an army of deputies. Those deputies were composed, as deputy sheriffs usually are, of the dregs of society. Society, you know, is in three layers. There is the dregs on the bottom and the great working-class paystreak in the center, and the scum on the top. You can usually tell the female of the species: she is more deadly than the male. Those on the bottom begin cutting off their clothes at the bottom, and those on the top begin cutting them off at the top. The same species, scum and dregs. This army of deputies were instructed to go up and kill or capture the miners who had built a fort. I don't like to admit all these things—you will think they were not law abiding out west. (Laughter.) When I speak to you about building a fort it puts me in mind of a story that I heard about "fighting like tigers on the barricades." (Laughter and applause.) But this was really and truly a barricade, and there were miners behind it that had never read or written a brief in their lives. They had guns, and they were prepared to meet their enemies.

But remember! We also believed in political action, and had elected one of our own class as governor of the state. And he called out the militia to protect the miners and put them in between the warring factions and told the deputy sheriffs that if they didn't disband he would fire on them as insurrectos. You understand, then, why I believe in political action. (Applause.) We will have control then of whatever forces government can give

us, but we will not use them to continue to uphold and advance this present system, but we will use the forces of the police power to overthrow this present system. (Applause.) And instead of using the powers of the police to protect the strike-breakers, we will use the powers of the police to protect the strikers. (Applause.) That's about as far as I go on political action. (Applause.) But that's a long way. And the reason that I don't go into the halls of parliament to make laws to govern the working class is because the working class is working with machines, and every time some fellow has a thought, inspiration, the machine changes, and I don't know that laws can be made quick enough to keep up with the changing machinery. And I know this: that laws, under socialism, will not be made to govern individuals. We have got too much of that kind of law, and we want a little freedom from now on. The only kind of government that we will have then will be that kind that will administer industry. That's all. No other kind of government. And that will apply not only in the machine shop, but in every municipality. The municipality itself will become a part of the industrial life.

But now, to get back to that fight on Bull Hill. There, when these soldiers dispersed the deputies, the miners went into session in their union hall and passed an eight-hour law. Just think of the impudence of those miners! And that law has proved to be court-decision proof. It's never been declared unconstitutional by any supreme court. (Applause.)

And now, perhaps you would consider that "direct action." I believe in direct action. If I wanted something done and could do it myself I wouldn't delegate that job to anybody. (Applause.) That's the reason I believe in direct action. You are certain of it, and it isn't nearly so expensive. (Applause.)

We won the strike on Bull Hill then because we were organized industrially and because we were in control of the situation politically. But we lost the strike in Leadville in 1896. You see, the women voted in 1894 in Colorado. They had started a campaign, and the slogan of the campaign was "Save the State!" It was the first time that the women voted. And

they proceeded to defeat one of the best men in the state and elected a man for governor that they wouldn't invite into their homes. I wanted to mention this fact because of the strong campaign that is being made for woman suffrage. Now, while I believe in women having everything that men have, I believe that they are entitled—well, they're just a part of the human race, that's all, and I don't know of any reason why I should have something and deprive them of it. Give them equal rights in everything. And that's what we say in Colorado now, "Here's to the women, God bless them. Once our superiors, but now our equals." We have brought them down to our same level. (Applause.) That strike in 1896 was in the lead mines. It was lost. In 1897 and 1898 we had the same difficulty. In Leadville we had 900 men in the bullpen for eight months. Then came the second strike in the Coeur d'Alenes in 1899.

As before, the question involved was reduction of wages. And let me say to you, friends, so that you will understand the position of the Western Federation of Miners: We have never been involved in a controversy of any kind, except for the man underneath. We have always fought the battle of the under dog. We have never tried to establish an apprentice system or to do anything especially for the skilled men. As before, the mine owners brought in deputies, and there was another mill blown up, and this time it was the Bunker Hill and Frisco. It is said that there were 3,000 pounds of powder put under that mill. Naturally, when that powder went off the mill went up, and some of it probably hasn't come down yet.

Then the troops came, which was not the militia. The militia had gone to fight in the Spanish war. It was the regular troops, sent in by President McKinley, and they were black soldiers. Another bullpen was erected, this time a low rambling one-story structure; the bare earth, no floor, rough boards to sleep on, a wisp of hay for bedding; food unfit for animals; the whole thing fenced in with barbed wire 18 and 20 strands high. On the inside of that enclosure, over a thousand union men, just as good as any of

you are. And on the outside, a thousand black soldiers. And while those young miners were fighting for the flag, for the freedom, the honor of this country—I don't mean the red flag—the black soldiers were at home insulting, outraging, ravishing their wives, mothers, sisters and sweethearts.

And that brings us down then to the Colorado strike, with which you are all well acquainted. Sixteen hundred men under arrest and in the bullpen at one time; 400 deported, thrown out on the prairie without food and without water; hundreds of homes demolished. Our stores, four of them, robbed. Many of our members murdered. Many of our wives outraged.

So you understand that we know the class struggle in the west. And realizing, having contended with all the bitter things that we have been called upon to drink to the dregs, do you blame me when I say that *I despise the law* (tremendous applause and shouts of "No!") and I am not a law-abiding citizen. (Applause.) And more than that, no Socialist can be a law-abiding citizen. (Applause.) When we come together and are of a common mind, and the purpose of our minds is to overthrow the capitalist system, we become conspirators then against the United States government. And certainly it is our purpose to abolish this government (applause) and establish in its place an industrial democracy. (Applause.) Now, we haven't any hesitation in saying that that is our aim and purpose. Am I correct? (Tremendous applause.) Am I absolutely correct when I state this as being the position of the Socialist party not only of New York, but of the United States and of every nation of the world? (Applause.)

Well, then, it isn't only the men of the west who understand the class struggle. You understand it here just as well as we do there.

The button workers of Muscatine, Iowa, know what it means. The miners of Lead City, South Dakota; the furniture workers of Grand Rapids, Michigan; the garment workers of Cleveland, Ohio, who have recently lost their strike; the garbage workers here in New York, the gas workers—they will learn what

the class struggle means; and yes, the shirtwaist strikers. And finally, it's the same in every country of the world. And here tonight I am going to draw a panoramic view of the different nations, just to show you that the class struggle is the same. And remember that I am not going to let you leave this hall until I present to you a constructive program that will enlist the sympathy of every worker in the world—don't make any difference to me whether he is a Socialist, an anarchist, a trades unionist or what he is, if you present the struggle to him. That is, unless he is a business agent. (Laughter and applause.) If you present the struggle to him clearly and define a means by which it can be ended, you can enlist his support. And now, to show you the world-wide significance of this struggle I am going back in history just as far as Bloody Sunday, the 22nd of January, 1905.

You will all remember that day with me. There occurred a cruel, terrible massacre in St. Petersburg, Russia. It seems that the people of that country had been ground down to such a terrible condition that they could no longer stand it. Entire families were living in single-room houses, sleeping on the bare ground, their footgear scant, their clothing scant; eating out of a common bowl a coarse mush, their only food. They had no organization to meet these conditions, and, except their secret organizations, they had no societies. They determined to appeal to their White Czar, they called him their "Little Father." But these people had never learned to write, so it must be a living petition. And the word went forth. Thousands of them marched toward the holy palace in St. Petersburg. They carried the holy cross of Christ and sang religious hymns. They came within a hundred feet, or less, of the palace gates, and a volley rang out from the guns of the czar's soldiers, and hundreds of these peaceful marchers fell dead in the snow, their warm red blood mingling with and forming a dark mantle of the snow that covered Russia at that season of the year. When you heard the echo of that volley you heard the world-wide echo of the class struggle.

You heard the shrieks and groans of

the Russian girls exiled from home, who were burned to death in this terrible factory fire that occurred here last winter. The same people, the same fears, the same anguish, the same struggle and the same world-wide need of socialism.

Across the sea, in Finland, we find our Finnish comrades protesting because their constitution has been abrogated, protesting because their sons are sent to war or they are compelled to pay a tribute in gold. They are protesting the same class struggle.

In Sweden only a short time ago we sent our money to assist the workers who were engaged in a general strike, a sympathetic strike to maintain the life of their organization. I met many of the workers while I was in Sweden. They told me of their privations, their suffering women and children compelled to subsist on black bread and water. They were beaten to their knees, but they were not vanquished, and as I was leaving Stockholm they said to me, "Comrade Haywood, when you come to America tell the workers of that country that we will be fighting with them in the vanguard until the working classes of the world are victorious." (Applause.)

Leaving there, I went to Spain and found the same condition prevailing and found that the workers in that country were just as class conscious as in Sweden. There it was the French bankers had made their investments in the Moorland, and the king had called upon the youth of Spain to protect the interests of the French bankers, and the Socialists being opposed to war in all nations, joined with the building trades of Barcelona and declared a general strike against war. How long would it be before the building trades of New York would declare a strike against war? (Laughter.) They couldn't declare a general strike against anything, because they are divided among themselves. (Applause.)

From Spain, through Portugal, where they had overthrown their king, and the working classes were asking—when they had political liberty they were asking for industrial liberty. From there into Wales. I was there during the general strike. It was the first one of its kind, and the workers were lined up in a mighty force,

and when the king of England sent the police from the various cities—Bristol, Liverpool, Cardiff, London—the miners met the police with pick handles and clubs. (Applause.) And they say that it's wrong for me to speak to you this way; that it would be inciting the workers to riot. That's the reason that I didn't speak to the garbage workers here one night. Just as though I would try to get an unarmed garbage worker to go up against one of these murderous brutes of policemen here in New York! (Applause.) It isn't likely. But I would like to have tried to have all the working class of New York to stand by the garbage workers, even to the extent of a general strike. (Applause.) There in Wales, when they whipped the police the managers of the mines called upon the king for the soldiers. The soldiers came. Some of them had been permeated with the spirit of class consciousness. They took out and threw away part of the locks of their guns, making them useless.

I know that some of you members here will think that this is not patriotic (laughter); that really you ought to fight for the flag; that you ought to live up to your obligations and fulfil your duties. But let me say to you that that isn't being a traitor. If it is, it's better to be a traitor to your country than it is to be a traitor to your class. (Applause.) (A shout: "The working man has no country at all!") That's very well said. Not only that, but there are no foreigners in the working class. (Applause.) The only foreigner that the working class should know is the capitalist. (Applause.) And they are recognized that way in Wales, and they are fighting for socialism there. And remember that they are all industrial unionists fighting for socialism.

The same is true in Ireland now.

From there I came back to Glasgow, and let me say that in Glasgow I could tell of a condition that will interest you, especially those of you who are inclined to think that socialism means municipal ownership. In Glasgow everything is municipally owned, all street cars, the electric lights, water works, bath houses, bake shops, model tenement houses (?)

and even the jails are owned by the municipality. They have model houses. Fifty thousand people there live in single rooms. One hundred thousand people in Glasgow live in two rooms. That's the condition in that municipally owned city. I told them that they were entitled to the full product of their toil and when I made speeches to them throughout Scotland I left them talking to themselves. They were not talking municipal ownership, nor government ownership, but they were talking about industrialism, socialism, the hope of the workers.

From there I went to England and was there just preceding the great general strike. I visited many of the industrial centers and found a condition in England that is even worse than here, but that we are rapidly getting down to.

I want to say, as a result of this general uprising of the workers, they have taken the crown from off the king's head; they have put it into the melting pot and made of it the golden key to unlock the chains that bind the wrists of slavery; and by the same means, by the same token, we can accomplish the same result in this country when we learn to act as a unit and when we learn to go on strike as one man. (Applause.) And, workers, this then is the spirit that has aroused every country in the world.

I am not going to take time tonight to describe to you the conditions in France, though I would like to do so, because I again want to justify direct action and sabotage. You have plenty of it over there. (Applause.) I don't know of anything that can be applied that will bring as much satisfaction to you, as much anguish to the boss as a little sabotage in the right place at the proper time. Find out what it means. It won't hurt you, and it will cripple the boss.

Now I want to come back home. I know that the hour is getting late, and I don't want to leave you without the constructive policy of this meeting. There are many ways to describe how the Socialists will get control of the industries. There are those who say that we will confiscate them. "Confiscate!" That's good. I like that word. It suggests stripping the capitalist, taking something

away from him. But there has got to be a good deal of force to this thing of taking. You might have a majority of voters, but some of them might be crippled; they wouldn't be fighters. Remember that the capitalists have standing tonight their whole well-disciplined army of capitalism—bayonets, Maxim guns, long Toms, the navy, the army, the militia, the secret service, the detectives, the police are all there to protect the property of capital. I have got a better way, so I am temporarily going to pass up that confiscation idea.

Another one will say, "Well, competition. We could accomplish these things by competition." They look at the shop, it isn't a very big shop and they know that it was built by workers. "Well, why can't we build another shop and go into competition; build another railroad?" All these things can be done. But you can't build another Niagara Falls, can you, where the power is generated to run the shops? You can't build another coal bed, can you, nor another forest, nor other wheat fields? So we will have to pass up the idea of competition.

But another Socialist comes along with the idea of compensation, and that is the worst of the three C's. Really, we have already purchased these things, and haven't they been compensated enough? They have been riding on our backs all these years. (Applause.) They have enjoyed life and luxury. Compensation means, then, that we are to take control of the industries and relieve them of the responsibilities and pay them interest-bearing bonds, gold bonds, and that these capitalists, whom we have always regarded as exploiters, will have no harder work than to hire some one to clip coupons for them; that we will have a bond-holding aristocracy in this country that will ride us harder than the aristocracy of any country in the world. No, I say, pass up this compensation.

Well, there is another fellow, the Christian Socialist. (Laughter.) He has an idea of "Conversion." And I want to say to you that a Christian Socialist is one who is drunk on religious fanaticism and is trying to sober up on economic truth (laughter and applause), and when he gets about half-sober he thinks that he

can convert the capitalist to Christianity and that the capitalist will be willing to turn over all these things to the brotherhood of man. He overlooks the fact that the capitalist is a child of the devil, and that's a poor place for a Christian Socialist to proselyte. We will pass up the Christian Socialist with the "conversion."

Here is another man—they all follow in the line of C's. I use the C's so that you can—I was speaking down in Missouri where I had to show them—Confiscation, Compensation, Competition, Conversion. Now, the trade unionist believes in Coercion. I like that. I believe in the strike. I believe in the boycott. I believe in coercion. But I believe that it ought to be by two million men instead of by a handful of men. If they are going to play a game of coercion, let that game be strong so that the capitalist class will know that the trade unionists will mean every word they say. But they don't. Never did. Because they no sooner have the capitalists in a position where they recognize that this coercion means something, than some of their representatives will step in with a Compromise—there is another C—and then tie them up with a contract, and that contract for an indefinite period, one, two, or three years. And let me say to you that the trade unionist who becomes a party to a contract takes his organization out of the columns of fighting organizations; he removes it from the class struggle and he binds it up and makes it absolutely useless. For instance, let me give you a humble illustration. A labor organization is a fighting machine of the working class, or ought to be. If it is not, it isn't fulfilling its mission. You will all recognize this! (holding up a clenched fist.) As a fighting weapon it is composed of many members of several organizations, and they can all fight independently, work independently. They don't bother each other when they are at work, but if called upon for defense they settle down in a common fighting machine. Now suppose that I were foolish enough to tie one of them up with an agreement, a contract, running for a period of six months, what would become of it? It would rot off, wouldn't it; die off, decay? Not only that, but it would be useless to itself and all the others. I

might better cut it off altogether. And so you might better not be organized at all than to be organized as you are now. (Applause.)

And now we come to the constructive program, the program which every Industrialist understands. Remember that there isn't an Industrialist but what is a Socialist, and knows why. There are many Socialists who are trade unionists, but they couldn't tell you why in a hundred years. They couldn't justify it in a hundred years, except that they have to be to hold their jobs. Then we have the constructive program of Socialism, which means that the working class can be organized in a constructive and a defensive organization at the same time. Let me show you what I mean. Now, I want to present it to you so clearly that you will take it home with you. Suppose that the United Mine Workers of America, organized as they are industrially—but let me say they are hampered with all the tools of trade unionism—suppose that they would join hands with the Western Federation of Miners and we would cut loose entirely from the capitalist class, recognizing them on the economic as well as the political field as our enemies, having absolutely nothing to do with them. We would start a program then of organization, having for its purpose the taking in of every man employed in the mining industry throughout the United States. This work having been accomplished, or nearly perfected, is there a man or woman in this hall who believes that with such an organization we could not protect our lives? Don't you believe that if we had a class-conscious organization of the miners we could compel the mine owners to properly ventilate the mine, to remove the coal dust, to equip them with safety appliances for the protection of life and limb and to furnish a sufficient amount of timber to work them?

Can we do this? You know that we could if we had this power behind us; this organization. We then could protect our lives. We would have the mines in better shape. We could produce more

coal. But first having protected our lives we would think about our families and we would improve their conditions around the mines. We would see that there were better company houses for our families to live in; that the young men had first-class up-to-date apartment houses to dwell in; that the schools were first-class. Any reason why we couldn't? Not at all.

Having preserved our lives, improved the conditions of our homes, we would become better men physically and mentally. We can produce more coal. But—you garment workers have got all the power you need; don't need any more coal. We wouldn't produce coal just for fun, nor would we let each other ever deprive us of the luxuries and necessities of life. Not at all. How then could we reduce the output of coal? We would reduce the hours of labor. If we can produce enough coal in eight hours or six or four, you wouldn't want us to work any longer, would you?

Having preserved our lives, improved our home conditions, reduced our hours of labor, what does that suggest? Well, we would look around and see that the rest of the working class had kept pace with us, every one marching in rhythm, and we would say to you, "We will cut out the capitalist class now. We will lock them out. Every man that quits his job now is a scab. We want every man to work and we in turn will contribute for your labor everything that you need." This is the understanding that we would have. There would be no capitalist class in this game. There would be nothing but the working class. And this being an accomplished fact, we would say then that the Socialists despise covering up their aims and purposes. We would say that it is our purpose to overthrow the capitalist system by forcible means if necessary.

And I urge you workers tonight: determine upon this program. Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain. (Tremendous applause and cheers.)



VICTIMS, MARCH 25, 1911.

God Did It

BY

PHILLIPS RUSSELL

A NEW YORK jury composed of capitalistic cockroaches has absolved Harris & Blanck of the murder of 147 young workers in the Triangle shirt-waist factory fire of March 25, 1911.

Harris & Blanck, the two bosses, were tried only for the death of one girl worker, according to the crooked ways of capitalist courts, and since "it couldn't be proved" that they were responsible for this one girl's death, they were freed.

A member of the jury afterward expressed himself as follows:

"I can't see that anyone was responsible for the loss of life, and it seems to me that it must have been AN ACT OF GOD."

Poor God! The capitalists have got him just where they have the working class—

cornered! They tell us He can do all things. But there is one thing God can't do, it seems—He can't answer back. Else the moment this pitiful squirt uttered these words He would have rent the sky open, would have hurled His scepter aside, thrown off His robe, stepped down from His awful throne, taken this petty capitalist croaker by the throat, and rammed his statement back down him again.

Hasn't God any manhood at all? How long will He continue to allow Himself to be made the goat for capitalist crimes? Or is His eternal silence a confession of guilt? If so, then it is time we were knowing. Is it God who has been up to the deviltry of all these years? Is it God who traps the worker in blazing factory or buries him in

tomblike mine, without providing him with even one means of escape? Is it God who sends the sailor abroad in a rotten hulk of a ship and drowns him before he can leap from his foul bunk? Is it God who hurls the iron worker from his lofty perch a thousand feet to the stones below and mangles the brakeman and the machine hand into an unrecognizable mass, telling the weeping wives and children that He is very sorry but the dead men were guilty of contributory negligence? Is it God who takes

into His tender care all that the worker produces and hands him back just enough to live on?

The capitalists say so. Their priests and preachers, their professors and editors, their teachers and other kept men, say so.

But we have begun to suspect. We have begun to see that the capitalists have created God in their own image. And He is running up a terrible account which some day He will have to settle with the working class of the world.

What Will Become of Your Children?

BY

MARY E. MARCY

I WAS talking with a widow who runs a large "Rooming House" in Chicago a few days ago and she said:

"I have had a hard life, just work and drudgery all the time, but I can stand anything if only I can give my boy and girl a good education and fit them to earn good livings so they won't have to work as I have."

And this is just what you are probably saying, you fathers and mothers the whole world over. You are slaving cheerfully day after day, wearing old clothes and going without the pleasures your weary bodies crave in the hope that your boys and girls may remain in school and enter Life's work arena armed and equipped to come off victorious in the fierce struggle for existence.

But you have no money or very little money to start your boy in business and the Dun and Bradstreet commercial reports have proven in cold figures that only five per cent of the men or women who go into business ever succeed. That means that ninety-five out of every hundred boys are going to fail—to lose the little capital they invested and find themselves forced to hunt a master and go to work making profits for somebody else.

You and I know that the man or woman who starts a small store has no chance to win out against the big mail order houses

who manufacture many of the commodities they sell and who ship in car load lots. They will be unable to meet the prices of their gigantic competitors. It is cheaper to sell shoes, or coats or stoves straight from the manufacturer or the wholesaler than to have them pass through the hands of a middleman and people always have bought and always will continue to buy where prices are lowest.

Professional men and women are no better off. If the many thousands of doctors and lawyers that are graduated from our colleges every year, not more than one fifth of them succeed in making a comfortable living. The fierce competition among newspaper and literary men and women has also brought wages down to the bare cost of living. In the professional world, as elsewhere, the supply of men and women greatly exceeds the demand and the doctors and lawyers are compelled to resort to all sorts of shyster and quack tricks in order to make a hand to mouth existence.

The same story is heard among the skilled workers. The wireless telegraph operators are already trying to organize into a union to protect themselves, their claim being that common seamen are receiving higher monthly wages than the most expert wireless operators.

Molders find their old well-paying jobs

taken from them by the machine process. Bricklayers find cement workers encroaching upon their industrial territory. Glass blowers are experiencing a reduction in wages owing to the cheaper method of glass manufacturing by machinery. And from the Department of Agriculture at Washington and from the manufactures of modern farming machinery comes word of thousands of farm traction engines that shall ultimately eliminate nine-tenths of the human labor expended in farming. Even the mines have not been exempt and already machines have been invented that have displaced thousands of workers in the mining industries.

And this is only the beginning. The age of machine production has only begun. Every year will bring further improvements in the methods of production that will abolish the need of human labor power.

And with every improvement in the machinery of production thousands of men, women and children are thrown out of employment. Fewer jobs remain for those who work. More men are forced into the vast army of unemployed; more girls are forced to go out upon the streets to sell their bodies in order to make a living.

This is what your boy and your girl are facing. Look about you. Talk this matter over with your wife, your husband, your neighbors or your friends. Can any one of these give you any guaranty that your son and your daughter shall have a comfortable, an easy and a happy life?

Can any one of these assure you even that they will have a steady job and three wholesome meals a day as long as they live?

Can they find any way under the sun to give you lasting knowledge that your son, unable to get work, shall not become a tramp, a hobo, or a criminal? And what choice is there left for those who have no

property and are unable to find work save one of these?

What choice is left for the woman who is unable to find a job, save starvation or prostitution?

Have you known any group of men or women who had any hope to offer for the future of your children? Have you heard the eloquent Republican orator speak on these things? Has the Honorable Democratic Congressman from your district looked these facts in the face?

We know they have not, for this is the task and the promise of Socialism.

And this is why every working class father and mother should join the Socialist party.

The Socialist movement has sprung up in response to the actual daily need of the men and women who work. It is the only answer to those needs.

To those who work, Socialism is the most vital and the most wonderful thing in the world. For the sake of yourself and your children study Socialism and its program. Study Socialist books, read our papers, subscribe to this magazine, for Socialism alone can save and free the working class. And it can only save the workers through the organization and strength of the workers themselves.

Socialism proposes that the workers shall own the mills and mines, the lands and the factories; that every man and woman shall be guaranteed a job while he is able to work, and insurance when he is not, and that every working individual shall receive the full value of his product, without handing over any profits or rake-off to any idling boss!

Can any father or mother who belongs to working class give any intelligent reason why they should not become members of the army of Socialism? No matter how poorly paid or how overworked you may be, there is hope for you and there is hope for your children if you will join forces with the revolutionary working class in their struggle to abolish wage slavery.

Dick the militant



BY

CAROLINE NELSON

ILLUSTRATIONS BY CHARLES MEDIN.

DICK ROBERT'S father was a coal miner, who went to work every morning in the mine, and returned at nights begrimed with soot and dirt, and so tired that sometimes he had to rest a little before he could get up energy enough to wash himself in the tin basin, that did service for the whole family.

Dick and his sister had no playthings, except old bottles and tin cans. His sister put rags on the bottles and played that they were dolls. Dick put stones in the tin cans, and sometimes rattled them to amuse the baby, while the mother was busy.

It was the day before Christmas. Dick and his sister saw a load of Christmas trees come in from the country, past their house.

"What are those green trees for?" they both asked.

"People put them up their houses and decorate them with all kinds of bright and shiny things," said the mother.

"I can go out in the woods and cut one down myself," said Dick.

"No, my boy," said the mother, "the woods are many miles away from here.

Your shoes would give out before you got there. Next year maybe we can afford to get one."

"But it is such a long way off," complained Dick.

Just then Jimmy Sullivan, living across the road, came running toward the house.

"Say," he hollered out. "Ma is going to take us to a Christmas tree tonight. Can't you come along?"

"Oh, mama, let us," the children said, and screamed and clapped their hands in excitement.

"What does Jim want you to do?" asked the mother, but the children ran to the door to greet Jimmy with such glee that they couldn't hear what the mother said. Jimmy now told how they were invited to a hall by a fine lady, whom his mother used to work for, and that they had got permission to take other children with them.

So it came about that Dick and his sister saw a Christmas tree for the first time in their lives. How gorgeous this tree was, lighted with candles and festooned with gilt and silvery cobwebby stuff. All the children got some present. Dick and his sister each got a box. They were told



by the lady who gave the boxes to them, to open them Christmas morning. But they wanted so badly to see what was in them, that the moment they came home they tore them open.

"A doll with a pink dress!" exclaimed Dick's sister.

"Gee!" cried Dick. "Look at this!" and there was a regiment of tin soldiers, all in wonderful uniform, and made so that they could stand up.

It took the children a long time to go to sleep that night. Dick put his box of soldiers under his head, and dreamed that they all jumped out and formed themselves in marching order, ready to leave.

"Come back!" he called out, and found himself sitting up in bed, while the soldiers were safe in their box.

Some years after that a regiment of soldiers—real, live soldiers—came to the mining town to parade on a Fourth of July. Dick was standing on the curb and waved his cap and hurraed as they went by until he was hoarse. A man, very nice looking man, too, noticed Dick.

"You are a patriotic little fellow, aren't you?" he said, looking at Dick admiringly.

"Gee!" them are grand looking fellows," said Dick.

"Would you like to be a soldier?" asked the man.

"Sure! but I ain't old enough."

"You are old enough to join the boys' brigade which we are forming in our church."

Dick looked wonderingly at the man.

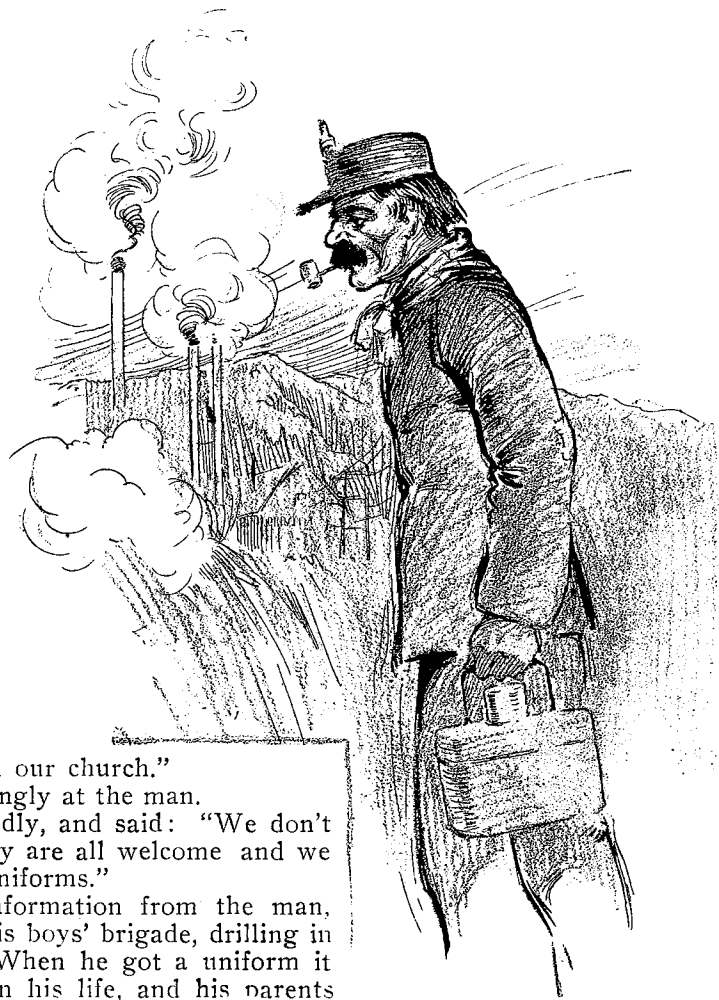
The man smiled kindly, and said: "We don't exclude poor boys. They are all welcome and we help them to get their uniforms."

Dick got further information from the man, and soon after joined this boys' brigade, drilling in the church basement. When he got a uniform it was the proudest day in his life, and his parents were proud of him, too.

But, sad to say, Dick soon got something else to think about. One day there was an explosion in the mine where his father worked. The miners' wives turned pale, and the children clung to their mothers in fright.

Dick's father wasn't hurt very much, said the doctor, but it would take him some time to get over. Dick had to go to work as a breaker boy. Poor Dick, when he worked he couldn't see anything for coal dust. His fingers got sore, and his eyes got watery. He could hardly breathe. But Dick wouldn't complain to his mother. He only speculated on how he could get away.

"If I could only get away from this dump," thought Dick, "then I could work so much better and get better pay." So



DAD WAS A MINER.

the second week, when he drew his pay, he vowed he would never come back.

It was Saturday evening. He put on his best clothes, and with fifty cents in his pocket, made his way to the railroad yard. There he boarded a freight car, in an outgoing freight train. All night the train rumbled on, while he dozed in a corner. In the morning the door was violently jerked back and a brakeman poked his head in.

"Get out," he said, "or I'll throw you out."

Dick lost no time in obeying the command. He found that he was in a little village. First he got some breakfast in a small eating house, then he began to look for work. All day he went from place to place, hunting for something to do, but nobody seemed to care to hire a strange boy, who had no trade. In the evening he was very tired and disgusted. He had to find another freight car that was side-tracked to get some place to sleep. With a sob in his heart, he settled himself in a corner, as he had done the previous evening. He put his face in his hand and had all he could do to keep from crying. No, I must be brave, he said to himself, and prayed to God that tomorrow he might find work.

He woke up stiff and cold and jumped out of the car. The sun was not yet up, but he could hear wagons in the distance come rattling toward the depot. On the platform, in front of the depot, were a lot of empty milk cans. One wagon after another drew up and unloaded full cans and took on empty ones. This gave Dick an idea. He went up to one, and said:

"Do you need a boy on the farm?"

"Can you milk?" asked the man.

"No, sir," said Dick, "but I can learn."

"Well, we ain't got no time to bother with you," said the man.

The next and the next answered very much the same. Dick knew he was up against a hard proposition. If he could milk he could get a job. Why not pretend he could milk. He had never tried it. Maybe he could. Why not say yes? The next farmer that asked, "Can you milk?" he said: "Yes, sir."

"What wages you been gettin'," asked the farmer next.

"Ten dollars a month," said Dick.

"You are a small boy for that wage," said the man looking him over sharply. "But I'll take you along and see what you can do, if you want to come. Where have you been workin'," asked the man further.

"About ten miles from here," said Dick, "but it didn't agree with me."

"Didn't get enough grub," suggested the man.

Dick shook his head, and grinned. He was glad the man found his own solution, and climbed up beside him.

When milking time drew near out on the farm, Dick's knees began to feel shaky under him. His heart pumped away so loud that he thought it would burst. He was given a bucket, and the farmer took another bucket, and both started for the corral to milk. The farmer went right up to a cow and squatted down beside her, holding the bucket between his knees, and took hold of two of her teats, and out came two streams of milk gurgling down in the bucket. Dick went to a cow and did just as he had seen the farmer do, but he couldn't get a drop of milk to come out of his cow's teats. Before Dick knew it the cow gave him a vicious kick, knocking him over, then she turned her head and looked at him as much as to say, "Don't fool with me like that."

The farmer had finished his first cow, and turned around in time to see Dick pick himself up, the bucket lying empty beside him.

"What is the trouble, boy? Ain't you been milking?" he asked half angry and half astonished.

Dick looked down on the ground, and didn't know what to say.

"You been a lyin' to me, ain't you?" asked the now furious farmer. "You never knew nothin' 'bout milkin'," he added, glaring at the boy.

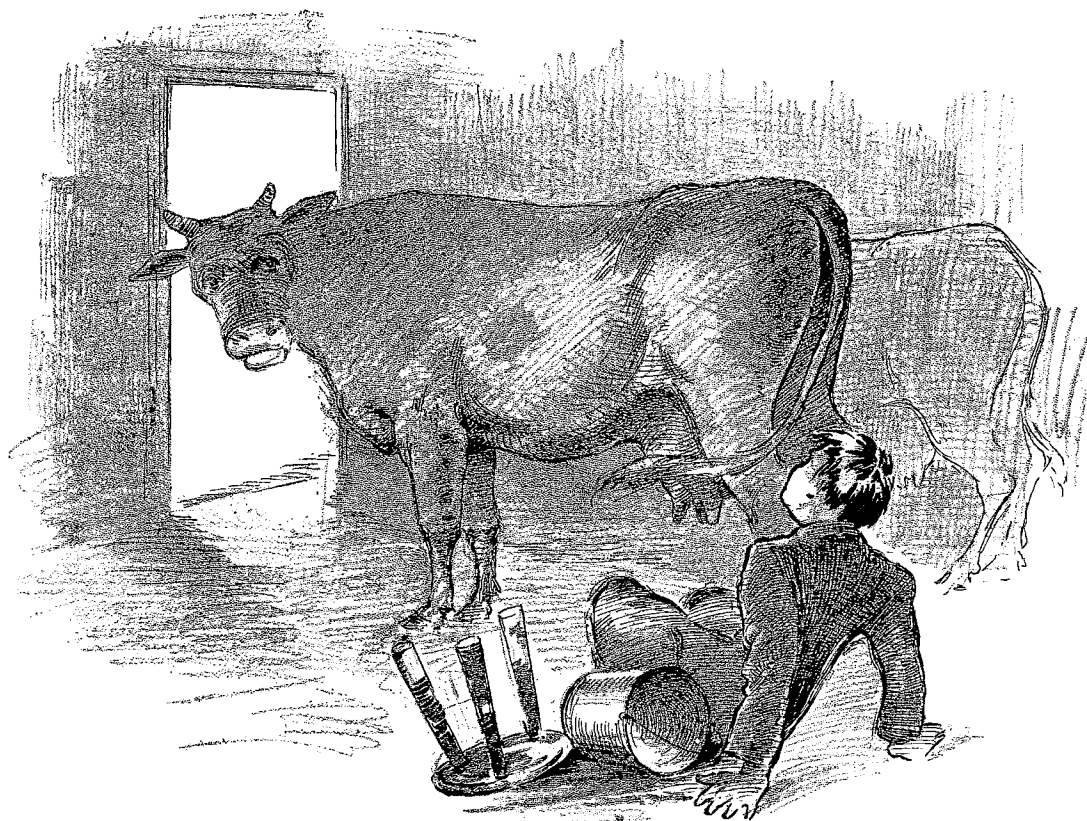
"I thought I could learn," said Dick meekly.

"You thought you'd lie, eh?"

"I had to have a job or beg or steal. I was a breaker boy in the mining camp and couldn't stand it, and ran away."

"I ain't runnin' no charity dump. You been a lyin' to me, that is enough. Get out! Get your coat and tell my wife to come and help me, and don't let me set eyes on you again on my property."

The farmer's small children were sitting



THE COW OBJECTS.

on the fence and laughed and jeered at Dick, as he went out with his empty bucket, and he felt so humiliated that he wished the ground would swallow him up.

The farmer's wife was a very kind woman, and she understood Dick when he explained matters to her, besides she was anxious to have a boy on the farm to help. So she said:

"You go on down the road now, boy, and I'll put a pair of blankets in the barn for you to sleep in, and we will see tomorrow morning what we can do for you, when my husband and I have talked it over."

The next morning it was all settled. The farmer's wife taught Dick how to milk, and he soon learned. It was hard work from early morning to late at night on the farm, but the farmer and his wife worked just as hard. Dick sat at the table with the family and there was plenty to eat. He grew like a weed. In a year he looked like a different boy.

Dick sent nearly all his little money home to his mother. It took his father much longer to get well than the doctor had said it would. But at last he was working again in the mine, and now Dick was going to save his money to get a piece of land, he thought.

The Fourth of July Dick went with the family to town to have a good time. There was the usual parading of soldiers and speech making. Dick again viewed the uniformed, brass-buttoned boys, with their brass band ahead of them, with a feeling of great admiration.

The orator of the day was a very imposing looking citizen compared to the muscular and raw-boned crowd of farmers and workers that listened to him. He was bald-headed, short-necked and big-bellied, but he spoke so nobly about the heroes that had offered up their lives on the battle field, that people applauded him wildly. Dick listened to him with flushed cheeks and glistening eyes. What was farm life

compared to a glorious military career? Dick asked himself all the way back to the farm that night.

Dick went to bed with his mind all in a turmoil, but the next morning it was all clear to him. He was going to join the army and become a real soldier. A few days after that he bade his farmer friends and employer good bye.

"A healthy lad with no bad habits," said the army surgeon who examined him at the recruiting station.

But the soldier's life in the army post was not what Dick had imagined it to be. The officers looked down with contempt on the common soldier. The daily drilling became very monotonous, and the barracks were desolate places. Dick had never thought of living in a world where there were no women or children, but that was practically what life in the post meant, and how hideous, comfortless it seemed.

Many soldiers run away, and Dick began to plan about running away, too, taking his chances of being caught and punished. But one morning marching orders were given. The soldiers were tickled almost to death. They would welcome anything which took them away from the dreary army post life.

To Dick's astonishment they were ordered to a mining camp, where there was a strike on. The soldiers were distributed as guards throughout the camp. Dick with another soldier was stationed at a road crossing, and they received orders to shoot anyone going toward the mines, who did not stop and give an account of himself.

It was a dark evening. Dick walked back and forth with his gun in his hand. He couldn't help but feel that he was really important now, was life and death not in his hands? A spirit of bravado took possession of him. He threw out his chest and wished that something would happen, so that he could show his authority.

Hark! There was a sound of running feet. Two men attempted to run the gauntlet.

"Halt!" cried Dick, but the men paid no attention to it, and Dick fired point blank at one of them. The man swayed and was caught by his comrade who instantly struck a match. The feeble glare from the lighted match fell across the face of the wounded man.

"My God!" yelled Dick, and reeled forward, dropping the smoking gun.

"Oh, father," he whimpered, "where are you hurt?" he asked with a frightened moan.

A petty officer came running up and ordered Dick back to his post. For an answer Dick struck him in the face. He was mad with grief. In a second he realized that he must escape, and ran for his life. He was pursued, but the darkness hid him.

Dick made his way to the miners' quarters. There were lights in nearly all of their little shacks. In one he could see through the window that there was some kind of a gathering. He knocked on the door. A man opened it.

"What do you want here?" he asked gruffly, looking at the boy's uniform.

"I want to speak to some of you miners," said Dick.

"Let him in," said a voice inside.

The men all looked at the boy soldier in a questioning way.

"My name is Roberts," said Dick. The rest he couldn't tell, except in broken words and moans. The miners hated the soldiers who had come to protect the mining company, and their scabs to break the strike, but when they heard Dick's story, they realized that those soldiers were the workers' boys who had been enticed into the army.

"Sure," said a miner, who seemed to be the spokesman, "that is what I always said, that it is the workers' sons who make up the army, and in time of strike are rushed out to shoot their own fathers down, or their comrades' fathers and brothers, whenever they go on strike to get a little more bread for themselves and family. That is what all that cheap patriotism is hawked about for in school and church and in Fourth of July orations," he said bitterly.

"Roberts," spoke another miner, "why I know him. He doesn't live far from where I live."

"Will you show me the way?" asked Dick.

"The boy had better get that uniform off, or we will all get into trouble," said another man.

"I can fit him out in some old duds of mine," said a young fellow.

"All right, run along and get them, and



DICK FIRED POINT BLANK.

bring them here," ordered the spokesman.

Dick gratefully put on the cheap, sweatshop product, the young fellow brought him, and hurried on to his father's house.

He knocked gently on the door, and heard soft footsteps coming inside.

"Who is it?" asked a voice.

"It is Dick, mother,"

The door was flung open, and the mother folded the boy in her arms, and sobbed and cried. "My darling boy," she said, "we thought we had lost you. We haven't heard from you since we moved out to this camp. God must have sent you to us this evening of all evenings."

"Why, mother?" asked Dick fearfully.

"Well," said the mother, with the tears running down her sad, worn, face, "your father went on picket duty tonight, and was shot by a murderous soldier."

Dick stared at his mother with a pale, tense face. His lips moved but no sound was uttered.

The mother looked at Dick's haggard face, and said:

"Don't take it so hard, my boy, the doctor said that it is not a serious wound."

"Is he sleeping, mother?" asked Dick a little comforted.

She nodded, and whispered, "I am going to sit up with him tonight."

"No, mother," said Dick, "I'll do that."

Throughout the long night Dick watched by his father's side. The bullet had gone through the shoulder, and had caused a very painful wound. The doctor had given him some sleeping medicine. Toward morning the patient opened his eyes. He looked at Dick bewildered at first, but gradually there came an intelligent look in his eyes, and he said:

"Why Dick, where did you come from? I remember I saw you, now. Did you do that shooting, boy?"

Dick nodded in silence for an answer. The father and son looked at each other for some time without speaking, then the father said:

"Give me your hand, boy; when the workers become wise there will be no more of this shooting and killing business, for we shall then know that the killer and killed are all fathers, sons and brothers."



Sound Socialist Tactics

BY

EUGENE V. DEBS

SOcialists are practically all agreed as to the fundamental principles of their movement. But as to tactics there is wide variance among them. The matter of sound tactics, equally with the matter of sound principles, is of supreme importance. The disagreements and dissensions among Socialists relate almost wholly to tactics. The party splits which have occurred in the past have been due to the same cause, and if the party should ever divide again, which it is to be hoped it will not, it will be on the rock of tactics.

Revolutionary tactics must harmonize with revolutionary principles. We could better hope to succeed with reactionary principles and revolutionary tactics than with revolutionary principles and reactionary tactics.

The matter of tactical differences should be approached with open mind and in the spirit of tolerance. The freest discussion should be allowed. We have every element and every shade of capitalist society in our party, and we are in for a lively time at the very best before we work out these differences and settle down to a policy of united and constructive work for Socialism instead of spending so much time and energy lampooning one another.

In the matter of tactics we cannot be guided by the precedents of other countries. We have to develop our own and they must be adapted to the American people and to American conditions. I am not sure that I have the

right idea about tactics; I am sure only that I appreciate their importance, that I am open to correction, and that I am ready to change whenever I find myself wrong.

It seems to me there is too much rancor and too little toleration among us in the discussion of our differences. Too often the spirit of criticism is acrid and hypercritical. Personal animosities are engendered, but opinions remain unchanged. Let us waste as little as possible of our militant spirit upon one another. We shall need it all for our capitalist friends.

There has recently been some rather spirited discussion about a paragraph which appears in the pamphlet on "Industrial Socialism," by William D. Haywood and Frank Bohn. The paragraph follows:

"When the worker, either through experience or study of socialism, comes to know this truth, he acts accordingly. He retains absolutely no respect for the property 'rights' of the profit-takers. He will use any weapon which will win his fight. He knows that the present laws of property are made by and for the capitalists. Therefore he does not hesitate to break them."

The sentences which I have italicized provoked the controversy.

We have here a matter of tactics upon which a number of comrades of ability and prominence have sharply disagreed. For my own part I believe the paragraph to be entirely sound.

Certainly all Socialists, knowing how

and to what end capitalist property "rights" are established, must hold such "rights" in contempt. In the Manifesto Marx says: "The communist (Socialist) revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas."

As a revolutionist I can have no respect for capitalist property laws, nor the least scruple about violating them. I hold all such laws to have been enacted through chicanery, fraud and corruption, with the sole end in view of dispossessing, robbing and enslaving the working class. But this does not imply that I propose making an individual law-breaker of myself and butting my head against the stone wall of existing property laws. That might be called force, but it would not be that. It would be mere weakness and folly.

If I had the force to overthrow these despotic laws I would use it without an instant's hesitation or delay, but I haven't got it, and so I am law-abiding under protest—not from scruple—and bide my time.

Here let me say that for the same reason I am opposed to sabotage and to "direct action." I have not a bit of use for the "propaganda of the deed." These are the tactics of anarchist individualists and not of Socialist collectivists. They were developed by and belong exclusively to our anarchist friends and accord perfectly with their philosophy. These and similar measures are reactionary, not revolutionary, and they invariably have a demoralizing effect upon the following of those who practice them. If I believed in the doctrine of violence and destruction as party policy; if I regarded the class struggle as guerilla warfare, I would join the anarchists and practice as well as preach such tactics.

It is not because these tactics involve the use of force that I am opposed to them, but because they do not. The physical forerunner is the victim of his own boomerang. The blow he strikes reacts upon himself and his followers. The force that implies power is utterly lacking, and it can never be developed by such tactics.

The foolish and misguided, zealots and fanatics, are quick to applaud and eager to employ such tactics, and the result is usually hurtful to themselves and to the cause they seek to advance.

There have been times in the past, and there are countries today where the frenzied deed of a glorious fanatic like old John Brown seems to have been inspired by Jehovah himself, but I am now dealing with the twentieth century and with the United States.

There may be, too, acute situations arise and grave emergencies occur, with perhaps life at stake, when recourse to violence might be justified, but a great body of organized workers, such as the Socialist movement, cannot predicate its tactical procedure upon such exceptional instances.

But my chief objection to all these measures is that they do violence to the class psychology of the workers and cannot be successfully inculcated as mass doctrine. The very nature of these tactics adapts them to guerilla warfare, to the bomb planter, the midnight assassin; and such warfare, in this country at least, plays directly into the hands of the enemy.

Such tactics appeal to stealth and suspicion, and cannot make for solidarity. The very teaching of sneaking and surreptitious practices has a demoralizing effect and a tendency to place those who engage in them in the category of "Black Hand" agents, dynamiters, safe-blowers, hold-up men, burglars, thieves and pickpockets.

If sabotage and direct action, as I interpret them, were incorporated in the tactics of the Socialist party, it would at once be the signal for all the agents provocateur and police spies in the country to join the party and get busy. Every solitary one of them would be a rabid "direct actionist," and every one would safely make his "get-away" and secure his reward, a la McPartland, when anything was "pulled off" by their dupes, leaving them with their necks in the nooses.

With the sanctioning of sabotage and similar practices the Socialist party would stand responsible for the deed of every spy or madman, the seeds of strife

would be subtly sown in the ranks, mutual suspicion would be aroused, and the party would soon be torn into warring factions to the despair of the betrayed workers and the delight of their triumphant masters.

If sabotage or any other artifice of direct action could be successfully employed, it would be wholly unnecessary, as better results could be accomplished without it. To the extent that the working class has power based upon class-consciousness, force is unnecessary; to the extent that power is lacking, force can only result in harm.

I am opposed to any tactics which involve stealth, secrecy, intrigue, and necessitate acts of individual violence for their execution.

The work of the Socialist movement must all be done out in the broad open light of day. Nothing can be done by stealth that can be of any advantage to it in this country.

The workers can be emancipated only by their own collective will, the power inherent in themselves as a class, and this collective will and conquering power can only be the result of education, enlightenment and self-imposed discipline.

Sound tactics are constructive, not destructive. The collective reason of the workers repels the idea of individual violence where they are free to assert themselves by lawful and peaceable means.

The American workers are law-abiding and no amount of sneering or derision will alter that fact. Direct action will never appeal to any considerable number of them while they have the ballot and the right of industrial and political organization.

Its tactics alone have prevented the growth of the Industrial Workers of the World. Its principles of industrial unionism are sound, but its tactics are not. Sabotage repels the American worker. He is ready for the industrial union, but he is opposed to the "propaganda of the deed," and as long as the I. W. W. adheres to its present tactics and ignores political action, or treats it with contempt by advising the workers to "strike at the ballot box with an ax," they will regard it as an anarchist organization,

and it will never be more than a small fraction of the labor movement.

The sound education of the workers and their thorough organization, both economic and political, on the basis of the class struggle, must precede their emancipation. Without such education and organization they can make no substantial progress, and they will be robbed of the fruits of any temporary victory they may achieve, as they have been through all the centuries of the past.

For one, I hope to see the Socialist party place itself squarely on record at the coming national convention against sabotage and every other form of violence and destructiveness suggested by what is known as "direct action."

It occurs to me that the Socialist party ought to have a standing committee on tactics. The art or science of proletarian party tactics might well enlist the serious consideration of our clearest thinkers and most practical propagandists.

To return for a moment to the paragraph above quoted from the pamphlet of Haywood and Bohn. I agree with them that in their fight against capitalism the workers have a right to use any weapon that will help them to win. It should not be necessary to say that this does not mean the black-jack, the dirk, the lead-pipe or the sawed-off shotgun. The use of these weapons does not help the workers to win, but to lose, and it would be ridiculous to assume that they were in the minds of the authors when they penned that paragraph.

The sentence as it reads is sound. It speaks for itself and requires no apology. The workers will use any weapon which will help them win their fight.

The most powerful and the all-sufficient weapons are the industrial union and the Socialist party, and they are not going to commit suicide by discarding these and resorting to the slung-shot, the dagger and the dynamite bomb.

Another matter of party concern is the treatment of so-called "intellectuals" in the Socialist movement. Why the term "intellectual" should be one of reproach in the Socialist party is hard to understand, and yet there are many Socialists who sneer at a man of intellect as if he were an interloper and out of place

among Socialists. For myself I am always glad to see a man of brains, of intellect, join the movement. If he comes to us in good faith he is a distinct acquisition and is entitled to all the consideration due to any other comrade.

To punish a man for having brains is rather an anomalous attitude for an educational movement. The Socialist party, above every other, should offer a premium on brains, intellectual capacity, and attract to itself all the mental forces that can be employed to build up the Socialist movement, that it may fulfill its emancipating mission.

Of course the Socialist movement is essentially a working class movement, and I believe that as a rule party officials and representatives, and candidates for public office, should be chosen from the ranks of the workers. The intellectuals in office should be the exceptions, as they are in the rank and file.

There is sufficient ability among the workers for all official demands, and if there is not, it should be developed without further delay. It is their party, and why should it not be officered and represented by themselves?

An organization of intellectuals would not be officered and represented by wage-earners; neither should an organization of wage-earners be officered and represented by intellectuals.

There is plenty of useful work for the intellectuals to do without holding office, and the more intellectual they are the greater can their service be to the movement. Lecturers, debaters, authors, writers, artists, cartoonists, statisticians, etc., are in demand without number, and the intellectuals can serve to far better advantage in those capacities than in official positions.

I believe, too, in rotation in office. I confess to a prejudice against officialism and a dread of bureaucracy. I am a thorough believer in the rank and file, and in ruling from the bottom up instead of being ruled from the top down. The natural tendency of officials is to become bosses. They come to imagine that they are indispensable and unconsciously shape their acts to keep themselves in office.

The officials of the Socialist party

should be its servants, and all temptation to yield to the baleful influence of officialism should be removed by constitutional limitation of tenure.

There is a tendency in some states to keep the list of locals a solemn secret. The sheep have got to be protected against the wolves. No one must know what locals there are, or who its officials, for fear they may be corrupted by outside influences. This is an effective method for herding sheep, but not a good way to raise men. If the locals must be guarded against the wolves on the outside, then some one is required to guard them, and that some one is a boss, and it is the nature of the boss to be jealous of outside influences.

If our locals and the members who compose them need the protection of secrecy, they are lacking in the essential revolutionary fiber which can be developed only in the play of the elements surrounding them, and with all the avenues of education and information, and even of miseducation and misinformation, wide open for their reception. They have got to learn to distinguish between their friends and their enemies and between what is wise and what is otherwise and until the rank and file are so educated and enlightened their weakness will sooner or later deliver them as the prey of their enemies.

Still another matter about which there has been not a little ill-natured discussion is the proposed investigation of the Kerr publishing house. I cannot help wondering what business the national committee has making such an investigation. It would be quite as proper, in my opinion, to order an investigation of a building and loan association in which members have their savings invested.

It is true, without a doubt, that the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW has published articles with which many of us disagreed, but why should it be investigated on that account? Are we Socialists who are constantly protesting against the suppression of free speech now going to set an example of what we propose doing by putting a gag on the lips of our own publications?

I don't agree with a good deal that appears in the REVIEW, and I like it all the

better on that account. That is the reason, in fact, why I subscribe for it and read it, and I cannot for the life of me understand why any one would want to suppress it on that account.

If the REVIEW and the concern which publishes it belonged to the national party it would be different, but it does not belong to the party, and the party is in no wise responsible for it, and if I were a stockholder I should regard the action of the national committee as the sheerest impertinence and treat it accordingly.

I do not know if the house of Kerr & Co. needs investigating or not. I am satisfied that it does not, but it is none of my business.

The Kerr company consists, as I understand it, of some fifteen hundred stockholders, nearly all of whom are Socialists and none of whom, as far as I am advised, are feeble-minded and in need of a guardian. They have paid in all the money, they own all the stock and they are responsible for the concern; and if they want their publishing business investigated that is their affair and not the affair of the national committee of the Socialist party.

If the object aimed at is to punish Kerr & Co. and cripple the REVIEW for its advocacy of industrial unionism and for opposing pure and simple craftism, and for keeping open columns and exercising the right of a free speech, then it will be found in due time that the uncalled-for investigation of the national committee and the uncomradely spirit which prompted it will have produced the opposite effect.

I cannot close without appealing for both the industrial and political solidarity of the workers.

I thoroughly believe in economic as well as political organization, in the industrial union and in the Socialist party.

I am an industrial unionist because I am a Socialist and a Socialist because I am an industrial unionist.

I believe in making every effort within our power to promote industrial unionism among the workers and to have them all united in one economic organization. To accomplish this I would encourage industrial independent organization,

especially among the millions who have not yet been organized at all, and I would also encourage the "boring from within" for all that can be accomplished by the industrial unionists in the craft unions.

I would have the Socialist party recognize the historic necessity and inevitability of industrial unionism, and the industrial union reciprocally recognize the Socialist party, and so declare in the respective preambles to their constitutions.

The Socialist party cannot be neutral on the union question. It is compelled to declare itself by the logic of evolution, and as a revolutionary party it cannot commit itself to the principles of reactionary unionism. Not only must the Socialist party declare itself in favor of economic unionism, but the kind of unionism which alone can complement the revolutionary action of the workers on the political field.

I am opposed under all circumstances to any party alliances or affiliations with reactionary trade unions and to compromising tactics of every kind and form, excepting alone in event of some extreme emergency. While the "game of politics," as it is understood and as it is played under capitalist rules, is as repugnant to me as it can possibly be to any one, I am a thorough believer in political organization and political action.

Political power is essential to the workers in their struggle, and they can never emancipate themselves without developing and exercising that power in the interests of their class.

It is not merely in a perfunctory way that I advocate political action, but as one who has faith in proletarian political power and in the efficacy of political propaganda as an educational force in the Socialist movement. I believe in a constructive political program and in electing all the class-conscious workers we can, especially as mayors, judges, sheriffs and as members of the state legislatures and the national congress.

The party is now growing rapidly, and we are meeting with some of the trials which are in store for us and which will

no doubt subject us to the severest tests. We need to have these trials, which are simply the fires in which we have to be tempered for the work before us.

There will be all kinds of extremists to deal with, but we have nothing to fear from them. Let them all have their day. The great body of the comrades, the rank and file, will not be misled by false teachings or deflected from the true course.

We must put forth all our efforts to

control our swelling ranks by the use of wise tactics and to assimilate the accessions to our membership by means of sound education and party discipline.

The new year has opened auspiciously for us, and we have never been in such splendid condition on the eve of a national campaign.

Let us all buckle on our armor and go forth determined to make this year mark an epoch in the social revolution of the United States.

A Lesson for Socialists

We reprint herewith a document which we recommend to the thoughtful consideration of members of the Socialist Party everywhere. It is a resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the newly formed British Socialist Party and addressed to the railroad workers whose general revolt came so near dislocating the entire industrial and social life of Merrie England last summer. It is of immense significance as marking the departure of British Socialists from the old policy, so long clung to, of so-called "neutrality" towards the economic organizations of the workers and of pure and simple politics. When that great strike began, the Socialist organizations of England found themselves completely outside of the greatest working class movement in the history of Great Britain. This resolution indicates their final waking up to the fact that the Socialist Party cannot afford to confine itself to the advocacy of political action alone, but must be with the workers in their every struggle, even though that be the dreaded "general strike." That is exactly the doctrine for which this magazine has consistently stood up. There is a distinct lesson for the Socialist Party of the United States in the passage of this resolution. It shows very clearly that the Socialist Party, like every other organization, must keep up with the times. It cannot adhere to a "stand-pat" policy and remain vigorous. Standing pat means stagnation, and finally reaction. We counsel a careful reading of this resolution. It is full of meaning for every Socialist.

IT IS with no desire to interfere in your business, but as well-wishers to the cause of labor, and therefore concerned for its effective organization, that we ask you to consider what follows:

"Your wretchedly low wages and the sweated conditions under which you work are a scandal to the nation.

"In August last you wisely and courageously determined upon a big united effort to improve this state of things, and on the nineteenth of that month you made yourselves masters of the situation by withdrawing your labor in a mass and thereby creating a deadlock of the railway traffic. By standing firmly together for a few days (at the longest) you could have enforced every reasonable demand that you made. The companies were helpless and the government was at its wit's end.

"Yet in the very moment of your success the fruits of victory were rejected by your

trade union officials—assisted by leading 'labor' M. P.'s—in their stupid and cowardly acceptance of a Royal Commission of Inquiry, a stale device which you had contemptuously declined but a few days before.

"The object of the directors and friends in the government in trapping you into an 'inquiry' was, of course, to gain time, and meanwhile get you back to work—that is, to break the strike by a trick. Thanks to the incompetency of your own representatives the companies succeeded in obtaining three months' breathing space in which to prepare and arrange for your next move.

"The Railway Commission's report gives you nothing—it was never intended to—and the government's new resolution of November 22, asking both sides to meet 'to discuss the best mode of giving effect to the report' of that commission gets you, and can get you nowhere.

"Meanwhile your trade union officials and the leaders of the Parliamentary 'Labor' party group appear to be divided between their alarm at your righteous indignation and militant spirit and their own consuming anxiety for peace at any price. And a ballot is being taken by them on the question of whether, after all, to strike now. Your officials give you no help to come to a decision, but appear to be merely intent on shouldering all responsibility on to others.

"It appears to us that, having given away the magnificent opportunity of August 19 and allowed the companies three months' grace in which to get ready for you, a strike at this present time on the limited lines (railway men only), which at that date might have spelt victory, might now very easily prove unsuccessful.

"We, therefore, advise you not to take the risk of a beating but to make your next effort irresistible by first arranging with your fellow workers and the seamen to act all together and simultaneously. Such a combination would be overwhelming if well and faithfully conducted—and surely you will not permit yourselves to be 'had' again!

"This combination would not only secure the enforcement of your own immediate claims, but would also constitute an invaluable object lesson of the solidarity of labor and its enormous power when acting in con-

cert. It would demonstrate, moreover, the dependence of the whole nation for its very existence upon the workers alone.

"Special attention should, of course, be given to the means of your own support during such a general holiday. Strike pay in money would be of no use in view of the scarcity of food and the consequent rise in prices. The union funds should be spent beforehand in necessary foodstuffs, and at least three weeks' supply should be stored in every striker's home.

"Further, the combined strike must be sudden. A joint strike committee representing the workers in the four allied industries should be appointed, and the power to declare a combined strike without further warning be placed in their hands. Surprise is the most potent ally in class warfare.

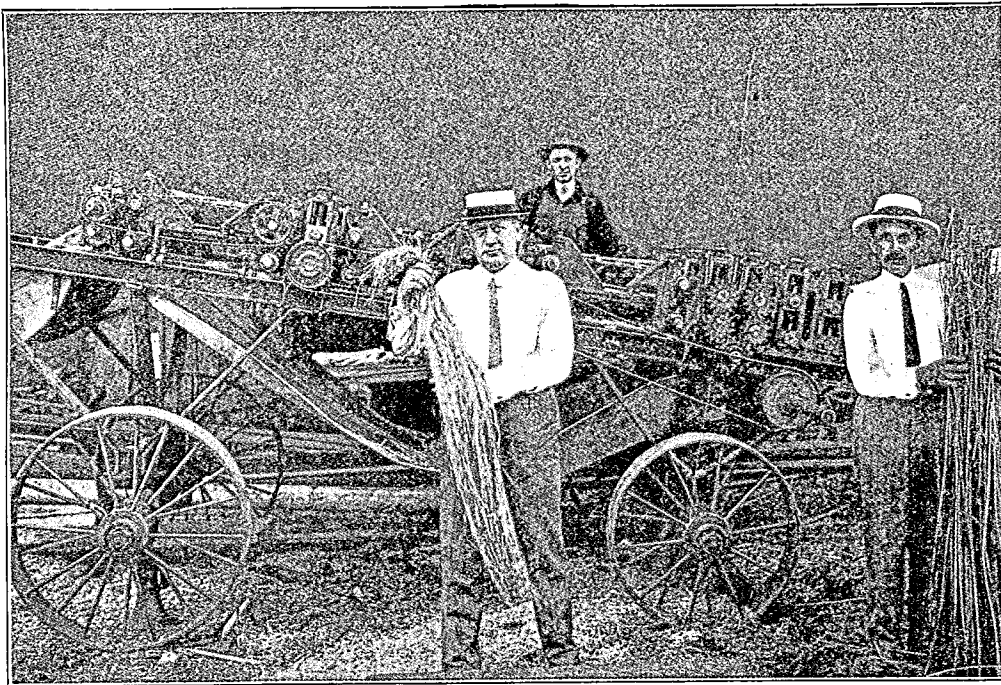
"Finally, beware that when you do strike it shall be for substance, not shadow. 'Recognition' of your officials by the companies means nothing more than a further series of 'arrangements' pledging you to docility and tame inaction over long agreed periods. See that you keep your hands free at all costs.

"Our sympathies are with you, heart and soul; and it is because we are eager to help you that we thus adjure you to make certain of success beforehand.

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

"21a Maiden lane, Strand, London, W. C."

TRADER UNIONS work well as centers of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerrilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of SIMULTANEOUSLY trying to change it; instead of using their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system.—Karl Marx.



Cleaned Ramie Fibre
 THE NEW WAY—FIBRE-STRIPPING MACHINE—2 TONS PER DAY.
 Ramie Stalks

Ramie—King Cotton in Danger

BY BAEWEL E. PETILLION

The Revival of an Ancient Industry Through the Invention of a New Fiber-Stripping Machine

HAVE you ever heard of the draperies of the ancient queens of India that were so thin and fine that they could be drawn through finger rings; and did you ever stop to think what they were made of? Ramie, one of the most wonderful and valuable of all textile fibers, was used in their manufacture.

This fiber is a tropical or sub-tropical perennial plant, originating in Asia, where it has been grown from time immemorial, and for ages was used in the only linen known to commerce.

The Egyptian mummies were preserved in wrappings made of this Ramie linen, which is the only textile substance that does not rot in moisture, and had it not been for this impervious material the mummies would quickly have fallen apart.

When civilization made its invasion from the Orient into the Occident, where people up to then were dressed in furs and hides, the invading Oriental tribes naturally looked for a fiber plant similar to Ramie, of which to make their garments, and finding the flax plant they used it for this purpose. While this made

a much inferior linen to Ramie, it was converted so much easier into fabrics, and therefore so much cheaper that ever since flax has come into general use for linen goods, although Ramie has continued to be used in the Orient.

The Ramie plant is of very quick growth, averaging one inch per day, and having a long distance from leaf to leaf, it produces a very fine and strong fiber that is from 12 to 17 inches long.

Any kind of fabric can be made of

Ramie, or it can be woven in combination with other fibers; mixed with silk it does not decrease its luster, but increases its durability considerably and lowers the price, while mixed with cotton or wool, it greatly improves these textiles in every respect. The utility of Ramie, in short, is unlimited.

Ramie requires little cultivation and this only the first year after planting. If grown from seed, one crop can be had the first year; if from roots, cuttings or transplantings, it can give two crops. From the second year on it will yield five to six crops, while under favorable conditions even seven have been obtained. But little cultivation other than harvesting is needed until after about five years' growth, when the roots should be thinned out, and the roots thus secured should, of course, be used to enlarge the plantation.

For a long period of time scientists and manufacturers of all civilized nations recognized the great value of Ramie as a textile fiber, and experiments to find a method by which this fiber could be treated, elaborated and spun in competition with other fibers never ceased.

Just 100 years ago the first patent application was made in the United States for a Ramie-stripping machine, and many



THE OLD WAY—EACH WORKER CLEANED 5 POUNDS PER DAY.

others followed during the last century. Up to now the comparatively small quantity of Ramie fiber had therefore to be stripped off by hand in China, where hand labor is cheapest, but even then the cost was still too high to allow successful competition with cotton or flax.

Now, however, with the advent of a new perfected decorticating machine, invented by Mr. G. William Schlichten, that strips the fiber from the stalks at a lower cost than it can be done by the cheap labor in China, the world's market is open for this important material.

Standing on wheels similar to a thresher, this machine is fed by hand on one end and delivers the fiber on the other end, while a blower conveys the waste wood to the engine, there to be used as fuel. The capacity is said to be about one and one-half to two tons of cleaned fiber per day. Its use will be of far-reaching economical consequences all over the world, and especially in the United States.

The company that owns the patents is so sure of success that it don't sell any machine, but leases them on a royalty and contract. The result is an almost unlimited monopoly.

Considering the fact that practically any textile web can be made of Ramie

fiber, such as cloth for men's and women's wear, underwear, table draperies, velvet, gas mantles, electric wire insulation, etc., and that Ramie can be very successfully grown in the southern part of the United States, the invention of this machine will bring an entirely new industry to this country.

Experts from the United States Agricultural Department predict that before long the Ramie industry will have the same importance as cotton.

Several hundred acres of it are now under cultivation in the Imperial valley, in California, but the decorticated fiber is still shipped to Germany to be woven and reimported to this country mainly as underwear.

As soon as the cultivation has reached a few thousand acres the first Ramie weaving mill will be erected in the United States.

Los Angeles will acquire the fame of ancient Damascus in the Orient for its fine linen, and yet probably surpass Dublin, Ireland, or Bielefeld, in Germany, as a modern linen center.

However, the mission of this invention isn't ended with this. The perfection of the Ramie decorticator to its commercial exploitation was so difficult that the stripping of nearly all other textile fiber plants is as child's play.

The devices for stripping the fiber can be adjusted; thereby, flax, hemp, sisal, jute, New Zealand flax, etc., can be also successfully decorticated at a small fraction of the cost of the cheapest hand labor of the cheapest country.

In these lines great economical changes will follow the march of this machine. So, for instance, 8,000,000 tons of flax straw are annually burned in the United States alone, as, on account of the high-priced hand labor, nearly all flax is harvested for the seed only. Now, these 8,000,000 tons will enter this magic instrument as worthless refuse and come out like golden hairs of flax.

The saving of this fiber will make the United States independent of Europe for flax linen, which comes now mostly from the British Islands, Germany, France and Belgium. The European linen



SEVEN FEET TALL RAMIE.

workers will have to follow the transmigration of the linen mills to the United States or look for other work.

By far the greater part of cleaned hemp fiber is imported from Russia, Philippine Islands and other countries where hand labor is cheaper than here. The United States will soon be able to raise its own hemp. It is now cultivated, to a certain extent, in the state of Kentucky, where it is cleaned by hand. Here, too, the hemp grower will say to the negro hemp stripper: "Sam, you've lost your job."

The hemp and flax strippers all over the world—even the Ramie strippers in China—will soon get the same answer when they come to ask for work. But for those who are eager to learn, the lesson is well worth its price.

Violence in Class Struggles

BY

MARCUS HITCH

LOGIC, says Joseph Dietzgen, the proletarian logician, is the art of making proper distinctions, and, of course, also proper combinations. There has been quite a teapot tempest lately in the Socialist press over a certain pamphlet containing these words:

"He [the Socialist worker] retains absolutely no respect for the property rights of the profit takers. He will use any weapon which will win his fight. He knows that the present laws of property are made by and for the capitalists. Therefore, he does not hesitate to break them. He knows that whatever action advances the interests of the working class is right, because it will save the workers from destruction and death."

Critics of the pamphlet have claimed that this amounts to preaching violence and is contrary to accepted Socialist doctrine. Let us see if by applying the art of making proper distinctions and combinations, we can throw any light on the question. There are many different ways of carrying on the class war, but those which concern us just now are two only, viz: political action and what is commonly called violence, that is, direct injury to persons or property. Both of these methods are recognized by European Socialists, but not in all cases; they make certain distinctions. In constitutional states, where there is a free ballot, they discountenance violence; in despotic states where the ballot is denied, anything goes and no questions asked. As we took our Socialist theory from Europe, it was perfectly natural to accept this classification of states and apply it to America. We have a free ballot; *ergo* violence here is unjustified. Q. E. D. ——— Except, of course, when the defeated party refuses to surrender the offices to the victorious candidate, then we are told to mount the barricades.

The fallacy in this chain of reasoning lies in the major premise, viz: the assumption that all free ballot states are alike and belong in the same class, which is not true. We must apply the art of making further distinctions. Here no less a personage than President Taft himself gives us valuable assistance. His message, vetoing the proposed Arizona Constitution, was considered of such fundamental importance as to justify an innovation. It was printed in pamphlet form, and under the special franking privilege of the White House, was mailed broadcast to lawyers throughout the country—we assume to all lawyers whose addresses were obtainable. We do not recall that the presidential influence has ever been used in this manner before. This message, referring to the power of the Supreme Court to nullify acts of Congress, says: "This power conferred on the Judiciary in our form of government is **UNIQUE** in the history of governments, and its operation has attracted and deserved the admiration and commendation of the world. It gives to our Judiciary a position higher, stronger and more responsible than that of the Judiciary of any other country." Taft is right. The United States stands unique in the world and forms a class by itself among the free ballot states. It is free ballot in name only, but is in fact a judicial despotism, as the American working class knows too well from bitter experience. But the European comrades know nothing of this kind of a state, and therefore, their doctrine as to the use or non-use of violence does not fit here. Remember now that this power of the Court is not expressly granted by the Constitution, is generally admitted to be a usurped power, has never lacked vigorous challengers, and is justified by its defenders and by the Court itself on the grounds

of alleged necessity and failure of the Constitutional Convention to reach any agreement on the subject.

If, therefore, violence is justified in a state where there is no ballot and also in a state where the result of the ballot is resisted by the defeated party, what shall be done in a state where the result of the ballot is systematically defeated by five out of nine Supreme Court judges? These judges are appointed for life, are accountable to no one and are practically beyond impeachment; they shield themselves behind a Constitution which is substantially unamendable except by civil war or by these same judges themselves. Wherein are five judicial despots under a fossilized constitution any better than a single autocratic Czar?

In his first inaugural address in 1861 President Lincoln, referring to the Dred Scott case, said: "The candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court the instant they are made, in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their Government into the hands of that eminent tribunal."

The contempt of the working class by the Courts has evoked a growing contempt of the Courts by the working class. The Socialist Party has done good work in bringing this about and has no more important duty than to disillusionize the working class as to the alleged impartiality of the Courts in matters relating to class interests. Pure and simple Jeffersonian democracy is as impotent as pure and simple trades unionism. Socialism can come by the ballot only if the ethics and organization of the working class are strong enough to shame the Courts out of countenance. If we pledge ourselves in advance to acquiesce passively in every indignity that is heaped upon us, rest assured that the Courts will not hesitate to nullify all victories at the polls, no matter how overwhelming they appear to be. Nothing will stop them short of the conviction of impending social disaster, made palpably real by the

organized solidarity of the working class, with moral views independent and beyond the reach of capitalist influence.

The misuse of the President's office and authority in an attempt to prejudice and stampede, as it were, the legal profession of the whole nation by such sophistry as is contained in this message in support of a usurped judicial power, cannot be too severely condemned. But it shows how vital the point is recognized to be. It is indeed the final citadel of capitalism in the United States. We have recently seen the power of the British Lords broken by a seriously meant threat to double their number; this expedient, though legal in form, is in reality a sort of violence. But this quasi legal expedient cannot be used in the United States for the simple reason that a law doubling the number of the Supreme Court judges could be declared unconstitutional by the Court itself.

When the Republican party was fighting slavery, its motto was, "Anything for human rights is constitutional" (Charles Sumner). Human rights at that time meant wage labor instead of slave labor, and the motto has now come to mean, to the Republican party, **anything for capital is constitutional**. But the working class may also accept this same motto in a truer meaning. As the only representative of all humanity, it may justly say, **Anything for the working class is constitutional**.

"Our claim that the end sanctifies the means can have absolute validity only in regard to some absolute end. But all concrete ends are relative and finite. The one and sole absolute end is human welfare, and it is an end which sanctifies all rules and actions, all means, so long as they are subservient to it, but which rejects them as soon as they go their own way without serving it. Human weal is literally and historically the origin of the holy" (Dietzgen, *Nature of Human Brain Work*, p. 158).

To sum up: Legally, violence is never justified; tactically it is justified or not, according to circumstances; morally it is always justified on the part of an exploited class. What Socialist does not justify the English suffragettes in using

violence to get the ballot? How often are Socialists in American cities today compelled to use force to maintain their right of free speech, while the indignities heaped upon them are dished up in the capitalist press as a pleasant joke? Witness Spokane and many other places. Who, knowing all the facts, does not morally justify the Paris Commune and also the Chicago Anarchists of 1886? But they suffered the penalty of a tactical mistake in giving up politics and taking to the barricades after being repeatedly cheated out of elections.

To justify violence is not to advocate it. The fact that justifiers of violence do not habitually put their views into practice is no reproach; Socialist employers do not pay their employes the full product of their labor, neither do they refuse to accept rent and interest. A system of ethics or economics cannot be practiced by a single individual alone.

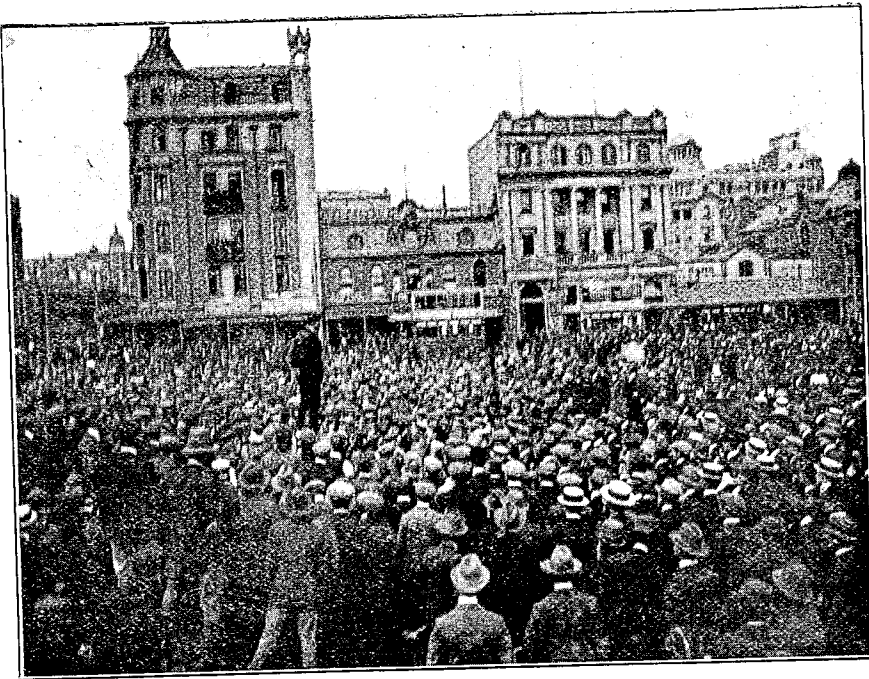
As to what is tactically wise or unwise, opinions will always differ; but as to what is morally justified there should be no disagreement, and a comrade should not be reproached morally for what is only a difference in judgment as to tactics. The Socialist ethic has nothing to conceal and nothing which cannot be discussed. It is the capitalist ethic which will not stand the light of investigation. Nothing will stop a capitalist so quick as to ask him to sit down and go over de-

liberately the field of capitalist morality. He will plead that he has no time and is not interested in academic questions. He knows that murder is murder and that is the end of his Latin.

Let us then not be terrorized by capitalist moralists into a denunciation of every act of violence as morally unjustified, however unwise it may have been. Capitalistic labor leaders may vie with each other in expressing their moral indignation at such acts; but the rank and file will keep still and take such talk with a grain of salt. The still, small voice within whispers that murder is not always murder; it is sometimes war; but most generally it is profit for the capitalist class, and it will not wholly disappear until profit itself disappears.

This month we celebrate Lincoln's birthday. Extracts from his speeches will be repeated with applause in thousands of gatherings. Yet what Socialist ever did or ever could exceed the terrible threat contained in his second inaugural address in 1865. "If it be God's will that this war continue until the wealth piled up by bondsmen by two hundred and fifty years' unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash [we say drawn for profit] shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said 3,000 years ago, so still it must be said that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

We state—that up to the present time all ethical theory is in the last instance a testimony to the existence of certain economic conditions prevailing in any community at any particular time. In proportion as society developed class antagonisms, morality became a class morality.—Frederick Engels in "Landmarks of Scientific Socialism."



A. B. DUNBAR ADDRESSING STRIKERS.

THE PICK HANDLE BRIGADE

Fun and Fight on the Golden Rand

BY ARCHIBALD CRAWFORD

Editor, "Voice of Labor". Johannesburg, S. Africa

IN THE REVIEW of August last I described the famous victory of the I. W. W. in the Johannesburg street car strike, also the reprisals which followed. The chief features of the latter I will briefly recapitulate.

In the first strike of six hours' duration the Capitalist Municipal Street Car Owners, on bended knees, pledged their collective word that an obnoxious official would, without the slightest inquiry, be removed from the service. So beaten were the bosses they would have promised the sun, moon, and all the heavenly constellations. As soon as the men resumed work, however, they planned reprisals and, by going back on their word, forced on a second strike.

Before this second strike was dreamed of by the men, arrangements had been made

for the concentration of all available police on the scene of impending strife, armed with guns and ammunition. Comrade Mary FitzGerald, assisted by other women, led huge crowds in the teeth of the police guns. Afraid to use these upon women, the police were disarmed and supplied with pickhandles. At the same time an old proclamation used by Kruger against the British—a *casus belli* between Briton and Boer—was now resuscitated and used by the capitalist city council against the workers. Six or more men standing together constituted a crime, and such groups were charged by mounted police with pickhandles. Stones not being available, the workers pelted the police with apples taken from stalls in the adjacent fruit market.

Barricades were erected and the town

closely resembled an armed camp. Strikers tore down the barricades and members of the Carpenters trade union reconstructed them. A thousand unarmed citizens put the fear of hell into the four or five thousand armed policemen. It was a free speech fight and a strike in one. A speaker mounted a soap box! Charge! and an army of police arrested him. It was a long process, and when twenty had been arrested, speakers were still clambering on to the soap box. The police were kept filled with whisky, and, half mad with drink, made murderous attacks upon the crowd.

Public sentiment was with the strikers, and in order to turn it against them the municipal council and the police instigated outrages. Dynamite was laid on street car lines by their agents and spies, and the capitalist press accused the strikers of trying to blow up innocent men, women and children. Outnumbered by armed police, misrepresented by a lying press, denied the right of free speech, and victims of capitalist conspiracy, is it a wonder the I. W. W. gave its natural enemy the credit of the second round? In the struggles, several pickhandles were captured from the police, and were found to bear the stamp of the municipality—town engineer's department. Hence the following interesting sequel:

Every three years an entirely new council of thirty members is elected by the citizens of Johannesburg. An election at the end of October last was impending and candidates were preparing to make their bow to the electors. This suggested to the I. W. W. an excellent opportunity for retaliation. Among the candidates were several members of the old street car committee whom the I. W. W. held responsible for the employment of pick handles in the late strike, and it was decided to give them a measure of their own justice.

Mary FitzGerald was chosen as the natural leader and A. B. Dunbar, general secretary of the I. W. W. (South Africa section) her chief lieutenant. They decided to attend and break up meetings of those candidates, and Mr. Norman Anstey, proprietor of the largest drapery store in town and chairman of the street car committee, was chosen as first victim.

Mr. Anstey's first meeting was held at the Gayety theater. The audience filled all sitting and standing accommodation. The chairman rose to speak and was howled

down. Mr. Anstey rose to speak, and at the same instant Mrs. FitzGerald rose from one of the boxes and stepped upon the platform. Facing the dumfounded candidate, with pale and determined mien, and a pickhandle in her outstretched hand, she said: "On behalf of the wives and children of the street car men whom you pickhandled in the late strike I present you with this (handing him a pickhandle). On one side are engraved the names of your chief victims—our fellow workers, Glynn and Glendon. The other side is left vacant for names of your future victims should the workers be fool enough to return you."



COMRADE MARY FITZGERALD.

The speaker and his platform supporters were petrified. Mrs. FitzGerald stepped down from the platform, the vast audience shouting and cheering continuously for five minutes.

The chairman ultimately recovered from his surprise and commenced to appeal for a hearing. "Fair play!" he hoarsely cried.

"Yes, the fair play you gave the street car strikers," was the retort of the audience, among whom the fun grew fast and furious.



A. B. DUNBAR.

"British fair play!" bawled a cute platform supporter, who thought he knew the weak spot in a crowd.

"You gave us Russian methods!" was the immediate response.

Then a great collective voice started singing, "We'll hang Norman Anstey on a sour apple tree," and Norman Anstey thought they meant it, and with his supporters fled out of the back door. The meeting, which opened at 8 p. m., concluded at 8:30 p. m.

The fugitives automobilized to a meeting at Troyeville, a distant suburb and separate electorate. Anstey was endeavoring to get his carefully prepared speech into the morning papers. "The Pickhandle Brigade," as they were now called, followed in street cars. On their arrival inside the hall the gang on the platform started to shiver. The aristocratic audience looked indignant.

"Who paid for the pickhandles used in the strike?" demanded Dunbar.

"Do give us a fair hearing and we will answer questions afterwards," was the reply.

"What hearing did you give the strikers?" bawled the brigade.

The second meeting broke up at 9 p. m.

The capitalist press next day was furious. "Hooligans! Slum dwellers! Scoundrels!" were epithets hurled at the brigade. "How dare these ruffians deny the right of free speech to these self-sacrificing candidates who want to serve the workingman on the city council? The idea! Such conduct could not occur again. The police were there to protect the public and interrupters would surely land in jail!"

The exploits of the "Pick Handle Brigade" were the talk of the town next day, and in the evening their numbers were augmented, reaching almost the dimensions of a little army. Three meetings were broken up that night and all home before 10 p. m.

The persecuted candidates were running on a ticket put forward by the Property Owners' Association. After the second night no further meetings were held and a week was spent in despairing confabulation. The tactical move decided upon was to hold a meeting on mining property. The employes of the mine would attend and their bosses would set them against the pickhandle brigade should the latter make an appearance! The press made the sinister

suggestion that the miners would not stand for any nonsense and went so far as to challenge the pickhandle brigade to show up.

The p. h. b. accepted the challenge. The street cars got to the meeting behind time and at 8:15 the brigade arrived. Norman Anstey was making his opening remarks. Dunbar started the ball rolling by calling Anstey a scab and asking him who broke the street car strike. The plutes were at the meeting in force and threatened to put the pickhandlers out but were wise enough not to try. The meeting broke up ten minutes after the arrival of the brigade, and to while away the time till the next street car arrived, Dunbar and others delivered speeches on industrial unionism.

Next night the Property Owners' Association decided upon a great mass meeting at which their whole ticket was to appear, at a large skating rink in the city. A corps of special policemen were hired and distributed about the vast arena. The brigade turned up in force and a futile attempt was made to turn them out. The candidates swore they would wait till morning to get a hearing. The p. h. b. led the crowd in the singing of popular songs. Again someone tried the magic touch so successful in past ages; "God Save Our Gracious King," he started singing. "To hell with the king!" shouted the brigade, and the ceiling trembled as they followed with the "Red Flag."

Constant appeals were made made on these occasions to Dunbar and Mrs. Fitzgerald to quiet the crowd, but these two rebels showed not the slightest mercy. At this mass meeting in the rink a Colonel Furze appealed to Mrs. FitzGerald thusly:

"I'm Irish, too. Won't you give me a hearing, anyhow?"

"An absentee landlord, I suppose," was Mrs. FitzGerald's biting reply. "You would be shot on sight were you to return to Ireland."

As the Colonel was a good-natured soul, it was decided to give him a hearing, with Mrs. FitzGerald in the chair. He, Irishlike (?), had scarcely opened his mouth when he put his foot in it by saying, "For the good of the country we should always have an army of unemployed," Mrs. FitzGerald, also Irishlike (?), lost her temper at this, sprang out of the chair and pushed the Colonel off the platform into the seeth-

ing mass of humanity below. Dunbar and other I. W. W.'ites then took the platform, the former making one of his best speeches, after which the meeting broke up with three cheers for industrial unionism and the pick handle brigade.

Meetings were again suspended until about three nights before the polling day. This time admission was by ticket, the committee reserving the right to exclude anyone they might desire to. The brigade turned up in force, to find twenty policemen parading outside the hall. The unknown members were allowed access to the hall, but when it came to Mrs. FitzGerald, Dunbar, Glynn and other well known faces, the stout policeman barred the way. Mrs. FitzGerald was the first objected to. "You don't go in," said the policeman. But the pickhandle brigade was behind and pushed her and the policeman inside the hall, the members of the p. h. b. who had already secured admission rendering useful aid. An attempt was made to arrest Dunbar on a charge of assault but the crowd objected and the aggrieved one thought it wise not to press a charge, and so the fun proceeded unrestrained. The platform was taken as usual by the brigade and speeches delivered on "Industrial Unionism" and "Why We Break Up Election Meetings."

On this same evening a meeting was proceeding at the other end of the city. Thinking himself well outside the danger zone the speaker—a mine owner called Black, who played a dirty part in the miners' strike of 1907—was slinging abuse at the heads of the pickhandlers: "If they ever hit up against me I will teach them a well deserved lesson," he was just saying, when lo! the p. h. b. arrived.

Dunbar stepped forward: "We have to offer you our heartfelt apology for the lateness of our arrival," he commenced. "We had to break up a meeting before we came. Besides this one, we have one or two more to smash before we go home."

Black looked blue, then recovering somewhat tried to continue his talk. Said he: "I have always been a friend of the workers, I help—"

"To break their strikes," interjected Mrs. FitzGerald.

"What did you say, madam?" he asked. "You're a scab," was the immediate reply.

"A scab?" he stammered.
 "Yes, you broke the miner's strike and blacklisted the leaders."
 "Madam," he replied, "if you were a man I would fight you. If any man called me a scab I would make him eat his words." With this statement he took several steps down the hall in dramatic style.
 Glynn at once rose and said, "Black, you're a scab."
 Black retreated and turning again to Mrs. FitzGerald said: "I would give you the retort courteous, only you would not understand."

The crowd demanded a withdrawal of the statement, and at their threatening attitude Black got behind half a dozen policemen.
 "You're a coward and cad as well as a scab," said Mrs. FitzGerald, and as she said it she stepped up to him and hit him smartly across the face with her open hand.

He called a policeman, but policemen were no protection to him and, turning, he fled out of the back door. Next day the daily paper posters in large block letters announced: "Mrs. FitzGerald Strikes C. S. Black. More Hooliganism. Where Will It End?"

C. S. Black? Oh, my! The rich magnate? Dear me! What next?
 Three meetings broken up in half an hour on the eve of the election concluded the work of the pick handle brigade.

The capitalist press all through treated the leaders of the p. h. b. to all sorts of abuse. No depths were too low for the pens of their vile hirelings. By cunning innuendo their personal characters were assailed. A big vote for the Property Owners' Association candidates was the prognostication.

The Socialist party had no candidates running, but lo! out of thirty seats the Labor party captured eleven. It was a crushing defeat for the property mongers. Most of the members of the old tramway committee lost their seats, a few sneaking in at the bottom of the successful list. That the capitalist press was really concerned was quite obvious by the large number of leading articles attacking Mrs. FitzGerald and the p. h. b. The photo of Mrs. FitzGerald which appears with this article was taken specially for the *Sunday Post*, and the cartoon appeared in the largest daily in South

Africa, the *Johannesburg Star*. Of the three figures in the cartoon, only one was elected. The wife of another—Mrs. Goodman—wrote to Mrs. FitzGerald, appealing to her as a woman to let her husband speak, "just for five minutes."
 "What time had you for the appeals of the wives and children of the street car employees?" she asked Dr. Goodman, when she had finished reading the letter before a large audience.

A writer in the *Sunday Post* raises the following poetic spiel:

THE VILLAGE AMAZON.

Under the platform of Ward 3,
 Brave Joan of Arc she stands;
 This Joan a dauntless soul is she,
 Who leads the tramway hands,
 And with a modest pickhandle
 She backs up her demands.

She bears a list of questions long,
 Which she can barely scan,
 But 'midst the mighty tumult, puts
 As many as she can;
 And she looks the chairman in the face,
 And asks if he's a man?

Week in, week out, night after night,
 You can hear her storm and blow.
 You can see her swing her pickhandle
 With measured beat and slow,
 Like some miner toiling on the reef
 Of Norman Anstey's woe.

And the children passing by the hall,
 Look in at the open door;
 They love to watch her pickhandle
 And to hear her rage and roar,
 And mark the language that doth raise
 The dust upon the floor.

She goes to the Tin Temple,* too,
 And sits among the "boys";
 She hears the Bishop scream and screech,
 She hears Jack Mulvey's voice
 Calling to break the quorum up,
 And it makes her heart rejoice.

Each evening they can hear her voice
 Singing the "Marseillaise,"
 And watch the wily Williamson
 Tremble before her gaze,

*"Tin temple" is our wood and iron municipal chambers; the Bishop, an ex-parson member of the city council, and Jack Mulvey, a local member.

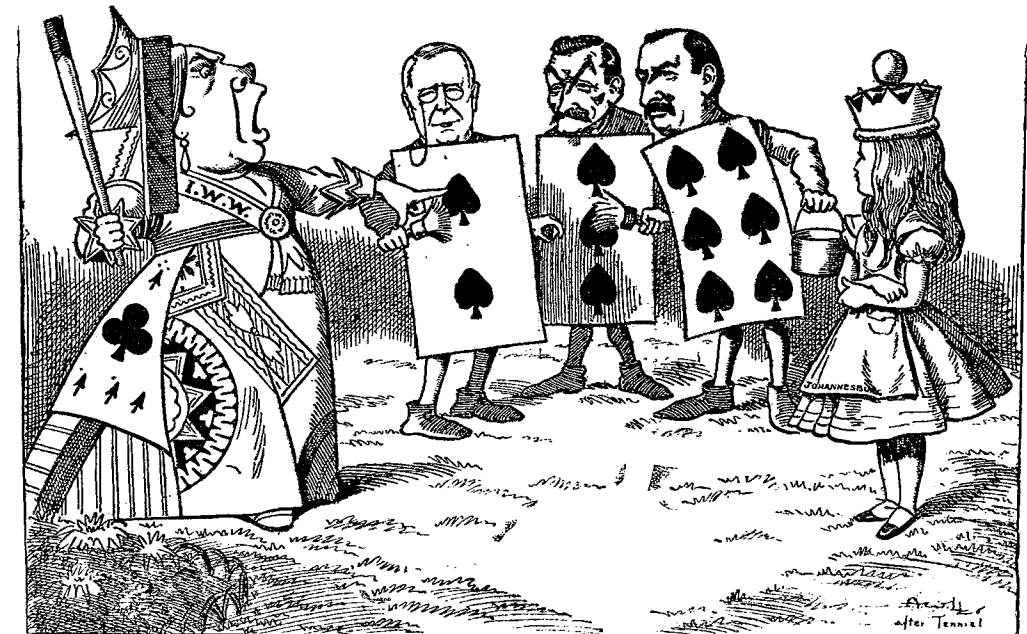
Fearing that pickhandle may get
 Him right across the face.

Hooting, howling and heckling,
 Onward through life she goes;
 Eight-thirty sees a meeting start,
 Eight-iorty-five it close;
 Someone outshouted, someone stunned,
 Has earned a night's repose.

Thanks, thanks to thee, my worthy friend,
 For the lesson thou hast taught.
 Thus must the true democracy
 Be to the forefront brought;
 And thus with the pickhandle,
 Its battles must be fought.

Thus the I. W. W. revenged to some extent the street car strike. Mrs. FitzGerald and Dunbar could always count on 400 active members of the p. h. b. who would follow them anywhere, and besides these the bulk of the people present at meetings were sympathizers. All of which indicates that a good-humored but none the less determined working class is awakening to a consciousness of its power and the day draws nigh when with one great final effort the giant Labor shall stand upright and over will topple the Capitalist Parasite and all his evil institutions. There was fun in the adventures of the pickhandle brigade, but the capitalist class in the golden city of South Africa saw no humor in it.

QUEEN ALICE v. THE QUEEN OF CLUBS.



FROM THE JOHANNESBURG STAR

The Queen of Clubs..... Mrs. Fitzgerald.
 Queen AliceThe Johannesburg Public.
 "And who are these?" said the Queen of Clubs, pointing to the three gardeners.
 "May it please Your Majesty," said one of them in a very humble tone, "we were trying——"
 "I see," said the Queen, interrupting. "Off with their heads!"
 The unfortunate gardeners ran to Queen Alice for protection.
 "You shan't be beheaded," said Alice, and she put them into a large ballot-box that stood near.
 ("Alice in Wonderland," Chap. 8, revised version.)

(Despite the prognostication of the "Star" cartoonist two of the three candidates pictured above did have their heads cut off. Note the resemblance (?) between the "Queen of Clubs" and the "Lady with the Pickhandle.")

Socialist Respect for Capitalist Law

BY

ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The letter printed below was originally sent to The New York Call, but was returned to the writer with the statement of the editor that ample notice had already been given of the closing of the discussion in the columns of the *Call* as to the Socialist attitude toward capitalist Law and Order. The REVIEW considers it worth while to print the letter, nevertheless, not only because it is unusually thought-provoking, but because the REVIEW believes this discussion thoroughly healthful and worthy of continuance until the party membership itself declares it has had enough. Comrade LaMonte's communication is interesting because it contains a fair-minded criticism of William D. Haywood's recent New York speech, which seems to have frightened the Socialist even more than it did the capitalist press.

I LISTENED to Comrade Haywood's speech with very great pleasure, and I have no hesitation in saying that both in matter and manner of delivery it was one of the most impressive Socialist speeches it has ever been my privilege to hear. Certainly I have heard nothing to compare with it in compelling power in America since Comrade Herron left our shores.

Not only was it impressive, but it showed a wonderfully clear and firm grasp of the vital fact that the social organization of the future is not to be a glorified political State, but purely and simply an Industrial Democracy. Here Comrade Haywood was in full accord with Marx and Engels. Indeed, he showed himself a better Marxist than most of his critics. For while his critics would, almost to a man, admit that with the triumph of the proletariat, the State will die out, nevertheless, they continue in all their books, pamphlets and speeches to reason as though the social organization of Tomorrow was to be simply an adopted form of the state of Today. Indeed, they often go so far as to talk of the State of Today "growing into" the Co-operative Commonwealth. This Utopian notion lurks beneath all the utterances of our self-styled "Construction Socialists."

Haywood probably never read Lewis Morgan's "Ancient Society," but he is one of the few prominent American Socialists who have so absolutely and thor-

oughly assimilated the root idea of that great work—the class character of the modern political state—that it has become part and parcel of all his thinking on the social question. Haywood learned this lesson thoroughly in the cruel class war in Idaho and Colorado, and because it has been driven into the very fiber of his being, he is a far surer exponent of this phase of Marxism than are most of his more erudite and polished comrades. Never shall you hear Bill Haywood prattle about reforming the present State into the Socialist Republic. He has felt the fangs of the political state and knows its essential nature too well to dream of transforming it into the Co-operative Commonwealth.

This was the first and possibly the greatest merit of this wonderful speech. But almost as notable was the way in which Haywood drove home the truths expressed by Karl Kautsky in today's *Call* in the following sentences: "The main weapon of the proletariat is its large numbers. Only through its great masses the proletariat can be victorious; only through the development of its masses can the proletariat maintain its grip on its victory. This presupposes the long existence of unified activity and organization."

The imperative necessity for unified organization on the industrial and political fields was driven home by Haywood with irresistible power.

These were the two great merits of

Haywood's speech, and they were so great that they far outweigh the few minor defects. For the speech had its defects, its weak points.

One of these was the much-quoted "I am not a law-abiding citizen. No Socialist can be a law-abiding citizen." As a matter of fact, most Socialists are law-abiding citizens. We are because we have to be. The other fellows have the law-enforcing power. We know it. We know it is futile for the individual to defy the law.

Had Haywood said, "We are not law-respecting citizens," his position would have been impregnable, for it is true, as that most respectable of philosophers, John Stuart Mill wrote long ago: "the classes which the present system of society makes subordinate have little reason to put faith in any of the maxims which the same system of society may have established as principles."

The Socialist whose socialism is more than skin deep always whistles at the law, though he also does his best to keep out of its cruel clutches.

The passage dealing with the McNamara case was both one of the strongest and weakest in the speech. The bravery with which he made the cause of the McNamaras, as victims of the class struggle, whether guilty or innocent, his own cause was magnificent and in striking and refreshing contrast to the cowardly sycophancy of those trade unionists and Socialists who, in their eagerness to keep the skirts of the labor and Socialist movements "clean," have joined in the bourgeois cry for blood and vengeance.

But when Haywood said that the McNamaras "understood the class struggle," he made a most misleading statement. They understood the desperate plight of the Structural Iron Workers, and they knew, none better, the ruthlessness of the Steel Trust, but, in the words of Debs, they understood "little or nothing of the philosophy of the class struggle and of the enlightened methods of working class warfare." Had they understood (in a Socialist sense) the Class Struggle they would not now be in jail. James B. McNamara is now in San Quentin for life, simply because he logically and courageously carried to their ultimate con-

clusions the policies of pure and simple craft unionism. The American Federation of Labor official or apologist is the last man who should desert the McNamaras in their dark hour. By so doing he places himself below contempt.

For myself I never believed the McNamaras innocent, as their crime seemed to me the absolutely natural and logical outcome of their opposition to Socialism and their adherence to the antiquated form of craft-union organization and tactics. With no hope through class political action, and handicapped by the impotence and hopelessness of craft unionism, with its long-drawn-out, pledged-to-defeat single-craft strikes, what was there left for them but abject surrender or dynamite? Thus the presumption of their guilt was so strong that strong evidence would have been necessary to make me believe them innocent. But though they were guilty, kidnaping them was a crime, and a class crime, well illustrating the class character of our Courts.

And guilty, as they were and are, they are victims of the class struggle, and in jail they are victims of the capitalist system of criminal jurisprudence, so utterly at variance both with science and humanity. But the chief responsibility for their crime rests (1st) upon the heads of the Steel Trust, who, by their campaign to crush out trade unionism, drove the McNamaras to desperation; and (2nd) upon the labor leaders of the Gompers type who, by their opposition to Socialism and Industrial Unionism, left to the McNamaras only the choice between supine surrender and dynamite.

The reader will find this point more fully elaborated in "The McNamara Case and the Labor Movement," by Eugene V. Debs, in the January issue of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, which, oddly, enough still survives though all our Popes have placed it on the Index. Curiously enough (pardon the bouquet thrown at myself), this article of Debs reads almost like a stenographic report of the speech I made in Wellston, Ohio, on December 2, the day after the confession.

Another, and to my mind, the worst, weakness in Haywood's speech was the apparent approval with which he referred to the blowing up of the Bunker Hill

mill. I know nothing of the facts of that particular case, but I do know the object of organization on class lines in the Socialist party and in Industrial Unions is to make the working class so strong that it can win without resort to such dangerous violence. No man stands so far removed from the Anarchist as the convinced Socialist and Industrial Unionist, and hence the man who believes in class organization in both politics and industry is the last man who ought to risk appearing to praise the suicidal tactics of the Anarchist. This was to my mind the one fatal weakness in a great speech.

But the speech was great enough not to be spoiled by these few defects. It should go down in history as one of the best and most fearless Socialist speeches ever made in Cooper Union.

Not the least of its merits was the courage with which the speaker defended sabotage. Sabotage has this great advantage over striking: you can stay on the job and continue to draw pay while you commit sabotage. Used too freely, like whisky, it may prove dangerous, but used with brains, sabotage is an excellent weapon in the class war. In fact, to elect a Socialist to political office is simply to commit sabotage on the repressive machinery of the ruling class.

I note that some committee in Local New York has passed a resolution condemning Haywood for using the Socialist platform to advocate direct action, and to attack officials of the Socialist party. May I beg to inquire, "Where are we going to get off at?" I do not think Debs ever makes a speech, and I know I never do without advocating direct action. Are we to be driven from the Socialist platform? Drive away; I have found the job laborious and not enriching to say the least.

Why shouldn't Haywood criticize a party official? Upon what food have these, our Caesars, fed, that they have grown so great? For my part I think the greatest need of the American Labor Movement on both the political and economic fields is to get rid of the majority of its present leaders. This applies to the Socialist party just as much as to the American Federation of Labor. Remove our leaders and watch us grow!

I defy any one to produce a working

class audience in America that will not applaud that sentiment. The Socialist speaker who does not criticize our party officials (by implication, if not directly) thereby proves his own incompetence, either mental or moral, for his job.

I have now finished my brief introduction and am ready to begin my long letter.

Was there ever anything more characteristic of the immaturity of the American movement than the attempt to drag Comrade Kautsky into this tempest in a teapot? We will not trust our own brains. A question arises on which we are divided. Instead of using our own brains to reason about it and see what is right, we are so used to getting our opinions ready made, like our clothes, that we at once appeal to some intellectual, some infallible Pope, to tell us what to think about it. Here is one thing you can set down to Bill Haywood's eternal credit. He is a working class man through and through, and whether his opinions are right or wrong, they are Bill Haywood's opinions, formed with his own brains. He does not ask any Party Pope what he shall think. And one man who does his own thinking, even though he sometimes thinks wrong, is worth more to the Socialist movement than a hundred men who always think right because they let some Party Pope do all their thinking for them.

But we have consulted Pope Kautsky; he has decided that Hillquit is right, provided that Bohn and Haywood meant, when they said the worker who understood economic determinism would not hesitate to violate the law, that he would straightway become a pickpocket or a highway robber.

It appears then that Berlin and New Canaan are agreed, for in the letter I sent the *Call* (not the letter the *Call* printed) there was a statement that the sentence of Bohn and Haywood was unfortunately ambiguous for a propaganda pamphlet, but that it should be fairly obvious that the authors did not intend to urge upon their readers the cultivation of the habits of petty larceny and brigandage. It will thus be seen that my defense of Bohn and Haywood was based

on their not meaning precisely what Kautsky condemns them for meaning.

This most important paragraph in my letter was printed in the *Chicago Daily Socialist* some days before my letter appeared in the *Call*. Whether its suppression in the *Call* was an accident or was due to editorial cowardice I am unable to say.

I think it safe to say that had Comrade Kautsky understood that unfortunately ambiguous sentence as I interpreted it, and as I feel sure its authors intended it, his decision would have been very different.

But, while I admire Kautsky as the greatest living Marxian scholar, I do not recognize him as my Pope, and I take issue with him on many points in his Papal Bull.

His argument throughout assumes, as Hillquit expressly stated, that in a democratic country like ours the laws provide a regular and lawful method for the overthrow of capitalism. Now, this is not true. It is impossible to take any long step in America toward Social Revolution without running up against the stonewall of the United States Constitution, and that document is for all practical purposes unamendable save by extra legal methods or Revolution.

Kautsky, like all German Socialists, has a touching and child-like faith in the efficacy of democratic political forms. This is natural enough. The German has never had a democratic government. To them it is an ideal. We have had it. Our illusions are rudely shattered. It is difficult to name a country in Europe (save Russia and Spain) where it is as difficult as it is in America to get the popular will carried out through legislation.

In the tyrannies of Europe the people need no urging to spit upon the law. They know that the law is made by the enemies of the people. Here in America, where theoretically the law is the will of the people, we are cursed by a superstitious and paralyzing reverence for law.

And one of the chief objects of Socialist propaganda is to teach the workers that our states are Class States; that our courts are Class Courts, and that our laws are Class Laws.

Every class-conscious American worker whistles at the law, but he obeys it. He knows that force is back of it. And while he obeys the law, he keeps on steadily organizing the power that will enable him to ignore or overthrow the law. But he means to overthrow the present system of property by the mass action of his class, and hence he fully agrees with Kautsky that "everywhere and under all circumstances individual action against property is to be objected to." He goes further than that, for he recognizes that working-class violence in strikes is a boomerang that hurts the workers more than it does their enemies. He looks on violence as a confession of weakness, and his whole energy is given to perfecting the organization of the workers, so that there may be no temptation to such suicidal violence.

Respect for law, respect for the "sacred rights of private property" are the stone walls against which every Socialist agitation in America is continually ramming his long-suffering head. This wall we must batter down, even though Hillquit and Spargo and Feigenbaum, assisted by the convenient cowardice of party editors, are doing their utmost to buttress it up. It will be so much the worse for them if their heads are pushing against the other side of the wall when we topple it over.

There is one paragraph in Comrade Kautsky's letter that demands fuller consideration. He writes:

"We must not forget that private property rests not alone upon laws that were created by the ruling classes, but also upon an ethical sentiment, which is a product of thousands and thousands of years of development in society, and which is alive in the toiling proletariat, as well as in the peasantry and in the middle class, and not alone in the capitalist class."

This ethical sentiment to which Kautsky refers is simply the natural feeling that a man is entitled to have or own what his labor has created. It is the feeling that makes a peasant feel that where he has sown he has a right to reap also; the feeling that makes a cabinet maker feel that the table he has made is rightly his property.

What a monstrous perversion it is to make this sentiment, which is the very foundation of our Socialist demand that the worker shall have the full product of his toil, the source and justification of respect for the rights of property which has been created, not by the labor of its possessor, but by the labor of others! Marx told us long ago that these two kinds of private property are "not only anti-ethical, but that the latter grows only on the tomb of the former."

The "ethical sentiment" to which Kautsky appeals has no valid application to the great bulk of private property in the world today, and it is our business as Socialists to knock down this borrowed prop for respect for the rights of capitalist private property.

If we are to fulfill our mission we must turn from the painfully respectable, not to say snobbish, reformist legality of Hillquit and Spargo to the robust, virile contempt for the so-called rights of bourgeois property of Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto:

"You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. You reproach us, therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society.

"In one word you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so. That is just what we intend.

"The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private

property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products, that is based on class antagonism, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

"In this sense the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: **Abolition of private property.**"

Of whom does that spirit of dauntless revolutionary audacity remind you? Of the meticulous Hillquit or the indiscreet Haywood?

In this sharp contrast you have in a nutshell the issue the comrades must decide when they choose their delegates to our coming National Convention in Oklahoma City.

Are we to prove worthy heirs of the revolutionary traditions of the Communist Manifesto?

Or shall we, in our eagerness to gain votes and offices, hide our ultimate revolutionary aims behind the smugly respectable screen of a law-respecting program of middle-class reforms?

Shall we openly and boldly proclaim our hatred and contempt for the bourgeois state and laws and our stern and inflexible purpose to abolish not only them, but their foundation, bourgeois private property?

Or shall we content ourselves with an absurd and futile, though entirely respectable attempt to metamorphose the bourgeois state into the Co-operative Commonwealth?

These are the questions that sooner or later our membership must face. They are the questions upon which the election of delegates to the National Convention should turn.

Whether you approve of Haywood or not, you must at least give him the credit of having done much to force these essential questions into the foreground.

EDITORIAL

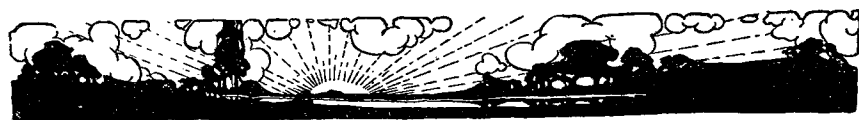
Direct Action.—In its struggle against the capitalist class the working class, and its instrument the Socialist party, may adopt either or both of two methods. One of these methods is **Parliamentary Action**, which means to elect its representatives to congress, the state legislatures and municipal councils, and **indirectly**, through the action of these representatives, seek to take away the control of industry from the capitalist class. The other method is to unite the workers in **the shops where they work**, into a class-conscious revolutionary organization, and by the **direct action** of the workers so organized to exercise the greatest possible power over the industries in which they work. Both of these methods are generally advocated and practiced by the Socialist parties of Europe. A recent and notable instance of an endorsement of **direct action** by the British Socialist party is recorded on another page of this issue.

Primarily Economic.—The Declaration of Principles adopted by the Socialist party of America in 1908, and ratified by a referendum vote of the membership, contains this sentence: **The Socialist party is primarily an economic and political movement.** If it had been the desire of the party membership to exclude **direct action** from its tactics, it would have been easy to say that the party was primarily a political movement. But this the party did not say, for the good reason that such a declaration would have wiped out the distinction between the Socialist party and the capitalist parties.

Class Direct Action.—This is what the REVIEW has consistently advocated for years, and this is what the office seekers oppose, because they fear it might injure their chances for getting offices. In fighting us they have trickily sought to present the meaning of the phrase **direct action**, in such a way as to make it mean the **individual** action of the bomb-thrower. In Belgium, Austria and in Hungary, the working class was forced to resort to class direct action (a general strike) in their fight to secure uni-

versal suffrage. European Socialists are everywhere agreed that in many instances the general strike has proven a prompt and effective weapon in waging the class war. We regret that Comrade Debs, in his otherwise admirable article in this number of the REVIEW, has abandoned the phrase **direct action** to the meaning put upon it by our opponents. Dynamite is the logical weapon for the craft unionist, who is vainly seeking to oppose modern capitalism with an outgrown and dying form of organization which ties up little sections of the working class by contracts binding each section to support the capitalists in crushing other sections. We decline to join in the hue and cry against the McNamaras; we content ourselves with pointing out that if they had adopted the tactics of **class direct action** and at the same time of **political action**, such as we advocate, they would today be helping on the Social Revolution, whereas their tactics have merely strengthened the capitalists.

Socialism the Hope of the Working Class.—Elsewhere in this issue we publish a full stenographic report of William D. Haywood's great speech at Cooper Union, New York. It raised a storm of protest in the capitalist press, feebly echoed, we regret to say, by some of the would-be leaders within the Socialist party. Garbled extracts from this speech have been widely copied and they have called forth ridiculous hysterics on the part of that small section of the Socialist party which is chiefly concerned with being elected to office. We are now circulating 45,000 complete copies of this speech in this issue of the REVIEW, and we hope that enough newspapers will reprint it entire to give it a circulation of hundreds of thousands. It will keep some people out of the party. But those whom it will repel are those who would be a hindrance, not a help. To the real militant workers, to those who want to put an end to capitalism and who wonder whether the Socialist party members really mean what they say when they call



themselves revolutionists—to such men and women this speech will be a clarion call that will put new life into them. In saying this we do not mean that we agree with every word in the speech. To our mind the criticisms of Comrade LaMonte are in the main well taken. And as for the question of sabotage, that is a matter that can never be settled in conventions or in printed arguments; it can only be settled from day to day by the workers in the industries. When they have developed the intelligence to unite into one big union, they will be able to use this dangerous weapon when it is needed and only when it is needed, and nothing that the REVIEW may print or that conventions may resolve will matter much.

'Tis the Final Conflict.—This refrain of *L'Internationale* is ringing in the ears of the whole world today. The tremendous

onsweep of Socialism as evidenced by the voting in Germany is not confined to Germany alone; the causes which made Socialists there are world-wide causes, and they are bringing a like harvest wherever capitalists are fattening on the toil of workers. All over the world thrones are crumbling, and platforms no less than thrones. The modern industrial machine is pushing on, blindly, relentlessly. It is crushing out the life from the little capitalists and the privileged artisans on whom the tottering rulers depend for their support. It is leaving upright only the millionaires and the millions, only the owners of the great industries and the toilers in these industries. And the owners are filled with a great fear, while a great hope dawns on the eyes of the toilers. The Day of Revolution is almost here. Let us do our part to speed it on.

Diversity of opinions on theoretical points is never dangerous to the party. There are for us no bounds to criticism, and however great our respect may be for the founders and pioneers of our party, we recognize no infallibility and no other authority than science, whose sphere is ever widening and continually proves what it previously held as truths to be errors.—Wilhelm Liebknecht in "No Compromise."

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

Paul and Laura Lafargue.—Many who toil for Socialism were taken from the field of conflict at a time when their only reward lay in hope for the future. La Salle, Marx, even Engels, had little more than a theoretical basis for their faith in the ultimate victory of the working-class. It was, however, with a surer foundation for his faith that Paul Lafargue was able to address his final words to his comrades. He had seen Socialism a real and growing power throughout the civilized world. So when he wrote, "I die with the supreme joy that springs from the certainty that the cause to which I have devoted myself for forty-five years will triumph in the near future," he spoke as one who knew. And his words sent a thrill round the world.

Paul Lafargue was an old fighter. Twice he was banished from his native land. Time and again he was cast into prison. But with voice and pen and his wonderful organizing power he was always at the task of rousing the working-class to its destiny. It is as a brilliant writer, especially as a satirist, that he will probably be longest remembered. But in countless ways he has left his mark on the international Socialist movement.

Laura Marx Lafargue was the last remaining child of Karl Marx. With her father and mother she went through the painful but wonderfully productive period of exile in London. It was there that she met Lafargue, and there, when modern, scientific Socialism was still in the germ, they dedicated their lives to it. Together they labored with tremendous energy and boundless enthusiasm for their great cause.

So when their lives came to an end on November 25, the working-class of the whole world took note, not so much to mourn over their death as to rejoice at what had been accomplished during their lives, and to resolve that Paul Lafargue's last words shall soon be turned from prophesy into history.

England—Another Industrial War.—

The truce in the English class-struggle was of short duration. The workers on the tight little island have felt their power and there was never a class of toilers more ready to fight than they are. To be sure the great cotton strike was forced by the employers, but that was done only to gain a temporary advantage. The employers forced the fight now because they knew they would have to fight soon.

At the present writing the strike is taking on ever larger proportions. It began on December 27 with 160,000 cotton spinners involved, and at the present writing this number has increased to 250,000. The cable reports make much of the fact that this great strike, entailing hunger and penury for more than a million, was brought about on account of three persons. In a mill at Accrington were employed three non-union workers, a man and his wife and one young woman. The union asked for their dismissal. The man and his wife were willing to quit work, but the employer told them to stick it out, and they stuck. The strike call went forth, and the cotton spinning industry was brought to a stand-still.

Were ever three such heroes as that man and his wife and the young woman? They were much photographed, and full accounts of their lives and persons were sent wherever electric wires could carry them. We learned just how they live, what they eat, and how they managed to develop the heroic qualities necessary for their supreme stand against the tyranny of the unions.

Nevertheless it seems evident that they are heroes by suggestion. The fact that two of them would have quit had they not been over persuaded by their employer goes to show that the latter wished to bring on the struggle just now in the midst of winter.

The issue is clearly drawn. The union insists on the closed shop; the employers insist on the open shop. The union is willing to go back to work for six months pending negotiations, but the employers

refuse to compromise in this way. They are forcing the fight.

There is talk of other strikes in England. It is quite possible that before this issue of the REVIEW is in the hands of its readers England will be in the grip of another labor war like that of last summer.

Italy—The Socialists and the War.—The International Socialist movement has reason to feel deeply gratified at the trend of events in Italy. The Italian Socialist Party has been so long split up into four or five constantly shifting divisions that an outsider could make out little but the unmistakable fact of disunion. Even the congress recently held at Modena seemed to offer little improvement in the direction of united effort. Since the congress, however, it has become clear that there is but one great division in the ranks of Italian Socialism. This division is now so wide that it may soon lead to secessions from the party. Such a result seems highly desirable from every point of view.

The question at issue is the attitude to be assumed toward the war in Tripoli. Early in December the Executive Committee of the party met to consider this question. It was unanimously decided to call upon the members of the party everywhere to continue an active agitation against the war in all its phases. The resolution embodying this decision was then submitted to the Socialist parliamentary group. Here Comrade Bissolati opposed it. His position and that of his supporters was outlined in a resolution saying that the Socialist movement has done all it could against the war and now held further opposition to be inopportune. The reason given for the introduction of such a resolution was that opposition to the war would weaken the position of Italy in any possible peace negotiations. Finally the resolution of the Executive Committee was adopted by the parliamentary group by a vote of 12 to 4. Then a combined session of committee and group called upon the Socialist representatives to go over to the opposition, that is, to set themselves against the policy of the government. Furthermore, it was decided to call upon party members not to take part in the collection of money

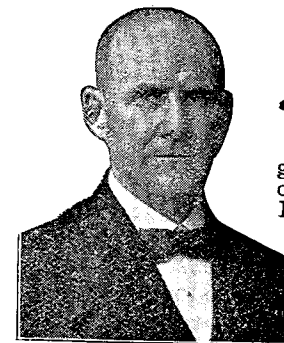
to be used in caring for soldiers or their dependents.

All of this means that Comrade Bissolati and his Reformist supporters find themselves in a hopeless minority. There is a hint as to their plans in an article recently published by Bissolati. It is entitled, "Excommunicated." The author explains that after the right of organization and free assemblage was granted to the Socialists it became necessary to adopt an entirely new system of tactics. "Now," he says, "the class-struggle which the Socialist Party had carried on against all other parties becomes a matter of bargains and treaties; for the co-operation of classes takes for granted that each party makes demands upon the others and strives to get as much for itself as possible." He then goes on to say that the Reformists have always remained true to this principle, while others, like Comrade Turati, have deserted it.

The issue, is, then, clearly drawn between Reformists and Revolutionists, and the Revolutionists are vastly in the majority.

Germany—The Election.—This department of the REVIEW goes to press just as the first reports of the German election are coming across the water. We expected a great victory, but our highest hopes have been realized. Sixty-seven of our comrades are elected on the first ballot and the Social Democrats are to take part in 109 reballotings. Their worst enemies acknowledge that their total representation in the new Reichstag will amount to more than ninety seats. In reality it is quite likely to pass the hundred mark.

The most significant thing about this landslide is the practical annihilation of the Liberal parties. Early reports give the National Liberals only one seat and the Progressives none at all. This means that out of all the parties of the German empire only three remain as actual political forces. These are: The Conservative, with 14 representatives elected on the first ballot; the Centrists with 34 elected, and the Socialists. The Conservatives control the agrarian population of central and eastern Prussia; the Centrists control the Roman Catholics of the



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west and south; the Socialists receive the support of the workers in the great industrial regions, chiefly in the central part of the empire. The modern bourgeois element in the population is left practically without direct representation.

The importance of the victory recorded on Jan. 12 can hardly be over-estimated. This campaign has been the hardest fought in recent German history. The government and the capitalist parties have been trying desperately to turn back the tide of working-class power, and the Socialists have been working over-time to make sure that all the labor of agitation and organization is really made to count at the ballot box.

The great issue is the matter of taxes and armaments. In 1907, it will be remembered, a Socialist "defeat" was reported from Germany. It turned out that vote of the party increased about 300,000, amounting in all to about 3,300,000. But the number of Socialist representatives in the Reichstag was practically cut in two. Altogether there were returned 43 Socialists. To this number 10 have been added at by reflections during the past five years. The total number of Socialists in the Reichstag at the close of the last session was, then, 53. The fact that the number of representatives was cut down in spite of the increase in the vote is due to the rotten borough system of Germany. The electoral districts were arranged in 1871 and have not been rearranged since. Most of the great industrial centers in which Socialism is strongest have been developed since that time. Berlin, which is solidly Socialist, has the ridiculously small representation of six deputies.

The election of 1907 resulted in the formation of the so-called "Hottentot" bloc, a combination of land-holding conservatives and Bourgeois Liberals. When the vital problems of taxation were up for solution this combination could not hold. The land-holding "Junkers" refused to consider the industrial needs of big business. A new combination of Conservatives and Clericals was patched up. Because of the tax which it placed on whisky this combination came to be called the "Schnapps" bloc.

When the Emperor received the news that the Socialists were defeated he made

a patriotic address to his dear subjects. He told them that he was sure they would continue in the way upon which they had just entered. From that time on all Germans would be united against all the world in support of their government and their Emperor.

It is to be hoped that his Majesty remembers this address. For the course of government during the past five years has been such as to produce anything but unity. The new government was pledged to levy no new taxes. But the first thing it did was to introduce and push through a tax law providing for tremendously increased burdens. These were made necessary by constantly increased expenditures for army and navy. During the five years the increase in cost of armaments has amounted to almost 100,000,000 marks a year. To raise the sums expended it was necessary to tax everything in sight. The conservatives refused to support an income tax law, so the money had to be raised by levying on beer, whisky, tobacco, groceries,—practically everything, in short, that a poor family uses. On this account the crisis due to the high cost of living is unusually acute in Germany.

In other ways the government has been the worst sort of a class government imaginable. The criminal law has been revised so as to make the work of organizing labor unions and carrying on strikes much more difficult than it was. The workingmen's insurance law was amended for the worse. Foreign affairs were so managed as to keep the nation in constant fear of foreign war.

Against all this our German comrades have carried on a constant agitation. To an American the propaganda carried on seems monotonously one-sided. The one effort of it all has been to show that the government is a ruthless class government. There has been nothing like the general presentation of Socialist principles to which we are accustomed in this country. Perhaps this is no longer necessary in the old Fatherland. At any rate the anti-class-government campaign has been a great success. For every by-election has shown Socialist gains. Every new one which has taken place has revealed to the capitalists that their high-

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handed procedure was hurrying them to certain defeat.

Under the circumstances there has been but one thing to do. That one thing they have done with a vengeance. The old war drum has been brought out and beat till it nearly burst. There are not wanting those who maintain that the whole struggle with France over Morocco was arranged to make German voters forget what they had suffered. From the first of July down to the present moment every paper in Germany, except those run by the Socialists, has been dinning into the ears of electors that the expansion of the Fatherland, the glory of God, and everything else good and great, can be obtained only by supporting the government in its policy of aggression against the other powers. This means, of course, the granting of ever increased military budgets and all that goes with violent militarism. The election was nicely timed so as to come just when Germans might be supposed to be fired with enthusiasm over the cession of new territory on the Congo.

But all the best laid plans have gone for naught. It is true, of course, that the Conservatives and Centrists will probably be able to make another combination and control the government for the next five years. But the Socialist party has gained about a million votes. It has now more than four millions in all. It is far and away the largest party in the Empire. The days of militarism and exploitations are coming to an end.

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The Labor Struggle

IF President Abraham Rosenberg, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, doesn't watch out he is going to be excommunicated or have his ears cut off or something. In commenting on the what-the-hell-do-we-care verdict of the New York capitalist court which on December 27 last freed Harris and Blanck from all responsibility for the murder of 147 workers in the Triangle fire, Rosenberg is quoted in the *New York Call* of December 29 as follows:

"Personally, I advocate that workingmen and unions of these workingmen take this matter of safety in their own hands. The workers should refuse to work in any shop which is not safe. The union should look after each and every shop and wherever it finds that a shop is not safe it should call the workers out on strike immediately."

What Rosenberg advocates here is nothing more or less than *direct action*—that is, action taken by the workers themselves without waiting for a parliamentary representative to do it for them. And Rosenberg is a member of the Socialist party and is deliberately using a Socialist party organ to air his heretical views in! We wish to warn President Rosenberg to please, please be careful. For advocating just such procedure in certain cases this journal has got itself in very, very dutch with certain influential persons. Let him take heed.

There seems to be some little stir over the fact that Peter W. Collins, secretary of the Electrical Workers, is going a-ramping around and charging the Socialists with sheep-stealing and other immoralities. Let not your hearts be troubled, brethren. Pete is only one of these skates that occasionally bob up to disgrace the labor movement and nobody takes him seriously except his fellow officials of the Militia of Christ, and they none too much.

The McNamara confessions gave the capitalists a chance to get the bit in their teeth and they're now running wild. Let 'em run. The jerk will be all the harder when they reach the end of the rope. But

somebody should decorate with the Order of Prize Ass those army and navy men who gave out that Gompers-befouling-the-flag yarn. Class hatred blazed so clearly through that story that even the more solemn capitalist newspapers made haste to apologize editorially for it. Poor old Gompers fell for it, though, and seized the opportunity to get off something about his "patriotism." Tip for organized labor: Hereafter when accused of dynamiting, arise and sing, "My country, 'tis of thee!"

Machinists of the Portsmouth, Va., navy yard struck the first week in January because they suspected that the Taylor speed-up or scientific management system was being put in. That's no way to beat the game. Scientific management is coming to stay, sooner or later, and it is just as foolish to try to stop it as it is to try to block the introduction of improved machinery. Scientific management is simply a scheme to extract more surplus value out of the workers. The only way to beat it is to shorten the hours.

Rumors continue to spread concerning a possible strike of giant proportions in the coal fields when the agreements expire on the last day of March. Both the anthracite and bituminous miners are bent on having a wage increase. Meantime the operators are heaping up great piles of coal against the day of possible shortage. So the operators, with plenty of coal on hand, can afford to say to the men: "Now go ahead and strike. We're perfectly willing to match the mountains of coal, which you have so kindly heaped up for us in advance, against your half-filled bellies!" That's what "agreements" amount to. They invariably play into the bosses' hands. Wonder, too, if a strike does occur, whether the engineers will very considerably be left to keep the pumps going so that the mines won't be flooded. That has happened in the past. Could anything be more ridiculous than the spectacle of striking men protecting the property of the bosses?

One hundred foremen who stayed on the job during the strike of the section men on the Lackawanna Railroad last summer have been rewarded by the grateful company to the tune of \$20 each. Judas sold Christ for thirty pieces of silver. These men sold out their fellow slaves for twenty.

The Austrian State Railways, through the Minister of Railways, recently refused to recognize a committee of railroad workers which called to present a demand for redress of grievances. Oh, you government ownership!

It is very probable that the founders of the little town of Muscatine, Iowa, never once thought that it would go down in history as one of the great battlefields in the class struggle in America. The nine button manufacturers whose brutality to their employes has kept the entire town in a state of upheaval for many months have begun to exhibit symptoms of hydrophobia. They celebrated the new year by causing the arrest of Oliver C. Wilson, business agent of the striking button workers and a Socialist councilman, and of Emmet Flood, organizer for the A. F. of L., charging them with acid throwing and other horrible crimes. The working class of Muscatine will remember the lessons learned in this war. They are not likely to agree again to compromise "settlements" with employers, and next time they will elect a complete Socialist ticket so as to keep the police clubs off their heads.

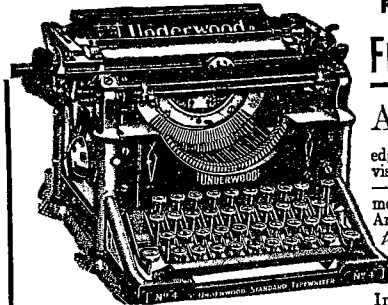
The Men and Religion Forward Movement, which is financed by Wall street capitalists and offers dividends payable in the Sweet Bye and Bye, started in Minneapolis. Not to be outdone, Minneapolis labor men have gotten up a Union Labor Forward Movement and intend to hold some gospel meetings for the benefit of the unorganized in April. 'Tis a good idea. None of us are sure what we are going to get in the Hereafter, but we are pretty darned certain that more pay and shorter hours would taste mighty good Right Now.

Law is sacred only to the workers. Whenever they please, the capitalists make sport of it and on certain occasions they contemptuously shove it aside. Such is the case in Aberdeen, Wash., where "citizens of the highest standing" have beaten and driven members of the Industrial Workers of the World out of town. On

the night of November 24 about thirty men who had persisted in clinging to their constitutional right of free speech, were taken to the city limits and told to "beat it." "This is not the law," they were told. "This is the will of the citizens of Aberdeen." Aberdeen is a swamp inhabited by wage-slaves and dominated by the lumber trust. Some day the working class will learn the lessons in "respect for law and order" that their masters have taught them. Then somebody else will be "beating it."

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NEWS AND VIEWS



ALL REDS.
Brewer. Mrs. Foley. Debs.
Con Foley. Gurley Flynn.

Con Foley Indicted. The grand jury returned an indictment against Comrade Con Foley of Pottsville, Pa., charging him with inciting to riot. Review readers will recall the story published in the July number about the strike at the Coombe Garment Company at Minersville. It will be remembered that Gurley Flynn, Gene Debs and Con Foley addressed the striking girls and women and that Comrade Foley stayed right on the job to show the girls how to win. Of course he told them to organize into One Big Union and to stand together. The employers found that the girls were eager to listen to the socialist speaker, who has been known in every corner of Pennsylvania for a good many years as the man who is always ready to help in any working class skirmish. When the girls in the Coombe employ effected a general tie-up in the factory, Coombe threatened to move his plant to Brooklyn. But he didn't, although he issued the following proclamation:

After a period of twelve years uninterrupted operation at our factory in Minersville and during which time the best of good feeling between the employees and the management prevailed, we now find ourselves confronted with a condition which necessitates our closing down indefinitely.

Why? Because one person gloating with vanity has managed to terrorize a portion of our employees. He has used force and to attempt to continue work would be to endanger the lives of our employees and outside persons which we have no desire to do.

The management begs to notify the 200 or more faithful employees who were anxious and willing to work and who were prevented by intimidation and threats, to seek work elsewhere, as our factory will remain closed until Con Foley withdraws from the issue.

THE COOMBE GARMENT CO.,
Minersville, Pa.

But Con Foley refused to withdraw. He kept right on with his splendid work of organization and education among the girls

until a new spirit of solidarity awoke among them and they became imbued with a desire to have something to say about the conditions under which they worked and the pay they should receive for their labor power. A man may be known by the enemies he makes and Con Foley stands before the workers of Pennsylvania as a fearless advocate for revolutionary political action and industrial unionism. Workers cannot remain docile and hear the ringing words of Comrade Foley. For this reason the Coombe people are determined to "get him." Contributions for the Foley Defense Fund should be sent to Joe B. Schublino, 505 Hotel street, Pottsville, Pa. Don't lay this magazine aside till you have contributed something to the defense of this splendid proletarian fighter.

The Injunction Again. Comrade Con Foley gave a most interesting talk on the injunction secured by Coombe Garment Company of Schuylkill county, Pa., against their employes, at the Haywood meeting held in Pottsville on the 24th. The following is a quotation from the injunction: "It is ordered that a preliminary injunction issue against the defendants, Albert Morris, Paul Shellakas, William McClay, William Hammer, Edward McClure, Anthony McClusky, Thomas Orff, Tillie Atkinson, Tillie Hinkle, Dora Orff, and all their agents, servants and employes, as well as persons combining and conspiring with them, their associates and confederates, and all other persons whomsoever, known or unknown, be hereby enjoined and commanded absolutely to desist and to refrain from in any way or manner interfering with the employes of the plaintiff and with any person or persons who may hereafter offer or desire to enter its employ, by the use of threats, intimidation, personal violence, opprobrious epithets, ridicule, or other unlawful means calculated or intended to induce any such person or persons to leave the employment of the plaintiff, and also from calling opprobrious names or epithets to persons passing along the streets or going to or from the works of the plaintiff and who are in the employ or about to enter the employ of the said plaintiff, or any member or members of the families of such persons.

"They are also ordered and enjoined from picketing or loitering on the premises of said plaintiff, or congregating about or in the neighborhood of the same, or on the highways or streets of the borough of Minersville, county of Schuylkill aforesaid, for the purpose of unlawfully intimidating or interfering with the employes of the plaintiff or with such persons as desire to enter its employ, and from individually or collectively attempting to prevent any persons by the means aforesaid, who may desire to enter its employ, from so doing, and from giving any directions or orders to committees, associates or others for the perform-

ance of any such acts hereby enjoined, and from in any manner whatever impeding, obstructing or interfering with the regular and unrestrained operation and conduct and management of the business of the plaintiff, or employees now in the employ of the plaintiff, or that may be hereafter employed by it, and from in any manner interfering with plaintiff's property to the detriment of plaintiff, and from combining and conspiring to do any of the acts hereby enjoined.

"It is further ordered that the aforesaid injunction shall be in force and binding upon all the defendants hereinbefore named, their associates and confederates, and upon all other persons whomsoever who are not named herein, from and after the time when such other persons shall have knowledge of the entry of this order."

Whatever we may have believed, it is easy to see that the days of kings have not yet passed away. But be sure, Comrade Foley told his hearers how to do away with them. The Haywood meeting was reported the very biggest kind of a success.

Growth in Rochester, Pa. Comrade Lindner writes that the Haywood and La Monte meetings in Rochester were a big success. Also that the local has grown to 238 members. They have started a study club, which will begin with "Shop Talks on Economics" this winter.

"We have started a study club and are using Shop Talks to begin with. Took in 41 members last month; got six more last evening for this month. At the end of last month had 196 paid to date and 238 members all told. Have sold over 30 Reviews for December. C. H. Lindner, Pennsylvania.

From Puyallup, Wash. Morris Hillquit criticised and misrepresented Haywood and Bohn's booklet, "Industrial Socialism," his criticisms being prominently published by part of the Socialist press. Local Puyallup, Wash., in regular meeting, Dec. 6, 1911, proposed that the National Party platform be amended by adding the words "through the use of any weapon that will win the fight, politically or industrially," to the next to last paragraph in the principles, making said paragraph read as follows: "In the struggle for freedom the interests of all modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only national, but international. It embraces the world, and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world through the use of any weapon that will win the fight politically or industrially." Signed by R. E. Danner, W. R. Caple. From Comrade C. W. Garrett.

Donating a Library. The comrades of the local at Salida, Colo., ordered a \$15.00 library, consisting of Kerr & Co.'s books, last month, which they have donated to the public library for that city. These books will probably reach more readers than they would in any other way. We hope the other locals that contemplate such action will write us for special prices. We will do our part here.

REVOLT

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ARTICLES by William English Walling, Frank Bohn, Ed Moore, Jack London, William D. Haywood, Eugene V. Debs, Rose Pastor Stokes, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Austin Lewis, William McDewitt, Anna Strunsky Walling, Charles Edward Russell and many other writers of note. The editorials by Cloudesley Johns already have attracted widespread attention, and should be read by every one interested in the real development of the proletarian revolution. Address all communications to

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PURITANISM

What is the economic basis for the demand, which we see occasionally cropping out even now, to limit the length of a girl's bathing suit by law?

Perhaps you have never thought of it, but the pious horror of a short bathing suit is closely related to early rising, political reform, Sunday baseball games, religious revivals, the "double standard of morality," the nude in art, woman suffrage, and the consumption of

MINCE PIE

If such a statement seems to you far-fetched, then you will derive instruction as well as enjoyment from a close reading of Clarence Meily's new book, "Puritanism," which is just off the press.

This little book will enable the American people, and the British as well, to understand themselves as they never have before, because we have inherited a large share of our ideas from our Puritan ancestors. It presents a fascinating study in that theory which has done so much to make clear to Socialists the meaning of life—the theory, nay, the fact, that the way people make their living largely determines their notions of what is right and moral and proper. No American should fail to read this book. It will enable him to understand the history of this country better than a library full of ordinary text books. It will clean out of his brain any remaining infection left there by past teachings and will enable him to see clearly through problems out of which our capitalist-minded lawmakers, preachers, professors, and editors are making a mess. A reading of this book will forever prevent any Socialist legislator from meddling with middle class "moral reforms." Attractively bound in cloth and well printed. Price, 50 cents postpaid.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY,
118 West Kinzie St., Chicago.

Approves the Review. I am only a new subscriber to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, but have been on the firing line of the Socialist movement since the organization of the Patriots of America, in which we both took part. I always wished to subscribe for the REVIEW, but the demand for money at so many different points seemed to take all I could spare. I write to tell you that I am in full sympathy with the policy of the REVIEW. After seeing the Hunter motion and the attack of Hillquit and Spargo on your policies, I concluded that I must have overlooked something and had not gotten to the bottom of the policy of the REVIEW. So I have just re-read the numbers I have at hand, and very carefully, too, and will say that if they oust you from the Party and put the REVIEW off the Socialist list on charges of anarchy, they can expel me, too, on the same grounds. I am only one of the rank and file, but I have membership cards to the S. P. for nine years back, and have paid in donations hundreds of dollars besides in that time. To say I am disgusted with the reform tactics of the Socialist leaders in some localities, where they have won out, notably in Milwaukee, is putting it mildly. But it has come to pass that a worker has no chance to air his views in the Socialist press as the space is all taken up by the "Honorable" and others too numerous to mention. I am surprised that the REVIEW is not among the rest of the press in this foolishness. Keep up the fight. I believe the rank and file are with you. Yours for a revolutionary S. P.

JAMES ETTIEN, Nebraska.

Encouraged His Newsdealer. I had a newsdealer here order some REVIEWS from you about three months ago, and find that he is not only selling all he gets, but runs out before he fills the demand for them. I made him the proposition that he order them, and all he did not sell I would take at cost. Have not had to take any from him yet, except the one that I always buy for myself. Comrade Cook, Waco, Texas.

Will Not Miss the Review. Space will not permit me to do your grand fighting magazine justice. It is a Sampson among the Philistines. It is slaying ignorance, prejudice and mental stupor. I think so well of your magazine that I shall try to get some subscribers for you. Enclosed find postoffice order for a year's renewal, for which please send on your "special offer," "Class Struggle" and "Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome." Comrade Smith, Ossian, Ind.

Another Boost. After looking over the January REVIEW. I made up my mind that it was so good, especially Gene Debs' review of the McNamara case, and Gustavus Myers' exposure of the gigantic land steals in Texas, that I positively will not do without the REVIEW from henceforth. I have succeeded in getting you a new subscriber by just showing him the magazine. Please put aside one copy of the January number, as he promised me the

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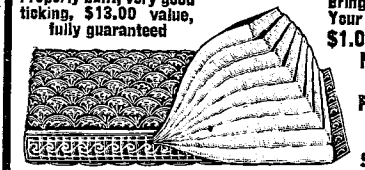


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\$1.00 some time after New Year's day, when he gets his wages. He is a Socialist and a machinist. Comrade Nehl, Clarington, Ohio.

In Favor of Industrial Unionism. The following resolution was passed by Local No. 72, International Union of Steam Engineers, in regular session December 7, 1911, that the methods heretofore used by organized labor in its struggle to free the workers from exploitation do not now meet the requirements of the class struggle. Also, that the capitalists have already organized the workers into vast industrial armies which take in all men and women of all crafts as well as unskilled laborers, and that the interests of all these workers are identical and opposed to the interests of the capitalist class, and be it further resolved that the changed conditions in the industrial field now demand that these industrial armies of workers should be organized into industrial unions, taking in all men and women employed in each respective industry; be it further resolved, that we request all unions in the American Federation of Labor to either endorse these resolutions or draw up similar ones, thereby lending their aid in bringing into existence a more effective and harmonious organization, with which to fight the battles of the working class.

Like Haywood. Comrade Haywood delivered a lecture in the Swisher Theater to about 500 people. His lecture was great, and everybody was well pleased. He received much applause. He gave us the straight goods, straight from the shoulder. Haywood is all right. All of us comrades fell in love with him. Comrade Beckett, Morgantown, W. Va.

Longmont Expresses Appreciation. I am surprised to see Comrade Hunter's motion to call a meeting of the N. E. C. and appoint a committee of three to investigate Kerr & Company's business. Local Longmont holds a share in the Kerr publishing house (through O. M. Williamson), and we never have had and cause to call on the comrades "higher up" to investigate for us. The comrade don't seem to have any regard for the truth whatever when he makes the charge that the REVIEW stands against Marxism. Some time ago it run a series of articles on Marxism, by Mary E. Marcy, that contained more Marxism than the "Socialist at Work," by Hunter. Jan. 31, 1911, Haywood lectured here, and we sold 344 admission tickets, each good for a three months' subscription to the REVIEW. Kerr paid \$25.00 for hall rent and furnished advertising matter and 200 copies of the REVIEW gratis. All we paid was \$86.10. What Haywood receives per night is no more of my business than it is the N. E. C., but the difference here between facts and fiction is \$250.00—\$86.10 equals \$163.90. It seems like the meddlesome comrades would learn a lesson and not be prying into other people's business just to satisfy their own curiosity. Perhaps it would be best to take Comrade Hunter's advice and dispense with all high-priced subscription lec-

tures and economize—save our money for international congresses and national conventions where the comrades "higher up" can do the emancipation act at a great banquet of wind jamming. Comrade Knight, Longmont Colorado.

P. S.—I wrote to the Open Forum of the *Daily Socialist* something near the same as I am sending you, and they would not publish it, so I am writing this, that the Norton Hights comrades can have the same committee to investigate the *Daily* and save expense, as they are guilty of what he charges the REVIEW with—*suppressing the truth*. But, of course, the *Daily* does that in the interest of the Party (?).

Unchloroformed. I have been a constant reader of your uncompromising and revolutionary REVIEW since 1902, and have not missed a number. There was a time that I did not have the means to subscribe; then I bought at a news stand or the local here. I would advise any dues-paying member of the party to subscribe and read the REVIEW, as it is the best we have to keep us informed of the industrial and political situation of the world, and gets the reformed, or rather chloroformed, ideas out of their heads, also the "immediate demand" ideas. The time is now ripe to break away from such an outgrown and crawfish labor movement as the "pure and simplers" and advocate industrial unionism as the economic wing and the Socialist Party as the political wing of Industrial Democracy "Peace Dove." Comrade Hofman, Indianapolis, Ind.

Lassoed Five More. Have lassoed five others besides myself on your special offer for the REVIEW, the hottest and most "up to now" magazine in the U. S. I have not missed an issue in two years and hope to never miss another. So please note the following live wires and surcharge them each month for the next twelve with condensed electroration, THE REVIEW. Comrade Tucker, Forest, Texas.

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Special prices to readers of this magazine.

Refuse to Petition Capitalists. To the Members of the National Executive Committee and the National Secretary—Comrades: We are in receipt of your favor of Dec. 1 and are much surprised to learn that, at this late date, the National Executive Committee has discovered a new way to end the class struggle. It is simply to ignore class lines and unite the business men and the workers, capitalists and wage slaves, upon the political field to work together for the working class, or, perhaps, we should say for Comrade Berger's old age pension bill, with all its miserable inadequacies.

The method is to unite all classes in a petition to the republican and democratic senators and representatives. This has truly the merit of simplicity. If it is an adequate method, it saves all the trouble of electing men to office on the Socialist ticket, unless, indeed, it be necessary, under this method, to have one Socialist in Congress.

We might carry the argument further. But it seems to us that the method has been sufficiently exploited by the working class. Didn't the capitalist class, headed by Judge Gray, settle the miners' great strike? Wasn't Gompers brilliantly successful in begging at the fountain head—the republican and democratic conventions? To be sure, he lost out at the former and supposedly won at the latter, but the result was the same.

This brings us to the second great advantage of the begging methods—it is all the same whether you win or lose; the workers can't tell the difference when it comes to estimating the benefits.

Under this new system, new as a Socialist tactic, all we would really need would be a National Executive Committee to tell us when to stand up on our hind legs and beg like curs.

The members of the N. E. C. are educated persons. Can they tell us of an instance in history when a slave class secured its emancipation by respectfully petitioning its masters?

To us, the class struggle is a stern reality. The capitalist class understands and fears class-consciousness. Congressman Sherwood of this district has announced that during the next session of Congress some labor legislation will be passed because Congress is frightened at the growing Socialist vote. Do you understand? Congress is not influenced by our petitions, our prayers, but by our votes. It is our free, independent, class-conscious political action that moves them, not odious, antiquated begging.

"Workers of the world, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain." This does not mean unite with your masters.

We do not expect anything from the capitalist class or their representatives, except what we can force from them by the manifestation of our power. If it is proper to petition them on the political field for old age pensions, then, logically, we should pray to them on the industrial field, "Give us this day our daily bread."

Local Toledo hopes that the N. E. C. and the National Secretary will know better in the future. Fraternaly, committee, Thos. Bragg,

Edward P. Farrell, Josephine Bates. (Ordered sent to the Socialist press by Local Toledo, O.)

Likes the Review. I notice the attacks made on the REVIEW and its staff by the narrow-minded Socialist politicians, which in my estimation is a disgrace. As a true exponent of Revolutionary Socialism, the REVIEW stands out as the foremost, and I won't trade the REVIEW for the whole bunch of Socialist periodicals published in the U. S. Go right ahead with the good work. The working class wants bread, and not political jobs. The I. S. R. is the right thing for me and my fellow slaves. Yours for the revolution, A Lazier, 1195 Beaubien street, Detroit, Mich.

New National Executive Committee Elected. The election of a new National Executive Committee for the Socialist Party for the year 1912 resulted in the choice of the following members by the vote shown below:

Victor L. Berger.....	20,614
Job Harriman.....	14,995
Wm. D. Haywood.....	11,486
Morris Hillquit.....	9,696
Alexander Irvine.....	9,114
Kate Richards O'Hare.....	8,913
John Spargo.....	7,719

The Socialist Argument

One of the newest of our books for Socialist propaganda. In a quiet, easy style it analyzes the defects, the absurdities, the cruelties and oppression which are inseparable from the capitalist system and points out how the Socialists propose to cure and eliminate the evils of present day society. As the title of the book indicates, it takes up the whole Socialist argument, point by point, and presses it home by the force of irresistible logic. The decay of capitalism and the hopelessness of mere reform are discussed in detail and the inevitability of

THE COMING CHANGE

is forcefully stated. The stock objections to Socialism are given a hearing and then their foolishness and futility are exposed in such a fashion that no one can miss the point.

The author, Charles C. Hitchcock, is an old student of economics and social conditions. He knows his ground thoroughly and he knows how to make his arguments convincing.

There is no better book to hand to your stand-pat friend who declares he is satisfied with present conditions and pronounces Socialism "visionary" and "impracticable." It is just the book to hand to the acquaintance who admits there is "something in" Socialism but declares that its contentions lack cohesion and constructive logic.

It is exceptionally well written in a lucid and entertaining style. Its topics are admirably arranged and its chapters are so subdivided as to make easy reading. It will afford a pleasant and instructive hour or two to even the chronic opponent of the Socialist philosophy. Neatly and attractively bound in cloth and of a size that will readily admit of its being carried in the overcoat pocket. Well printed on paper of excellent quality. Price, \$1.00, postpaid.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY

118 W. Kinzie Street, - - CHICAGO

Butte Miners' Union. A striking illustration of the class-conscious intelligence of workmen was exhibited in the recent election of officers for the Butte Miners' Union, of Butte, Mont. While no sharply defined contest was made over the economic theories of the candidates for office, the significant fact remains that every official elected is a militant socialist, and a member of the Socialist Party.

To those who are laboring under the impression that there is an overwhelming opposition to socialism, and the socialists, in the ranks of organized labor on the industrial field, this may come as a shock. The last ballot of the union was concluded late on the night of Dec. 7. Here are the results:

President—George Curry, who succeeds himself in office.

Vice-President—John Driscoll.

Recording Secretary—Joe Little.

Secretary-Treasurer—M. J. Cleary.

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer—Max Marvin.

Warden—Charles Actis.

Conductor—Manus Duggan.

Finance Committee—William Powell, Frank Auxier, John Koich.

There it is. Every one of them a socialist. That is, every one of them understands that they, the miners, must own the mines before they can get what they produce or the equivalent thereof. That, to accomplish this, calls for united effort on the part of the workers against the shirkers—who are now the owners.

But this is not all. Every one of these men is a member of the Socialist Party, thus avowing his belief and his desire.

All hail to the Butte Miners' Union. Here is a body of men who know what they want and are not afraid to stand and demand it. The best evidence of this fact is the acknowledged view of the men whom they have elected to office.

When the day comes which the socialists are striving for—when the miners own the mines, the mill operatives own the mills, and the railroaders own the railroads—then, indeed, will a new world be born. Then no more will the miner skimp and starve in a world of plenty. No more will he work long shifts with thousands barred from work. No more will he face a terrible and tragic death by entombment, or a slowly protracted one from the great white plague.

In that day—when the miners own the mines—there will be work for all and plenty for all. Then the mines will be governed as the union is now governed—by the miners, for the miners, and in the interest of the miners.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

THIS month we have enlarged the REVIEW by adding sixteen pages of reading matter and pictures. To maintain this enlarged size for a year will involve an extra expense of at least three thousand dollars—more than the total net earnings of the publishing house during the year 1911. If YOU like the enlarged REVIEW and want it to continue, send a dollar for a year's subscription. Perhaps you think you are helping us just as much if you buy a copy from month to month. This is not the case. The wholesale price which we receive on bundles of the REVIEW barely pays the cost of manufacture and handling. The cost of editorial work, articles and pictures, in the case of a capitalist magazine is paid by the advertisers. Few of them will pay money to a Socialist magazine, and consequently we must depend mainly on the dollar a year from each regular reader. If you want the REVIEW to live and grow, send on your dollar and get others to do the same.

Annual Stockholders' Meeting.—The annual meeting of the stockholders of Charles H. Kerr & Company was held at 118 West Kinzie street, Chicago, on Jan. 15, at 4 p. m. Out of the 3,697 shares of stock which have been issued, 2,507 were represented at the meeting either by the share-holders or by proxies. Among those present were Dr. J. H. Greer, Marcus Hitch, J. O. Bentall, Leslie H. Marcy, Alfred D. Schoch, Charles Roux, Mrs. Winnie E. Branstetter, Phillips Russell and Harry B. Fish. Charles H. Kerr presided and Mary E. Marcy acted as secretary. Charles H. Kerr presented the following

ANNUAL REPORT TO THE STOCKHOLDERS OF
CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY.

The year 1911 has been the most successful in the history of the publishing house. The financial report for the year will be more easily understood if we first give the figures on book sales and on REVIEW subscriptions, sales and advertising receipts for the last five years. These figures are as follows:

YEAR.	BOOK SALES.	REVIEW RECEIPTS.
1907	\$22,169.31	\$ 2,533.26
1908	23,102.45	4,542.26
1909	20,992.05	10,913.54
1910	33,586.89	14,662.53
1911	39,463.44	23,780.31

It will be seen that there has been a steady and gradual increase of book sales, except for the year 1909, when there was a slump due in great part to the discouragement caused by the failure of the party to show the gains expected at the election of 1908. On the other hand the receipts of the REVIEW, which had been stagnant for seven years, started in 1908 upon a period of rapid growth which still continues. This increase in receipts has an important bearing on the question of whether the REVIEW has been of late edited in accordance with the wishes of the membership.

Now for the receipts and expenditures for the year 1911. They are:

RECEIPTS.	
Book sales.....	\$39,463.44
REVIEW subscriptions and sales.....	22,006.03
REVIEW advertising.....	1,774.28
Donations	33.00
Total	\$63,276.75

EXPENDITURES.	
Manufacture of books.....	\$13,752.48
Manufacture of REVIEW.....	12,232.16
Wages	9,876.28
Postage and expressage.....	9,465.78
Advertising	7,632.43
REVIEW circulation expenses.....	1,386.76
REVIEW articles and photographs.....	1,032.16
Authors of books.....	1,903.25
Books purchased.....	631.53
Rent	1,160.00
Insurance	85.80
Taxes	195.20
Miscellaneous expenses.....	1,483.68
Interest	198.05
Profit	2,241.19

Total

The profits of \$2,241.19, together with \$1,220 received during the year from the sale of stock, were used to pay off a bank loan of \$1,000 and to reduce the loans from stockholders. The financial condition of the publishing house at the end of 1911 is shown by the following table of assets and liabilities.

ASSETS.	
Cash on hand and in bank.....	\$ 367.24
Books, bound and unbound.....	8,308.22
Electrotype plates of books.....	14,258.76
Copyrights	12,831.39
INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.....	5,000.00
Accounts receivable.....	695.95
Office furniture.....	539.00
Total	\$42,000.56
LIABILITIES.	
Paid-up capital stock.....	\$36,970.00
Loans from stockholders.....	4,610.79
Accounts payable.....	419.77
Total	\$42,000.56

One loan of \$500 has already been paid since the beginning of January, and others will have to be paid in the near future, so that most of the net earnings of the publishing house during 1912 will have to be used in this way. However, we expect at once to take an advance step already long under consideration, and to enlarge the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW to 84 pages, with the hope of a further enlargement to 100 pages before the end of 1912. We start the year with a circulation of 42,000; we aim to end it with a circulation of 100,000.

Our Investigation by the Party.—On a motion introduced by Robert Hunter, the National Committee of the Socialist party has voted to elect a committee of three to investigate this publishing house. Since some of our stockholders may not be fully informed regarding some of the points raised by Robert Hunter, it may be worth while to discuss them briefly.

1. Is this a Co-operative Enterprise?—It is co-operative in that nearly two-thirds of its capital has been subscribed in sums of \$10 each by people who desired in this way to supply themselves and others with the literature of International Socialism at cost. Our financial report for 1911 shows that we are carrying out their wishes, since the slight profit earned on the year's business is barely enough to cover the risk of unavoidable losses in the future. In our circulars and advertisements, soliciting stock subscriptions, we have constantly taken pains to make it clear that no dividends were promised.

2. Who Owns the Shares?—I personally own 1,137 out of 3,697. About 360 shares are held in blocks of from 2 to 38 by friends and former business associates

of mine, some of them Socialists, others not. About 400 are held by Socialist Party Locals of the United States, Great Britain, Canada and other English-speaking countries. The remaining 1800 shares are owned by as many different individuals, who subscribed for their stock at different times, all the way from 1893 to 1911. How many of them are at present members of the Socialist party no one knows. My guess would probably be as good as any, and my best guess is that half of them are members.

3. Have We a Monopoly of Socialist Literature?—The bulletin of the Socialist Lyceum Lecture Bureau, published by the the National Office of the Socialist party, contains the titles of 103 volumes retailing at 25 cents or more; of these 67 are published by us. In other words we publish about two thirds of the volumes which the party officials find available to sell at Socialist meetings. This simply means that we have been doing what we promised to do when our stockholders paid for their shares. There was nothing to prevent capitalist publishers from bringing out Socialist books if they had wanted to have the literature of real International Socialism circulated, but they do not. There has been nothing to prevent other Socialist publishers from circulating books, and as a matter of fact they are beginning to do so. We have ten times as many manuscripts offered us as we can possibly use. In our choice we have two things to consider. First, will the book probably have a sale which will cover the cost of publication together with the price asked by the author for the manuscript? Second, will its circulation help on the working-class revolution? A few mistakes in answering the first question would ruin the publishing house, while a series of mistakes in answering the second question would make Charles H. Kerr & Company more useful to the capitalist class than to the working class.

4. Who Is to Control?—This publishing house is organized under the corporation law of the State of Illinois, this being the only practicable way to carry on a publishing business unless owned by a single individual or a few partners. Hunter's published statement that every

dollar of its capital has been given by the party is wholly untrue. The capital was furnished by the people who elect the board of directors from year to year. The board whose term of office expires today was elected by an absolutely unanimous vote of all stockholders present in person or by proxy. I have been and am responsible to the directors and through them to the stockholders. It is worth nothing that in spite of the wide advertising given to the attack on us by Robert Hunter, scarcely any letters endorsing his position have been received at this office. If re-elected, I hope to continue our work on the lines which have already proved successful.

5. The Policy of the Review.—Previous to the year 1908 the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW was edited in a way to please college professors rather than workers. Its editorial policy was uncertain; it offended few and delighted no one. Its receipts were far below its expenses; it was a heavy drain on the resources of the publishing house. Since the beginning of 1908 we have made a few bitter enemies and a host of loyal friends. In future, as in the past, we shall frankly and fearlessly apply to each new situation the principles of International Socialism as we understand them. Fundamentally, we stand for the fighting working class in its struggle against organized capital. We support the Socialist party and we urge all revolutionists to support it, because we believe that in America today the Socialist party is the best weapon for the working class to use. But we propose to criticise any official or other member of the Socialist party who seems to us to be try-

ing to divert it from its revolutionary work into a petty and futile chase after votes and offices. Our vote from year to year should be a reliable index of our progress in making Socialists who want capitalism destroyed and will be content with nothing less.

REPORT UNANIMOUSLY ACCEPTED.

On motion of Dr. J. H. Greer, the report was unanimously accepted and placed on file; a vote of confidence in the president of the publishing house was also passed unanimously.

Election of Directors.—It was moved to re-elect the present board of directors, with the exception of Comrade R. H. Chaplin, who had moved away from Chicago, and is consequently unable to attend meetings. The motion included the name of Mary E. Marcy for the place thus made vacant, and it was passed without a single dissenting vote. The other six members of the board are J. H. Greer, Marcus Hitch, Walter Huggins, Charles H. Kerr, Leslie H. Marcy and Charles Roux.

Investigation Welcomed.—A motion was then unanimously passed welcoming the proposed investigation on the part of the National Committee of the Socialist party, and instructing the directors to co-operate with the sub-committee of the party in getting at the facts involved in the investigation. The meeting then adjourned.

Election of Officers.—The newly elected Board of Directors then convened, and unanimously re-elected the officers for the ensuing year: President, Charles H. Kerr; Vice-President, Marcus Hitch; Secretary, Mary E. Marcy.



The Rose Door

The Story of a House of Prostitution

by ESTELLE BAKER

It is roughly estimated that there are over 500,000 women and girls in the United States who earn their living by the sale of their bodies. Much has been written about "the oldest of all the professions;" investigations have been made; statistics prepared; judgments pronounced and rigorous means of suppressing prostitution have been attempted—to no avail. It has remained for Socialism to discover the Cure for the Social Evil.



Miss Baker's book is not a preaching, nor a theory or a "study," but a living, gripping story of the *Actual Lives* of four Women of the Streets, with all the heart hunger, the yearning for maternity, and the sordid commercialism with which the Public Woman is always at war.

Read *The Rose Door*. Go down into the depths of pain and love and misery with your Sisters of the Street. There you will find the cause of their degradation—and the cure for the great Social Evil.

Get this book for your daughters and your sons. You need it and your neighbor will be a wiser and better man for having read it. Handsomely bound in cloth; illustrations by Ralph Chaplin.

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For 50 cents extra, or \$1.50 in all, we will include with *The Rose Door* a year's subscription to *The International Socialist Review*, the biggest, best illustrated and most *Vital* working class magazine in the world today.

The Bible reviewed in the
light of Modern Science

GOD AND MY NEIGHBOR

By

ROBERT BLATCHFORD

IS THE This is the chief subject of debate to-day between
BIBLE Christians and Scientists the world over

TRUE? Robert Blatchford says: "Is the Bible a holy and inspired book and the Word of God to man, or is it an incongruous and contradictory collection of tribal tradition and ancient fables, written by men of genius and imagination?"

Mr. Blatchford believes RELIGIONS are not REVEALED, they are EVOLVED.

"We cannot accept as the God of Creation," he writes, "this savage idol (Jehovah) of an obscure tribe, and we have renounced him and are ashamed of him, not because of any later divine revelation, but because mankind have become too enlightened to tolerate Jehovah."

"The ethical code of the Old Testament is no longer suitable as the rule of life. The moral and intellectual advance of the human race has left it behind."

CHRISTIANS declare the highest conception of God is the Christian conception of him as a Heavenly Father. "God is love," they say. To which Blatchford replies: "This is a very lofty, poetical and gratifying conception, but it is open to one fatal objection—it is not true!"

Mr. Blatchford does not believe that a divine being would need or ask for PRAYER and PRAISE.

"If you were a human father, would you rather your children praised you and neglected each other, or that brother should stand by brother, and sister cherish sister?"

GOD AND MY NEIGHBOR is not an attack upon religion. It is a study of the Bible from the scientific point of view. It is one of the most thought-provoking books of the age. It is being discussed from hundreds of platforms and in thousands of homes.

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118 West Kinzie Street, Chicago

1912 ARSENAL OF FACTS

14th
Edition

By **FRED D. WARREN**

Revised, Enlarged and brought down to date
By **W. J. GHENT**
Private Secretary to Congressman Berger

The Handbook of Ready Reference for the Socialist Speaker, the Socialist Agitator, the Socialist Soap-Boxer, the Socialist Debater

Contains more than 1,000 irrefutable facts compiled from United States statistics and other sources equally reliable. Mr. Warren has spent more than three years preparing and compiling the data for this book, and with the assistance of W. J. Ghent, who has been in Washington the past summer and fall, devoting all his available time to unearthing new facts from the congressional library and government documents, the book is now as complete as is possible for human ingenuity to bring forth.

To obtain the information contained in this little book would require months and months of hard work and study, and then you would not have it at your fingers' ends and instant command as you do when you possess the 1912 edition of the Arsenal of Facts.

This is the 14th edition—the first edition contained but 56 pages—and each successive edition has been enlarged until it now contains 144 pages, jammed full of the most vital facts absolutely necessary to the well-posted man.

The Arsenal is bound in red morocco, just fits the vest-pocket, and is indexed so that each "fact" may be instantly found.

Is constantly carried and daily used by thousands of comrades which is its best indorsement.

The Arsenal is not for sale. More than 50,000 of this wonderful book have been distributed and not one has yet been sold. To get a copy you must send us 12 subs for forty weeks, an order for 12 forty-week sub cards, or an order for a bundle of 12 copies of the Appeal for one year, with a remittance of \$3.00 in any event.

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Address All Orders to the

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How the Arsenal Grew

All good things are a growth. The best things are the result of many minds growing and working together. That is the way the Arsenal came into being.

For years questions concerning Socialism and the facts that would help the workers fight for Socialism had been coming into the APPEAL office. There were too many to be answered by mail. They were too frequently repeated and too numerous for reply in the columns of the APPEAL itself. It became evident that there was a great demand for a compilation of these questions and their answers.

When questions were received, the matter was carefully looked up, and if we were unable to find the desired information in our library, it was sent to some one who was in a position to give the data wanted.

This was the birth of the idea of the Arsenal. Then for a couple of years Comrade Warren set about finding out just what he would put into the book. The answers to the thousands of inquiries received gave him the beginning. Then he asked the half million readers of the APPEAL what they would like in such a book, and nearly every member of the APPEAL Army responded, either giving some "fact" or asking a question that made investigation necessary. Of course, hundreds of the questions were duplicated, but this only went to show just what was needed in this little book.

The best libraries were searched to get the information desired, and finally the first Arsenal appeared about three years ago.

It did not stop growing then. Every Arsenal carried a note asking every user of it to suggest improvements, and each time many suggestions were received which were incorporated in the new edition.

Fourteen editions were brought out and every one was an improvement on the predecessor. Every fact not thoroughly established was weeded out. New facts were gathered, new questions answered, and new pages added.

This year Comrade Warren decided on the greatest improvement yet. The census of 1910 is just beginning to be available. Government investigations have brought out a vast mass of new facts in the last year. A presidential campaign is at hand. In view of these conditions it was decided to completely revise the Arsenal of Facts and to bring to that revision the best assistance that could be obtained.

W. J. Ghent, private secretary to Congressman Berger, was asked to do the revising. He is located at Washington, the very center of the information that was needed, is a trained investigator and compiler of facts and careful writer. During the summer and fall that has just passed he has gathered all this new matter and carefully worked over the old, together with the matter suggested by thousands of others, and has put the whole into form for the new edition of the Arsenal, making 144 pages.

Never was so much carefully collected information, exactly suited to the purpose of a Socialist propagandist, gathered between the covers of a single volume, and that a small volume you can slip into your vest pocket.

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Can you afford to go on making statements that you know to be absolutely correct, but when proof is demanded be unable to furnish it?

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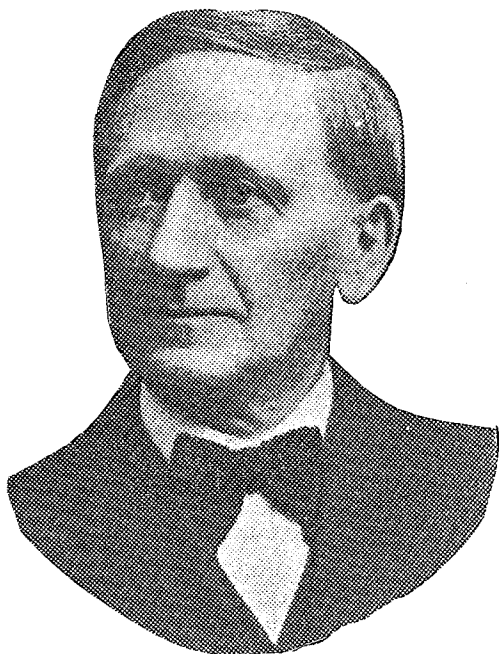
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I began using your Appliance for the cure of rupture (I had a pretty bad case) I think in May, 1905. On November 20, 1905, I quit using it. Since that time I have not needed or used it. I am well of rupture and rank myself among those cured by the Brooks Discovery, which, considering my age, 76 years, I regard as remarkable.

Very sincerely yours,
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Your Appliance did all you claim for the little boy and more, for it cured him sound and well. We let him wear it for about a year in all, although it cured him 3 months after he had begun to wear it. We had tried several other remedies and got no relief, and I shall certainly recommend it to friends, for we surely owe it to you. Yours respectfully,

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City

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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW



THE BATTLE FOR BREAD AT LAWRENCE

What Debs Says

ABOUT OUR THREE NEW PROPAGANDA BOOKS

A splendid pamphlet is **INDUSTRIAL SOCIALISM**, written jointly by William D. Haywood and Frank Bohn, and which I heartily commend to the working class and to all who are interested in Socialism and in the group of vital questions which have sprung from our modern industrial development. Every page of this pamphlet is clear, cogent, and convincing. The true revolutionary attitude of the working class movement is here maintained. It states the industrial and political position of the workers in plain, straightforward terms, in their own language, and is well calculated to open the eyes of the workers to the weakness of craft unionism and political socialism, and impress upon them the necessity of proletarian solidarity, both economic and political, and supplementary to each other, as the true basis of the revolutionary movement. The pamphlet is especially adapted to the educational propaganda of the working class and ought to be spread broadcast among the workers.

Mary E. Marcy's **SHOP TALKS ON ECONOMICS** ought to be put in the hands of every wage-worker. Marx is here introduced to the worker in terms he can readily understand and Socialism is made so plain that he cannot escape it. Mrs. Marcy has a peculiar faculty for this kind of work and in preparing this most excellent primer on economics for the education of the workers she has rendered an invaluable service to the working class.

Jack London is always clever, brilliant, virile, and always up to his best. **THE STRENGTH OF THE STRONG**, a pamphlet of 30 pages, is his latest from the press of Kerr & Company, and it is a most interesting and illuminating study and a fascinating bit of Jack's own writing pointing a fine Socialist moral which ought to be read by about twenty millions of social heathens in the United States.

EUGENE V. DEBS

These three books sell for 10 cents each, the three for 25 cents, postpaid. For \$5.00 we will send 100 copies, one kind or assorted, by express prepaid. For \$35.00 we will send 1,000 assorted copies by freight prepaid. They are the best and biggest propaganda books of the year. Nothing equals them for street meetings except the latest issue of the REVIEW, of which we mail 20 for \$1.00 and more at the same rate. Address,

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That's how thousands of people have made their fortunes
—buying lots in new towns of the prosperous Northwest

Untold millions have been made in Canada by wise investors who have seen which way railroads were going to run and then snapped up choice city lots in Townsites along the lines. And right now there is one of the biggest chances in the century to invest in town lots in Fort Frazer, in the heart of the choicest section of Canada, and realize immense profits. History has repeated itself a score of times in the great hustling centers of population in western Canada.

This is the way land values have jumped in other Western Canadian Cities

Prince Rupert, B. C. (372 miles from Fort Fraser), was a wilderness three years ago. Now it has more than 4,000 residents and is progressing rapidly, while property has jumped from \$100 to \$500 and upwards into the thousands per lot.

Calgary, Alta., had only 4,000 population in 1901; today it has over 40,000, and its town lots, which started at \$100, cannot be purchased today for less than \$1,000 to \$3,000 each, with the choicest locations bringing \$30,000 to \$65,000.

Edmonton, Alta. (500 miles from Fort Frazer), had 2,249 population in 1901; it now has over 30,000 population, and lots that sold four years ago for \$100 and \$150 are not to be bought today for less than \$1,000 to \$5,000 and \$10,000.

None of these places had so bright a future as Fort Frazer, which is the liveliest place now for the investor to snap up early bargains in lots. It is about to be opened up by the greatest of new Canadian railroads—the Government-backed Grand Trunk Pacific.

Already of such importance in location and standing that it is called the "Hub" City of British Columbia, Fort Frazer is bound to start a wonderful growth as soon as the Grand Trunk Pacific rails are laid, which must be in 1913, and probably will be in a few months. Then values will begin to go up with the same phenomenal jumps as they made in Calgary.

How to get in ahead

Choice lots in Fort Frazer, if taken now, may be had from \$100 to \$200, and upon easy terms of as low as 10 per cent down and the balance payable at the rate of 5 per cent per month. A small saving will thus take care of the payments. No interests or taxes until fully paid for. The British Columbia Government itself guarantees the titles.

Write to Spence, Jordan & Co., Dept. M, Marquette Bldg., Chicago, for free plat, and illustrated book and accurate information about the opportunity in Fort Frazer. They are the official representative of the Townsite Company, and you can rely on the information that they give you.

FREE to every SOCIALIST



Every socialist in the world should get FREE this thrilling story of the "Ball and Tyler Rebellion"—an uprising of the people against the nobles and church in mediaeval England. Not one in a million has ever seen this rare document which is merely one of thousands of wonderful "original documents" in the

Library of Original Sources

which ALL socialists can get on an easy, co-operative plan. This marvelous library is an eye-opener—it gives the TRUTH that for ages capitalist influence has kept from the people to keep them under subjection. Here you see the gradual rise of the people thru 7,000 years, from slavery, serfdom, feudalism on to capitalism, all of which shows you as plainly as a cross-roads guide board how the Socialist Republic is developing out of the present system.

Shows HOW the Socialist Republic is Coming

Gives—for the first time—the real facts behind the ordinary surface events which you read of in histories—the rock-bottom facts red-hot from those daring men in all ages who had the courage to tell the TRUTH even though they lost their lives for it—and you know how many of them did. This daring work is

Published Expressly for Socialists

and other progressive people who do their own thinking. All socialist writers, editors and organizers use it and urge every Comrade to get it at once. Socialists in the United States and Canada are using more of this work than all others combined. No other work gives more than 5% of this red-hot stuff.

The Socialist Victories

in Milwaukee, Schenectady, Berkeley, Pasadena and other cities were won because the comrades there have been studying all sides of economics and government—or to put it in plain words—Socialism. Then when the election fights were on they were able to show the rest of the people just what Socialism is and the reason for it. Men will vote right, you know, when they know what right is. They have not been satisfied with the government of greed, privilege and plunder—they have been merely kept in the dark, but now when the comrades open their eyes, they VOTE RIGHT.

Are You Prepared To Do YOUR Part?

The old capitalist papers and politicians are beginning to take notice—they are getting scared. The hardest licks must be struck NOW. Are you prepared to help? Berger, Spargo, Warren, Simons, London, Wayland, Gaylord, Untermann, Irvine, Lewis—ALL leaders say the best preparation you can make is to read the Library of Original Sources—"greatest work extant for socialists."

If you want to help—and we know you do—send today for the wonderful "Ball and Tyler" story and find out how you can get a whole library of the same kind on the easiest co-operative plan in the world. BUT only the introductory edition will be distributed on this plan, so write today or you may be too late, as the large edition is going like hot cakes.

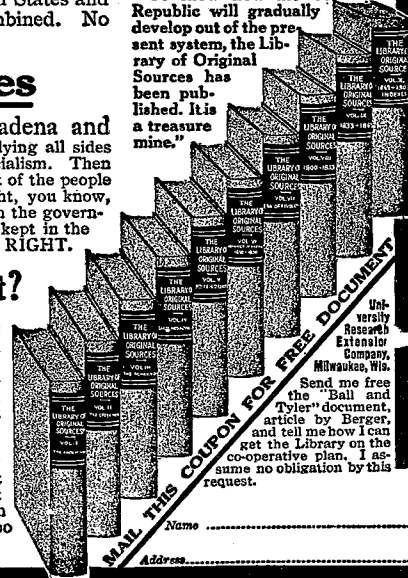


Victor L. Berger

Says: "A few socialist phrases are not sufficient to make a scientific socialist. In order to know WHY SOCIALISM IS COMING, a socialist should have an idea of evolution, he must know history, he must know something of economic development.

We, as socialists are vitally interested in the development of civilization. History for us is not a collection of shallow village tales, the story of coronations, weddings and burials of kings. For as the true lesson of history is the story of progress of mankind by gradual steps from brutal slavery to enlightenment, culture and humanity. The manner in which one system has grown out of another, feudalism out of slavery and capitalism out of feudalism is most suggestive of the manner by which the Socialist Republic will gradually develop out of the present system.

To show how the Socialist Republic will gradually develop out of the present system, the Library of Original Sources has been published. It is a treasure mine."



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Send me free the "Ball and Tyler" document, article by Berger, and tell me how I can get the Library on the co-operative plan. I assume no obligation by this request.

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives LaMonte, William E. Bohn, Leslie H. Marcy, Frank Bohn, William D. Haywood, Phillips Russell

The Editor is responsible only for views expressed on the editorial page and in unsigned department matter. Each contributor and associate editor is responsible for views expressed over his own signature.

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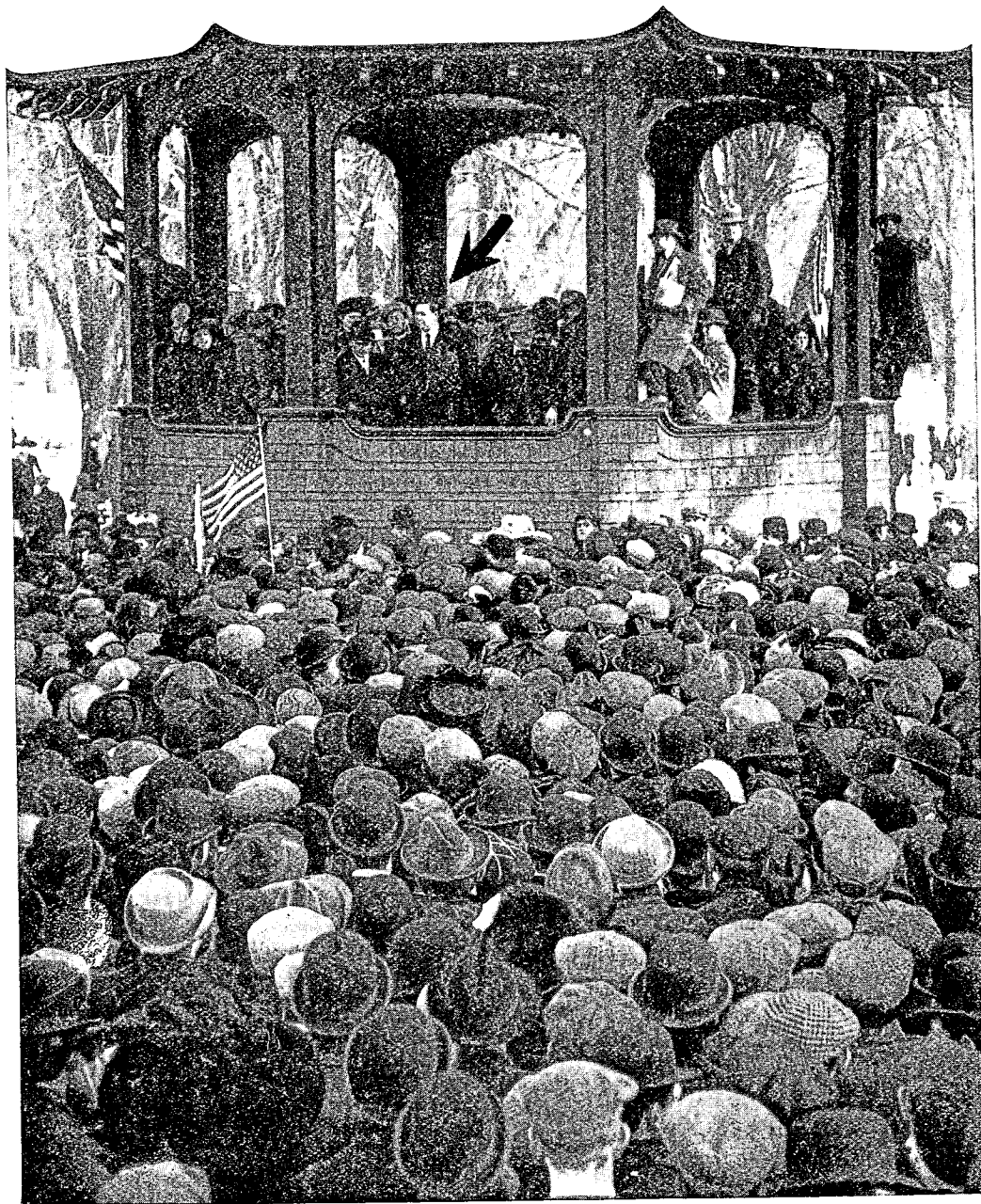
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Entered at the Postoffice at Chicago, Ill., as Second Class Matter July 27, 1900, under Act of March 3, 1879.

HAYWOOD TALKING TO 10,000 TEXTILE STRIKERS—LAWRENCE



ON LAWRENCE COMMON.

Photo by Thos. A. Luke.

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XII,

MARCH, 1912

No. 9



SOLDIERS GUARDING RAILWAY AND ATLANTIC MILLS.

THE BATTLE FOR BREAD AT LAWRENCE

BY
MARY E. MARCY

THE strike of the 25,000 textile workers at Lawrence, Mass., came so suddenly that the Woolen Trust was overwhelmed. It started January 12, pay day at the

mills. Without warning the mill owners docked the pay envelopes of their employes for two hours in time and wages as a result of the new 54-hour law which went into effect January first.

The drop averaged only 20 cents a worker and the American Woolen Company fondly imagined that their wage slaves had been sufficiently starved and cowed into docility to endure the cut, just as they had suffered a speeding up of the machines so that the output per worker in 54 hours was greater than it had been on the 56-hour basis.

But trouble started with the opening of the docked pay envelopes, and before the day was spent, Lawrence had a wholly unexpected problem on its hands. The disturbance spread quickly and within an hour 5,000 striking men and women were marching through the streets of the mill district, urging other mill workers to join them.

Their number was augmented at every step and soon "ten thousand singing, cheering men and women, boys and girls, in ragged, irregular lines, marching and

counter-marching through snow and slush of a raw January afternoon—a procession of the nations of the world never equaled in the 'greatest show on earth'—surged through the streets of Lawrence. . . . You listened to the quavering notes of the Marseillaise from a trudging group of French women and you heard the strain caught up by hundreds of other marchers and melting away into the whistled chorus of rag-time from a bunch of doffer boys. Strange songs and strange shouts from strange un-at-home-looking men and women, 10,000 of them; striking because their pay envelope had been cut 'four loaves of bread.'—*The Survey*.

As a matter of fact the "violence" bewailed by the mill owners consisted probably in half a dozen windows smashed on the first day of the strike, for the strikers were busy holding mass meetings under the auspices of the I. W. W. on the days following, and planning ways for carrying on and extending the fight.

But the redoubtable Mayor of Lawrence knew his duty to the mill owners and he did not flinch. When the strikers, blue and shivering in the keen 10 degrees below zero January wind, decided that the city hall was better suited for mass meetings than the commons, Mayor Scanlon burned his protestations of concern for the workers and the business men of Lawrence, behind him, and called for the militia.

Even the capitalist press, which has ever been notoriously unfair to the working class in its struggles with the employers, reported that outside of preventing the besmirchment of the precincts of the city hall by working class boots, soldier duty for the first week of the strike consisted in looking wise and parading the mill district.

Mr. Lewis E. Palmer says

in the *Survey*, February 3: "The Boston reporters did their best to manufacture daily stories about outbreaks between soldiers and strikers and they usually managed to draw good bold face lines from the head writers. The newspaper photographers were everywhere and perhaps the best example of their art was a picture of one of their own number being 'repelled at the point of a bayonet' by a citizen soldier who was trying hard to 'see red.' By January 22 Col. E. Leroy Sweetser had a complete regiment of militia at his command, and some people wondered why."

Now everybody knows that the Woolen Trust has based its demands for a higher protective tariff on wool on the alleged necessity of paying higher wages in America than are necessary to support workers abroad. The claim has been made for the past thirty years that the protective tariff was levied primarily for the protection of American workers "against the pauper labor of Europe." But it has come about that the American workers have been reduced to pauperism under the benign influence of high tariff.

Wm. N. Wood, president of the American Woolen Company that operates these mills, is a very particular friend of both Taft and Roosevelt, as has been made manifest by the substantial favors bestowed on him by them as chief executives of the United States.

The Woolen Trust controls more than thirty-two of the largest mills in America. Its plants cover over 650,000 acres and its stone shops contain more than 11,000,000 acres of floor space. In seven years the trust has paid out over \$25,000,000 in dividends and accumulated a surplus of over \$11,000,000. So much for the mill owners. Turn now to the condition of the workers. Mr. Palmer says:

"In a dingy back room of an Italian house I saw over fifty empty pay envelopes which had been returned to the bank as representing average wages of men employes. The amounts written on those envelopes together with the character of the work performed are classified as follows:"

1 week winding room.....	\$6.34
1 week winding room.....	5.50
1 week winding room.....	6.10
1 week winding room.....	4.55
1 week winding room.....	4.18

1 week winding room.....	6.20
1 week winding room.....	5.53
1 week winding room.....	5.99
1 week winding room.....	5.50
1 week and 1 hour winding room.....	5.60
1 week and 1 hour winding room.....	6.40
1 week and 1 hour winding room.....	5.29
1 week spinning room.....	5.71
1 week spinning room.....	4.92
1 week spinning room.....	5.83
1 week spinning room.....	6.55
1 week spinning room.....	4.92
1 week spinning room.....	4.51
1 week spinning room.....	6.37
1 week spinning room.....	5.90
1 week spooling room.....	6.05
1 week drawing room.....	6.74
1 week drawing room.....	5.57
1 week drawing room.....	5.50
1 week and 6 hours drawing room.....	5.27
1 week drawing and doffing.....	7.05
1 week bobbin setter.....	4.18
1 week bobbin setter.....	5.10
1 week bobbin setter.....	4.92
1 week bobbin setter.....	4.18
1 week carding room.....	3.06
1 week and 5 hours carding room.....	7.01
1 week beaming room.....	5.83
1 week dryer house.....	6.83
1 week combing room.....	6.90
1 week combing room.....	6.39
1 week 3 hours combing room.....	6.60
1 week 3 hours combing room.....	6.16
4 days winding room.....	3.50
4 1/2 days spinning room.....	3.33+
5 1/2 days winding room.....	4.59
3 days combing room.....	3.06
4 days combing room.....	4.40
3 1/2 days combing room.....	3.51
5 days winding room.....	4.79
5 days combing room.....	6.79
4 1/2 days combing room.....	5.19
4 1/2 days beaming room.....	4.95
5 days drawing room.....	6.03
3 days beaming room.....	3.00
4 1/2 days winding room.....	4.99
5 days winding room.....	4.40
4 days winding room.....	3.70
5 days winding room.....	4.91

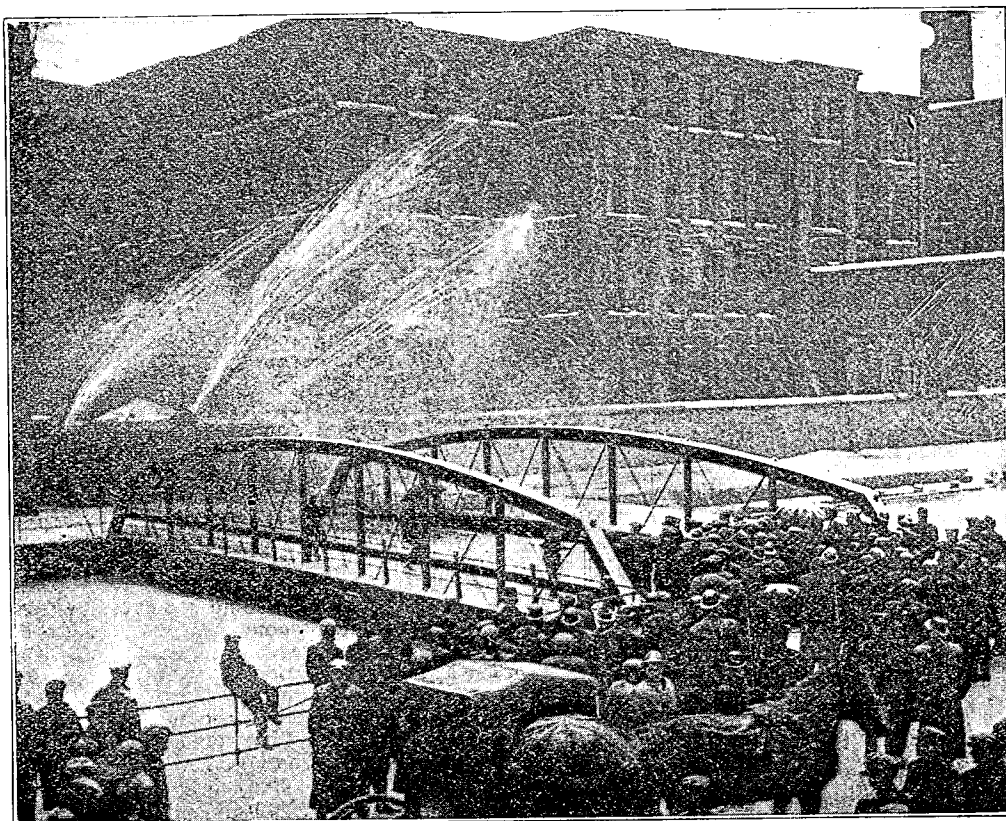
It would seem that, wrapped up in all the red tape of Schedule K, their excellencies, the two Williams, have delivered a full sized joker to the working classes of America.

The primary cause of the strike, a cut of 22 cents in the weekly wage was, after the arrival of Joseph J. Ettor, organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World, merged into a series of demands. These demands included a 15 per cent increase in wages, the abolition of the bonus and premium system and double pay for overtime work.

With the accession of Ettor a new spirit of militancy began to premeate the



WOMEN STRIKERS WERE ACTIVE.



CITY FIREMEN PLAYING HOSE ON FOOT BRIDGE TO HOLD STRIKERS IN CHECK.

strikers. Too late the mill owners offer to grant the original demand. But the new spirit of solidarity among the men and women, bringing with it a sense of their own power, welded them together in a determination to secure more of their product—to improve their condition.

Detectives in the employ of the Woolen Trust appeared overnight, and, with their advent, dynamite scare-headlines began to work their way to the front pages of the metropolitan dailies, charging the strikers with attempts to blow up the mills.

"The police made arrests on the slightest provocation and the fine social sense of Judge Mahoney, who has dealt out the severest sentences possible, is shown in a statement which he made in disposing of the case of Salvatore Toresse. The judge said: 'This is an epoch in our history. Never can any of us remember when such demonstra-

tions of lawless presumption have taken place. These men, mostly foreigners, perhaps do not mean to be offenders. They do not . . . know the laws. Therefore the only way we can teach them is to deal out the severest sentences.' Toresse was fined \$100 for intimidation and \$10 for disturbance and given six months for rioting.' (*The Survey*.)

Commenting on the fact that the innocent workingmen arrested on a charge of dynamiting were still being held, the *Lawrence Leader*, of January 28, says:

It is no longer whispered—it is being almost published from the house-tops—that a cruel, wicked conspiracy to discredit the strikers was framed-up and the dynamite "planted" where it could be "found" quickly. The object, it is said, was not so much a newspaper fake as it was to turn public sympathy abroad from the strikers and to lead the world to believe that reckless, dangerous anarchists were the ringleaders of the strike.

Members of the state police have practically admitted that the whole business was a frame-

up. It's up to them to produce the vile, low-down conspirators.

The finger of suspicion points strongly, it is said, towards a well-known "captain of industry" as the instigator of the "plant" and to three or four local men as the tools in the matter.

Before many days had passed, the residents of Lawrence were so thoroughly alive to the methods employed by the private detectives, that the mere discovery of dynamite was enough to lay any one of them open to suspicion.

Haywood Arrives.

January 24 Haywood reached Lawrence to help carry on the strike. We quote from the *Evening Tribune*, Lawrence:

William D. Haywood arrived in Lawrence at 11.50 o'clock from New York City Wednesday morning and over 10,000 strikers turned out together with three bands and two drum corps, to greet him at the North station with a tremendous ovation.

Long before the time when he was scheduled to arrive the strikers assembled at the depot in eager anticipation of the coming of the famous labor organizer. Even at 9 o'clock there was a large crowd awaiting his arrival. Before 10 o'clock the number of strikers at the station had been greatly increased. The sidewalks on Essex street were filled to their greatest capacities. Common street was crowded all morning also with strikers wend-

ing their way to the Boston & Maine station. About 10:30 o'clock the Franco-Belgian band arrived, having marched from the Franco-Belgian hall on Mason street. This band was followed by about 200 of the Franco-Belgian element of the strikers. The band stopped in front of the postoffice and played several selections.

The number of strikers was being continually augmented and the crowd seemed to be growing restless. About 11 o'clock a parade of about a thousand strikers came up Essex street. In this parade were the Umberto and the Bellini bands and St. Joseph's drum corps. When this contingent arrived there was great cheering. The bands played almost continuously and there was a great deal of noise. Every time that the cab train came in sight the crowd would commence cheering and the bands would play with renewed vigor.

Shortly after 11:30 o'clock a large parade came up Common street and joined forces with the strikers already at the station. At the head of this parade there was a sign painted on cardboard in large black letters, "All in One." There were many American flags carried by the strikers.

Finally the time for the arrival of Mr. Haywood came and when the train came in sight there was a great demonstration. When the train was approaching the crowd kept pushing up near the tracks and it looked as if someone would be run over.

When the strikers caught sight of Haywood they went almost insane with delight and cheered incessantly while the bands and drum corps boomed out stirring selections. The scene was certainly a wild one. As Mr. Hay-

THE GREATEST DEMONSTRATION EVER ACCORDED A "VISITOR" IN LAWRENCE—*Lawrence Tribune*.

wood came out of the car he took off his hat and waved it to the crowd. The strikers surrounded Haywood and then the parade started down Common street. Haywood was near the head of the parade and was surrounded by thousands of howling and cheering strikers. The parade was over 10,000 strong. The bands played and excitement of the highest pitch prevailed.

In the afternoon a monster mass meeting was held on the commons. Arthur Giovanitti, editor of a New York Italian Socialist paper and Adam Olzewski, editor of the *Polish Daily People*, addressed the crowd in Italian and Polish. John Mullen and S. J. Pothier of the Shoe Workers' Protective Union of Haverhill, presented \$800 to the strikers on behalf of their organization, promising more to come. Ettor also spoke.

When Haywood was introduced there was such an enthusiastic demonstration that it was many moments before he could make himself heard. He said in part:

"Sister and Brother workers: There are times in every man's life when he feels that words cannot express his feelings. That is the way that I feel now when I look out into this sea of faces. The ovation that was given to me this morning was certainly marvelous and I deeply appreciate it. Mr. Ettor has told you of my history with the I. W. W. My dream in life is to see all workers united in one big union. You should carry this idea into effect because without it you will be forced back into the mills and have even worse conditions, not only in the textile works, but all workers. It behooves you to stick together and fight this present strike to a finish. You will win out if you are loyal to yourself. I saw in one of the papers that Lawrence was afraid of my coming. It is not Lawrence that fears my coming, it is the bosses and the superintendents and the owners of the mills that fear me. This is a familiar scene to me, to see soldiers guarding mills, as I have often been in just such strikes before, but I have never, in all my experience, seen a strike defeated by soldiers. It is necessary to keep a tight rein on yourselves. If we can prevail on other workers who handle your goods to help you out by going on strike we will tie up the railroads, put the city in darkness and starve the soldiers out. The only way to make such a condition possible is to have one big union. In London once when there was a strike everything was stopped and it became necessary for the officers of the soldiers to ask permission to carry food to the horses who were starving. In France they stopped the railroads and won a strike in three days. Soon I hope to see the workers so organized that when the mills in Lawrence go on strike, for instance, the mills in every city will go on

strike. In this way you will lock the bosses out for once and for all. You have been ground down terribly in these mills. I can see that by your faces. Let me urge you on in this strike. I came here to say that the working class all over the country will help you out. In a few days I am going to the west and in every city that I go to I will say to the unions: 'Help the strikers in Lawrence by sending provisions and money.' Don't let the bosses fool you. This international question will never be solved unless you solve it yourselves. Stand heart to heart, mind to mind, and hand to hand with all your fellow workers and you will win out.

"All you people come from other nations and you all come to America with the expectation of improving your conditions. You expected to find a land of the free, but you found we of America were but economic slaves as you were in your own home. I come to extend to you tonight the hand of brotherhood with no thought of nationality. There is no foreigner here except the capitalist and he will not be a foreigner long for we will make a worker of him. Do not let them divide you by sex, color, creed or nationality, for as you stand today you are invincible. If the Poles, Italians and Greeks stand together they are invincible. The I. W. W. is composed of different nationalities and with such a fighting committee you can lick 'Billy' Wood. 'Billy' Wood can lick one Pole, in fact he can lick all the Poles, but he can not lick all the nationalities put together. We have got 'Billy' Wood licked now. He never did anything but make trouble.

"You can't weave cloth with bayonets. The blue cloth that you have woven has gone to clothe those soldiers, but it will wear out. United in this organization we will never weave any more for them; let them go naked.

"Don't let this be a single handed struggle. Join hands with the others. Let us build up a new organization in which every man contributes his part toward the welfare of others. Let us enforce a regime in which no man can make anything for profit.

"The only way to win is to unite with all other textile workers. No one branch can get along without the other. The woolsorter is necessary, no matter how stinking his job may be. You are textile workers but you don't seem to realize what an important factor you as textile workers are to society. You are the men and women who clothe the world. You make the clothes for the working class and the robes for the rich. The continuance of civilization is in many cases due to your efforts. You are more important to society than any judge on the supreme bench, than any judge, lawyer, politician or capitalist or any man who does not work for an honest living. Those who do nothing are always looked up to as the prominent citizens of a city.

"It is an inspiration to see you all together in one great cause. I hope to see the boundary line between all nations broken down and one

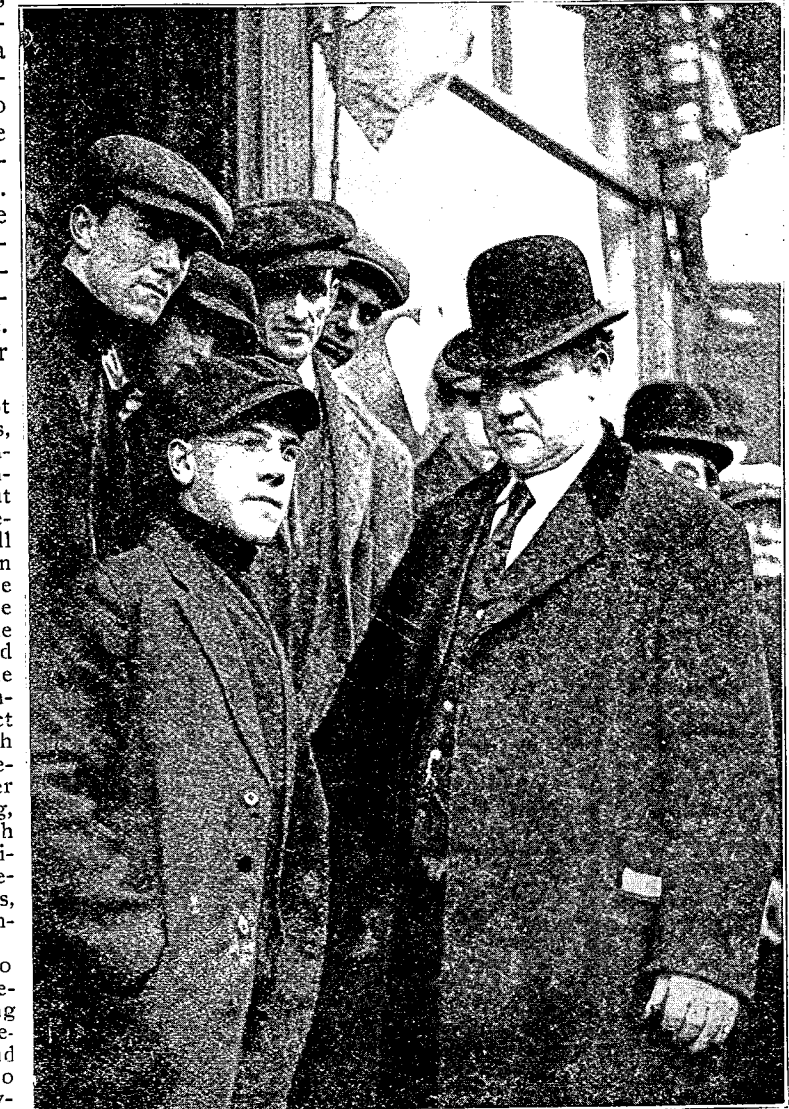
great nation of the working class. There are only two nations in the world today; the working class on one side and the capitalists on the other. We of the working class must stand together."

The wonderful solidarity displayed by the strikers has surprised everybody. There are more languages spoken in the confines of Lawrence than in any other district of its size in the world. But in spite of these barriers, the strike was an almost spontaneous one and seventeen races, differing widely in speech and custom, rose in a concerted protest. Lacking anything like a substantial organization at the outset, they have clung together in furthering a common cause without dissension. Too much credit cannot be given Comrades Joseph Ettor and Wm. D. Haywood in the splendid work of organization and education they have carried on in Lawrence. Says the *Outlook* for February 10:

"Haywood does not want unions of weavers, unions of spinners, unions of loom-fixers, unions of wool-sorters, but he wants one comprehensive union of all textile workers, which in time will take over the textile factories, as the steel workers will take over the steel mills and the railway workers the railways. Haywood interprets the class conflict literally as a war which is always on, which becomes daily more bitter and uncompromising, which can end only with the conquest of a capitalistic society by proletarians or wage-workers, organized industry by industry.

"Haywood places no trust in trade agreements, which, according to his theory, lead merely to social peace and 'put the workers to sleep.' Let the employer lock out his men when he pleases, and let

the workmen strike when they please. He is opposed to arbitration, conciliation, compromise; to sliding scales, profit-sharing, welfare work; to everything, in short, which may weaken the revolutionary force of the workers. He does not ask for the closed shop or the official recognition of the union, for he has no intention of recognizing the employer. What he desires is not a treaty of industrial peace between the two high contracting parties, but merely the creation of a proletarian impulse which will eventually revolutionize society. Haywood is a man who believes in men, not as you and I believe in them, but fervently, uncompromisingly, with an obstinate faith in the universal good will and constancy of the workers, worthy of a great religious leader. That is



HAYWOOD LEAVING STRIKE HEADQUARTERS.

what makes him supremely dangerous."

Governor Foss, himself one of the mill owners, and Mayor Scanlon have never before met "strike leaders" like Ettor and Haywood. This is probably their first experience with representatives of labor who cannot be "reached" in some way. More than one attempt was made to come to an "understanding" with Ettor. It was even shown how he could persuade the strikers to accept a few of their demands, call off the strike and make himself the most popular labor leader in the country with the mill companies, but in preference, the *Boston Herald* says:

"He is to be found at almost any hour in some long low-ceiled hall talking earnestly to row upon row of set faces which strangely contrast the racial peculiarities of many quarters of the earth."

Talking, talking, always talking on One Big Union. It was agreed by the mill owners long before Haywood's arrival that he was the worst possible man they could have opposing them.

Haywood and some of the strikers conferred with the Investigating Committee when it came to Lawrence.

Speaker Cushing opened the meeting by saying that the legislators came informally, being there on their own responsibility, without any particular authority, for the purpose of finding out



JOSEPH J. ETTOR.

conditions, preparatory to acting on various bills, which had been introduced relative to the industrial struggle in Lawrence.

One of the bills was introduced in the house by a Socialist, Representative Morrell of Haverhill, while Senator Barlow of Lowell introduced a bill in the senate.

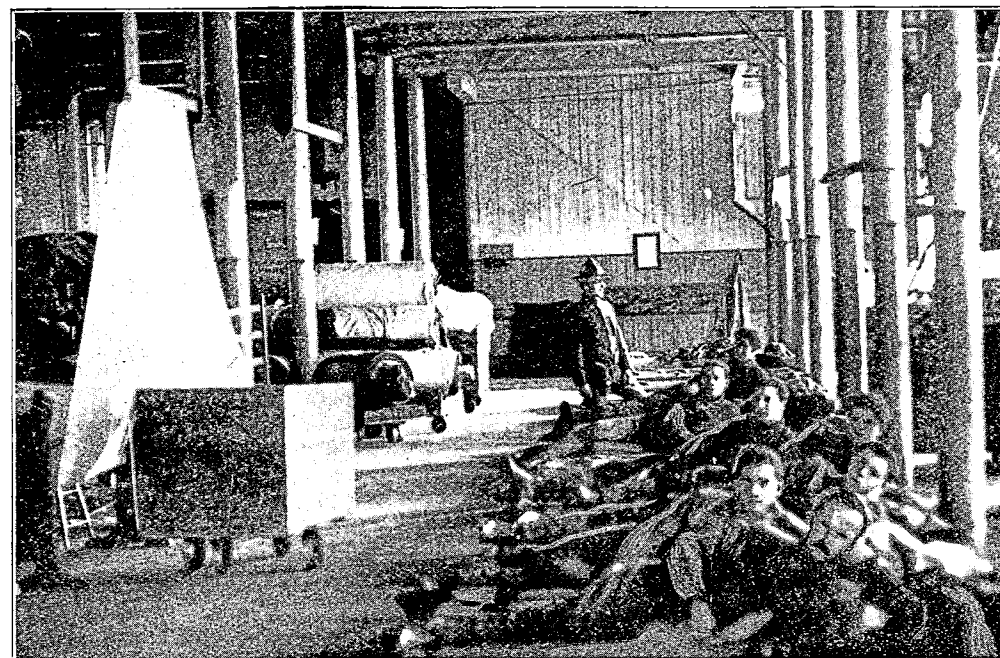
Unfortunately none of the investigators themselves were Socialists. In reporting the investigation, the *Outlook* correspondent, February 10, says:

"I have rarely seen anything more sensational and dramatic than a certain quiet intellectual collision which I witnessed in the Mayor's office at Lawrence between Haywood and a few strikers and an investigating committee of the State Legislature. It was a war of philosophies *à outrance*, compared to which a bloody affray between militia and strikers would have seemed puerile and insignificant. The committee, composed of men of exceptional intellectual attainments, were thrown upon the defensive. 'What can your state do?' asked the strikers, almost in so many words. 'If you find one party wrong, can your state force it to do right? Can you legislators be impartial as arbitrators, when you have not lived the bitter life of the workers? Would you arbitrate a question of life and death, and are the worst wages paid in these mills anything short of death? Do you investigate because conditions are bad, or because the workers broke loose and struck? Why did you not come before the strike? Can you weave cloth with the bayonets of your militia, or spin with the clubs of your policemen? What can your State of Massachusetts do to make wrong right for the workingmen who form the bulk of your citizens?'"

Haywood quoted some pay envelopes received by spinners at the Wood mill, \$6.99, \$6.74, \$5.45, \$6.30 and \$8.25, the latter being for extra work. He also called attention to the fact that on the envelope of the one marked \$5.45, there was a little advice about the benefits of saving money and the name of a local bank was given advertising. He thought that this was heaping on abuse.

Mr. Haywood was asked what his idea was relative to a committee coming to Lawrence to investigate conditions here, and later to investigate conditions throughout the state.

Haywood replied: "I have no hope in a legislative investigation, as I think it will result in nothing. The workers here have broken loose and other cities are soon going to break loose, too. It is immaterial to me, however, whether or not there is a legislative investigation.



SOLDIERS IN SLEEPING QUARTERS IN THE LOWER PACIFIC MILLS.

"We have no hope in the two political parties which you represent, but I have no doubt that if the legislative committee comes here the strikers will give them all the information they want, and will furnish guides to bring you through the homes of the workers.

"If you gentlemen desire to improve conditions here, you could do well by withdrawing the militia and urge upon the legislature, favorable action on the bill for \$10,000 for the Lawrence strikers, or double that amount.

"I have no question that the strikers here could improve conditions in the mills themselves, because they have the labor power.

"It is a vital matter, however, and I am glad to see that it has aroused the politicians, and it is high time that they saw it was someone else other than the 'upper ten' who were responsible for the prosperity of good old Massachusetts. Good will result if you go about the investigation honestly."

Representative Bothell asked Mr. Haywood what impression in his opinion the state board of arbitration had made upon the strikers, and Haywood replied:

"The state board of arbitration made

a bad showing here. They could not deliver the goods. They could not get the operators into the conference."

On February 2, Ettor was arrested on a charge of complicity in the murder of Anna La Pizza, an Italian woman who was shot during a street meeting in Lawrence, January 30. Several business men in Lawrence proved that Ettor was not present at the time of the shooting but he was refused bail. Every one recognized this as another move on the part of the mill owners to cripple the strike.

The strikers were denied the privilege of congregating to hold meetings. Col. Sweetser is reported as saying:

"I will allow no mass meetings. I will allow no parades. We are going to look for trouble—legitimate trouble from now on. We are not looking for peace now."

On January 30 John Rami, an 18-year-old Syrian striker, was bayoneted by a member of a squad of Massachusetts militia. The boy was stuck through the back like a pig as he ran with seven companions before an unprovoked charge of the state soldiers. He died a few hours afterward in the Lawrence hospital. Many other strikers were injured by the soldiers.



ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

But in spite of these disasters and the threat of Col. Sweetser, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn gathered together 12,000 strikers and marched with them down to hold a meeting on the commons. The soldiers faced them with bayonets, but yielded before the determined crowd of men and women.

At present a reign of terror has the entire city of Lawrence in its grip. Fourteen hundred soldiers have converted the streets into an armed camp. The classic doors of one of our oldest colleges have been thrown open to permit the youth of "our best families" to join the militia and "insolent, well-fed Harvard men parade up and down, their rifles loaded with ball cartridge, their bayonets glittering, keen and hungry for the blood of the strikers who are fighting the resources of the entire state to secure a wage that will enable them to live in comparative sufficiency and decency." (*New York Call*.)

Wm. E. Trautmann and James P. Thompson, organizers for the I. W. W., have joined Haywood in Lawrence, to help in the work of organization. Telegrams have been sent to the Switchmens' Unions and other railroad organizations asking them to refuse to handle the goods of the woolen companies, and Haywood has been called to Fall River and New

Bedford where the workers are taking up plans for a state-wide strike in the textile mills.

Plans were laid for sending the children of the strikers to New York to be cared for during the fight and in response to the enthusiastic appeal of the *New York Call*, over 1,000 men and women offered to care for children until the strike was over.

The Lawrence strike is one of the most inspiring struggles the American workers have ever known. Separated by many different languages, customs and religions, the men and women, the boys and girls of Lawrence have joined hands to fight as one man against the common enemy—the woolen companies.

The strikers are accustomed to hunger and cold; hardships for themselves they can hope to endure, now that comrades in other cities have offered to feed and care for the children so that they may struggle on unhindered by the cries of the little ones for bread.

The American Woolen Company, supported by the officials of the state and the nation, by the militia, the police and the courts, upheld by a lying press, is in a panic of fear. This is the busy season of the year in the mills. Cloth is needed. Orders are waiting to be filled and the woolen company must continue to exploit its wage slaves or become unable to pay dividends upon its stock. It is a case of dividends against more bread for the striking workers in Lawrence.

In response to a motion by Comrade Haywood, the members of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party have issued a call for funds to aid the strikers. The Socialists at Lawrence have set the wheels revolving by a movement to recall Mayor Scanlon. Socialist locals in Massachusetts and in every state in the union are holding meetings and selling literature and collecting donations to send to Lawrence.

On Sunday, Feb. 11th, at the Grand Central Station, New York City, 5,000 comrades met a carload of little strikers from Lawrence. The police, delegated to "preserve order" were swept aside and the children were caught up and swung shoulder high by strong working-class arms. At the Labor Temple warm food



— A STRIKER'S FAMILY.

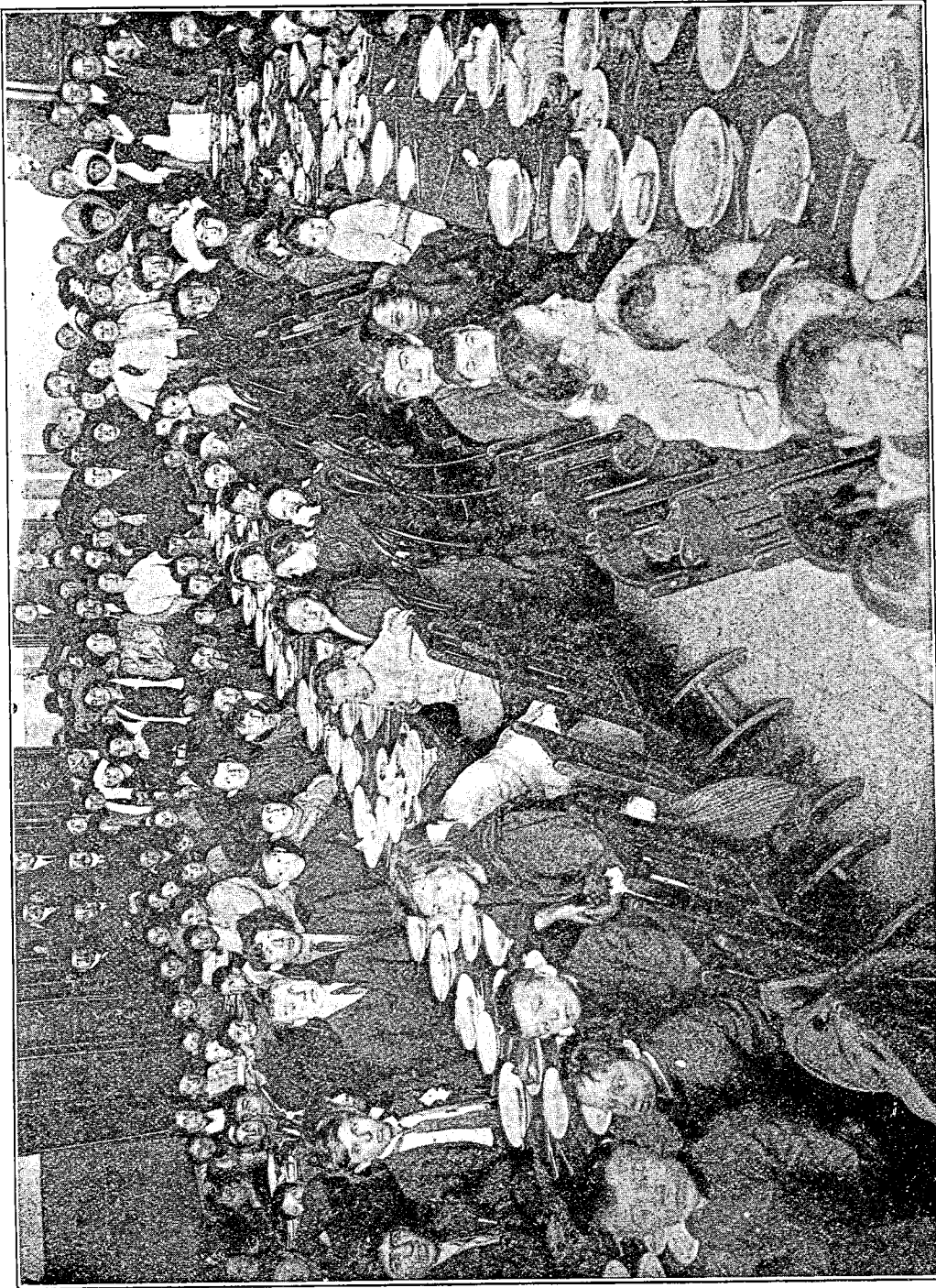
and clothes awaited them after which the comrades who were to care for them took the children home. Philadelphia has offered to care for 250 children. The tocsin of class solidarity has sounded throughout the land. Now is the time to show your colors.

This is your fight and my fight. An injury to one worker is an injury to all

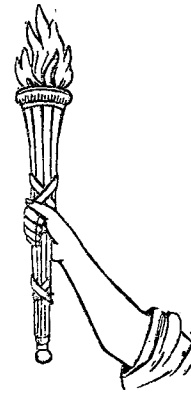
workers. We cannot save ourselves without freeing the whole working class. Now is the time to show the men and women at Lawrence that Socialism means something today as well as the abolition of wage slavery tomorrow.

Send donations to the REVIEW or to Joseph Bedard, secretary, 9 Mason street, Lawrence, Mass.





NEW YORK SOCIALISTS CARING FOR CHILDREN AT LABOR TEMPLE.



Rational Political Action

BY

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL

WHEN I was a Washington correspondent some years ago there fell under my observation of the shifting show two facts about government by a political machine that seemed to me fairly illuminating.

The first was that while it was one of the dullest of all human devices it was endowed with extraordinary power to bedevil and frustrate good intentions.

For instance, one of the most familiar spectacles was the young member that had come to his first term in Congress with really high ideals and a sincere purpose to be straight and serve the people. In every case the machine made short work of such a one. Usually it got him; if, for reasons of superior character or otherwise it could not get him it made him a mummy. He could no more get the simplest thing done than I can dance a hornpipe on the Washington monument. From first to last I saw about a hundred of these excellent young men land as members of Congress of their proud native land, and I never saw one of them that made any other kind of record but this. The machine either rolled away with them or rolled over them; one thing or the other.

The second fact was that judged merely on the basis of efficiency and nothing higher, the machine style of government was a failure. It never got anywhere; it never did anything. As a system of government it was a piece of old punk. No matter which party might be in power, the result was always the same. The party would come in with a program and a lot of beautiful promises and then fail utterly to carry

them out. It could not carry them out, even when it wished, even when they were plainly advisable, for the reason that the machine style of government was a worthless instrument. It rumbled around and around the halls of legislation, but it never showed a particle of result except that the regular bills were carried in the regular way. The appropriations were not usually wrecked and the financial interests got the laws they wanted. But so far as following the party's platform and supposed intentions was concerned, there was none of that ever, because there was nothing to do it with. The party in power had no tool. It was tied up with a system, and that system was the real government; the rest was but a counterfeit, and would be so long as structural conditions remained unchanged.

It made no difference how progressive and admirable might be the ideas that were sought to be established. They all perished upon the barricades of that system. The Populist party had an admirable program; it aimed far above the greasy thought of its day and stood for a measure of real democracy and political and industrial freedom. With deep interest I saw its rise, fair promise, decline and destruction. Having some of the best purposes that up to its time had ever been enunciated in a platform, it went the road to destruction because it insisted upon playing the game and getting entangled with the system.

It went out to get offices and put men into jobs. That finished it.

Seeing so many of these wrecks about me, a vague notion began to form in my

mind that this was not the best way to effect things; the system wasted too much in time and effort and never arrived. So long as a party made its object the getting of votes and the filling of offices it would land where the Populist party had landed, and that no matter how lofty might be its aims. To declare good intentions evidently meant nothing. The floor of Congress was paved with good intentions. The grandest platform ever written by man was worthless when it got into that place. If its advocates played the game, there was but one way in which they could play it and that was in accordance with the established rules. They were always thinking and dreaming that they could play it in some other way but they never did and never could. They were always imagining that the thing to do was to get into office and then they could do many fine things and carry out their ideals; but when they got into office they always found that they could not do otherwise than other men had done for the reason that they and all other men that went about their work in that way were bound hand and foot to the existing system. That is to say, the exact method by which the government was carried forward was fixed as between iron walls by unchangeable custom. A gigantic machinery had been erected and with it alone things could be done. Either you must surrender to this machinery or give up every chance of achieving anything.

The essence of the system and the motive force of the machinery were compromise and bargain. Do this for me and I will do that for you. I will vote for your eight-hour law if you will vote for my public building at Yapbank. Be a good Indian and stay on the reservation and you can get your pet measure through. Fall to playing any independent tricks and you might as well go out into the woods and climb trees. You think you can get out of Congress without the stench of compromise on your clothing. You do but dream. In the halls of Congress there is no other atmosphere. Compromise is the way we do things here. It is a mighty bad way and never gets very far but it is our way, and we have none other.

So seasoned veterans might have talked to one of these ambitious youngsters. So in effect they did talk, and they

told the exact and literal truth. Outside of the regular routine of legislation very little was done at any time, and what was achieved was on the bargain counter basis.

It occurred to me then and to others like me that were merely impartial observers of men and manners, that there might easily be a better way of doing things. There was the Populist party, for instance. Much as we used to make fun of it (under orders from headquarters) we knew that it had a rational and admirable program and that it never ought to have gone to smash. But that is just where it went, nevertheless, through trying to get into the dirty game on the bargain counter. Suppose, instead, that it had kept itself intact and independent, standing aloof and insisting always upon its ideas as the only salvation for the nation. It could have raised in this country an incomparable amount of trouble, it could have seen a handful of its ideas put into practical operation and itself a vital power instead of a sign of laughter.

This was felt by more than one of us, though we did not go far enough to formulate a basic idea of it. Some years afterward I found the identical thing lucidly and firmly expressed in one of Wendell Phillips's incomparable orations. "Give me," said Mr. Phillips, "fifty thousand men that will stand together, shoulder to shoulder, without compromise and without surrender, insisting upon an ideal, and they will rule the nation with their ideas."

If experience and observation go for anything, I am obliged to believe that he was absolutely right. The greatest force in this country is not the force of electoral college votes, nor of the number of men that may be shunted into office. The real force is the force of ideas. Except momentarily at times of great pressure the party that has a majority in Congress never achieves anything. The real possibility of an achieving force lies in persistent ideals.

The story of the American Abolition movement is the best illustration of this. The Abolitionists never elected anybody to office; they never carried Baraboo or M'Indoes Falls; they never distinguished themselves as practical politicians; as constructors of a vote-getting machine they would be regarded as comical failures. Yet they drove the whole nation before them by the

sheer force of their ideals, and when African slavery was abolished in this country it was the Abolitionists alone that had abolished it. Even when they seemed to be most derided and least effectual they were the irresistible conquerors because they steadfastly and unceasingly proclaimed an eternal truth.

What are majorities and elections, seats in Congress or men in office? Nothing but instruments with which to accomplish certain results. Need anyone that believes in any high and true ideal care by what name are known the instruments that realize this ideal? Not in the least, if they be honest and decent and if they involve on his part no particle of contamination, compromise, surrender, bargaining, nor yielding from his protest. Unless he be carried away with mere lust for office and personal glory he will be as well satisfied to see practical or essential progress toward his ideals come from one source as from another. What he wants is that men shall be free. Whether they are liberated by his personal friends or by his enemies can make no difference to him. His part in life is to insist always upon freedom, to proclaim it and demand it, to accept nothing short of it, to insist upon the full measure of it, to rebel against the lack of it or any proposition that in any degree falls short of it, to persist and to struggle on without ceasing for his ideal in its absolute purity.

But it does not follow that he must get an office in which to do all nor any of this. He can do it a great deal better from the outside, while he waits and works for the full day of promise. Let somebody else pass palliative legislation, make deals and preliminary reforms, and mix the compromises. Who does this he need not care; it is none of his affair. His work is to insist with all his strength upon the ultimate goal; not for his own sake but for the sake of the ideal.

And this to my mind represents the greatest political power in the world. Party majorities and blowing in the streets on election night the tin horns of triumph are about on a plane so far as real significance or value are concerned. The real aim is changed conditions. And if I know anything about politics after many years of professional connection therewith, this is the true way to secure changed conditions.

Let us suppose in this country a political party with a program that proposes a great and radical transformation of the existing system of society, and proposes it upon lofty grounds of the highest welfare of mankind. Let us suppose that it is based upon vital and enduring truth and that the success of its ideals would mean the emancipation of the race.

If such a party should go into the dirty game of practical politics, seeking success by compromise and bargain, striving to put men into office, dealing for place and recognition, concerned about the good opinion of its enemies, elated when men spoke well of it, depressed by evil report, tacking and shifting, taking advantage of a local issue here and of a temporary unrest there, intent upon the goal of this office or that, it would inevitably fall into the pit that has engulfed all other parties. Nothing on earth could save it. It would be adopting the iron-walled path of the machine system of government and down that path it must inevitably go, for from it there is absolutely no escape, and at its end is ruin.

These are the facts. No doubt the way to the Co-operative Commonwealth would look rosier if they were otherwise; they are not otherwise; they are exactly thus.

But suppose a party that kept forever in full sight the ultimate goal and never once varied from it. Suppose that it strove to increase its vote for this object and for none other. Suppose its membership to be held together by the inspiration of that purpose, to be informed of it and prepared to work for it unswervingly, to wait for it if necessary. Suppose this party at all times to insist in its agitation upon this object and to proclaim that it would never be content for one moment with anything else; that this reform and that reform were well enough for other parties but for this particular party nothing would be accepted but the fullest measure of its ideals. Suppose that by agitation, propaganda, education, literature, campaigns, meetings, a party press and every means in its power it steadily increased its membership and its vote. Suppose it regarded its vote as the index of its converts and sought for such votes and for none others. Suppose the entire body was convinced of the party's full program, aims and philosophy. Suppose that all other men knew that this

growing party was thus convinced and thus determined, and that its growth menaced every day more and more the existing structure of society, menaced it with overthrow and a new structure. What then?

Such a party would be the greatest political power that ever existed in this or any other country. It would drive the other parties before it like sand before a wind. They would be compelled to adopt one after another the expedients of reform to head off the increasing threat of this one party's progress toward the revolutionary ideal. But this one party would have no more need to waste its time upon palliative measures than it would have to soil itself with the dirt of practical politics and the bar-

gain counter. The other parties would do all that and do it well. The one party would be concerned with nothing but making converts to its philosophy and preparing for the revolution that its steadfast course would render inevitable. Such a party would represent the highest possible efficiency in politics, the greatest force in the state, and the ultimate triumph of its full philosophy would be beyond question.

In other words, and to drop all supposition, we can have a vote-getting machine and go to perdition with it; or we can have the Co-operative Commonwealth and working class government. But we cannot have both.

"All parties without exception recognize us as a political power, and exactly in proportion to our power. Even the craziest reactionary that denies us the right of existence courts our favor and by his acts gives the lie to his words. From the fact that our assistance is sought by other parties some of our comrades draw the strange conclusion that we should reverse the party tactics and, in place of the old policy of the class struggle against all other parties, substitute the commercial politics of log rolling, wire pulling and compromise. Such persons forget that the power which makes our alliance sought for, even by our bitterest enemies, would have had absolutely no existence were it not for the old class struggle tactics. * * *

"Just in this fact lies our strength, that we are not like the others, and that we are not only not like the others, and that we are not simply different from the others, but that we are their deadly enemy, who have sworn to storm and demolish the Bastille of Capitalism, whose defenders all those others are. Therefore we are only strong when we are alone."—Wilhelm Liebknecht.



The Beef Trust on Trial

BY

ANTON RUDOWSKY

WHEN Upton Sinclair published his book, "The Jungle," about seven years ago, it caused profound consternation among the American packing companies. And it was no wonder. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of men and women became temporary vegetarians. The decline in the exports of meat and meat products was phenomenal. As this decline followed closely after the big strike of the packing house workers in 1904 in Chicago, Kansas City, Omaha and other places, it was explained that the falling off in sales was probably due to the revolt of the workers.

At last, by order of Terrible Teddy, the Government made its own investigation in the packing plants—to reassure the

public, strengthen the market and save the packers from further enormous losses. The Government report corroborated all the allegations contained in the "Jungle," but also showed what great and wonderful changes had taken place in the packing industry. They said the plants were clean and that a hundred government inspectors were on the job every day inspecting the animals as well as the dressed meat so that no impurities would be likely to get into the stomachs of those who bought their beefsteaks from the big packing companies.

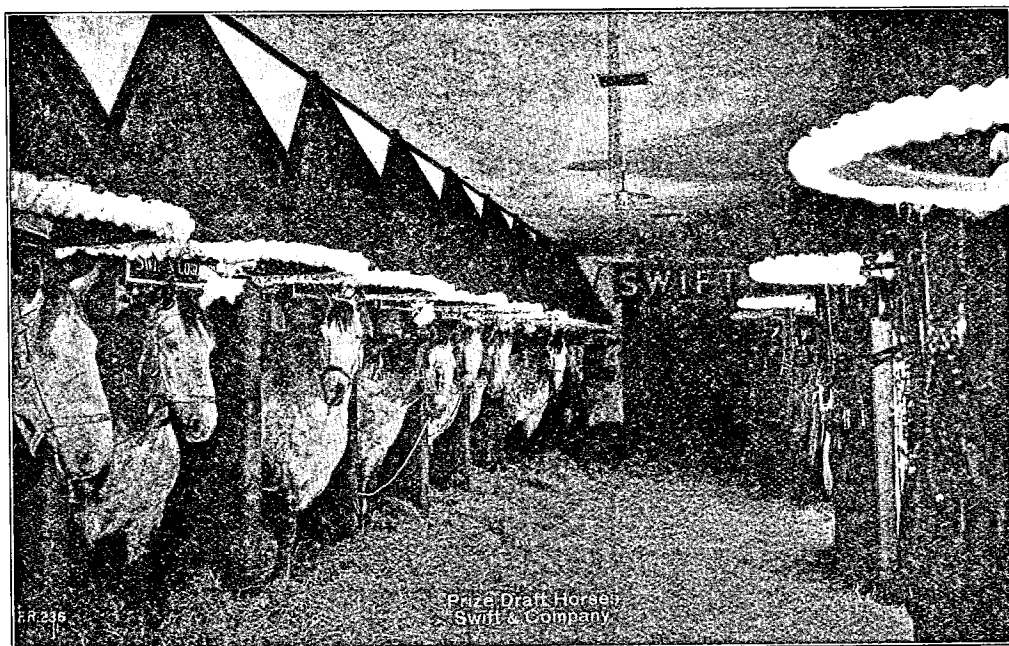
Proletarians had never cared much about the investigation anyway. They are always too busy trying to get the money to pay the butcher to stop for other matters. But the dirt and the nauseating

stench in packingtown disappeared. White caps and aprons are now furnished employees in departments where visitors are invited when they go to see the wonders of the great packing house district. The beef trust needed the investigation badly. And the immunity bath saved them from further losses.

The stage is now set for another comedy. The Beef Trust is to be tried again. Financiers declare that Morgan and Loeb, the backers of the Trust, will not permit the emasculation of the combine. The Army and Navy Department of Great

ened. The packing companies are running on about one-fifth time and Trust Buster Taft may find that he has to come to the rescue. It is good politics to play a little comedy for the benefit of the working class. But it is not good politics to injure your own friends.

However, this trial and its consequent disclosures supply valuable object lessons to the student of political economy. The development of the packing industry is closely related to certain scientific discoveries of the last thirty years. These discoveries are in turn the results of the



THERE ARE VELVET HANGINGS IN THE STOCK YARDS STABLES.

Britain has discovered that if the courts decide against the Beef Trust, the packing companies will probably be unable to supply the meat required by these departments, which have been entirely supplied for some years with the American product. A war might break out and the soldiers be unable to get any of Armour's canned beef. So the British War Department has refused to renew its contract with the Beef Trust. And the packing combine lost the privilege of supplying the meat for the British Army and Navy. A large order gone to pot!

The ruin of the industry is again threat-

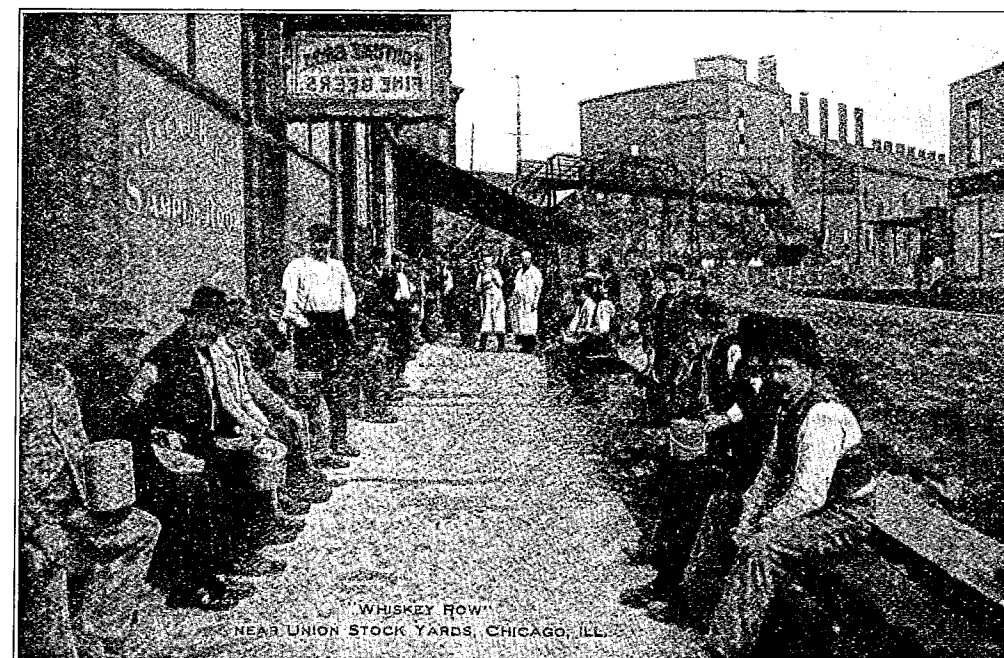
pressing need of modernized methods of production caused by the expansion of markets in all directions.

So long as the consumption of meat and meat products, except smoked and pickled goods, was immediate, the industry had to be confined to localities where meat was needed. The master butchers of yore bought their live stock, killed, dressed and sold the meats and products in the local markets from day to day. Except ham and smoked sausage there was no production in excess of the demand. The highest number of men employed by one master in big industrial centers was per-

haps fifty men. In small towns from two to three journeymen helped the masters. All employees were skilled men and proficient craftsmen, acquainted with every detail of the work. Today the largest employer in the meat packing industry in a city like Berlin, Germany, where all live stock must be killed in communal slaughter houses, requires only fifty-six men. Compare such a plant with the plants of Swift & Company and the Armour Packing Company which employ respectively 26,000 and 38,000 men and women.

had to be done within a week's time, and it took nearly as long to run a hog, or a lot of cattle or sheep through the various processes before they were finally ready for the market.

The invention of artificial ice-making and cooling by Prof. Lind and of meat preservation by Prof. Liebeck gave the signal for a revolution in the meat packing industry. Meat could now be dressed, thrown into the coolers and shipped in refrigerator cars without danger of deterioration. It was sent to larger markets, distributing points also equipped



MEN EAT THEIR LUNCHES IN THE COLD OF WHISKEY ROW.

Cattle and hog raisers in the United States ship the surplus supply of live stock that cannot be used in local markets, to England, France and Germany. In the latter country the hog barons "junkers" used their power in legislative bodies to secure laws especially designed to keep out all imported live stock from the markets. They succeeded to some extent in thus keeping up the prices on their own live stock. The law of supply and demand was temporarily neutralized.

The killing of live stock, the dressing and selling of meat products in those days

with ice machines or to seaports where steamers containing cooling rooms could take the dressed meat to all corners of the globe. The conserving process suggested the packing of prepared meat into cans. Thus safeguarded against deterioration, caused by exposure to the open air, the goods can now be kept and preserved for weeks or months, and they have been known to be kept for years and then consumed.

Production for a larger market and for the export trade could only develop in cities centrally located, within easy reach

of all rural districts, so that livestock could be shipped to the market with dispatch.

Cincinnati was the first pork-packing center, but the growth of Chicago as the largest railroad and lake shipping city of the world has made it the logical center of the international packing industry.

With the increase in the size of packing plants there came a subdivision of the labor process on an ever larger scale. New and ever larger labor-saving machines were installed.

The moving benches, lately introduced, displaced almost the last skilled worker from the yards. Where formerly a butcher workman had to be a skilled and proficient mechanic and know every detail of his trade, he is now reduced to a mere link in the long chain of laborers required in the never interrupted process of preparing meat for market.

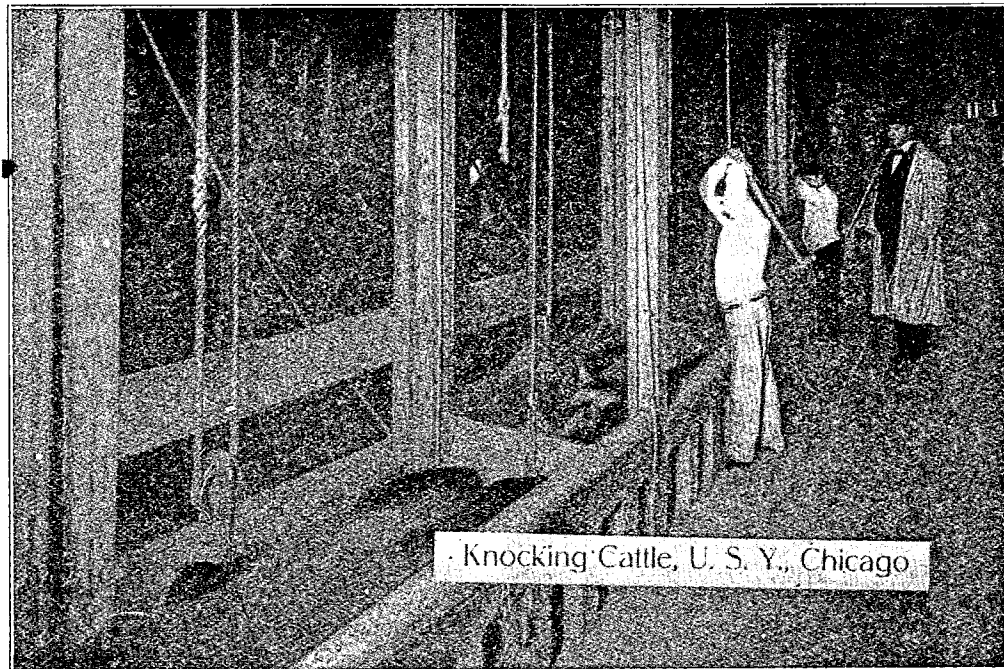
Forty-six operations, again subdivided into over 120 hand operations, are required, for example, in the beef-killing department. The man who stuns the cattle with the huge iron hammer is compelled to knock down 250 head in one

hour. The men cutting the throats and performing the other operations are obliged to keep the pace set by the "knocker."

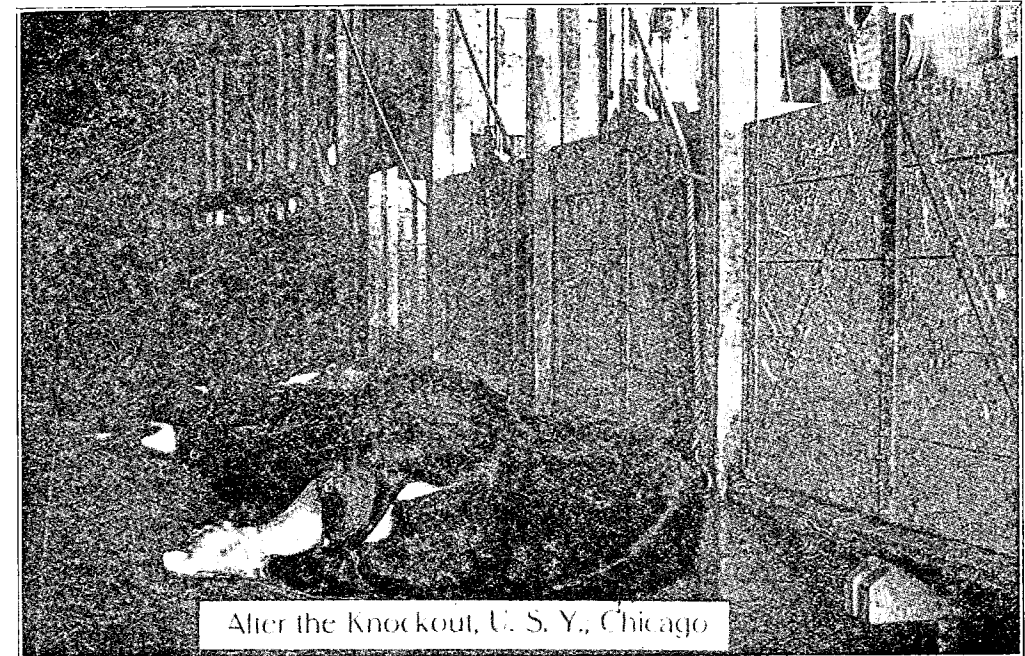
In the hog-killing department twenty-eight operations are performed by 120 workers to get the porker into the next department, where the animals are cut up and the various parts automatically passed on to the respective departments to be turned into different brands of meat products.

Squealing and kicking, a hog is jerked into mid-air by an automatic wheel bearing a chain attachment that hauls up the next porker. The pig-sticker is compelled to stop the screams of 800 hogs in one hour. With equal rapidity other functions are performed.

The small master butcher is allowed to exist only in the role of distributor and agent of the Trust. He is absolutely dependent upon the supply of beef and pork that the Beef Trust allows him. When here and there, apparently independent packers are allowed to get supplies of livestock, they usually have to depend on the stock-raising farmer of the immediate vicinity. Often they have to



ONE MAN KNOCKS OUT 250 HEAD OF CATTLE AN HOUR.

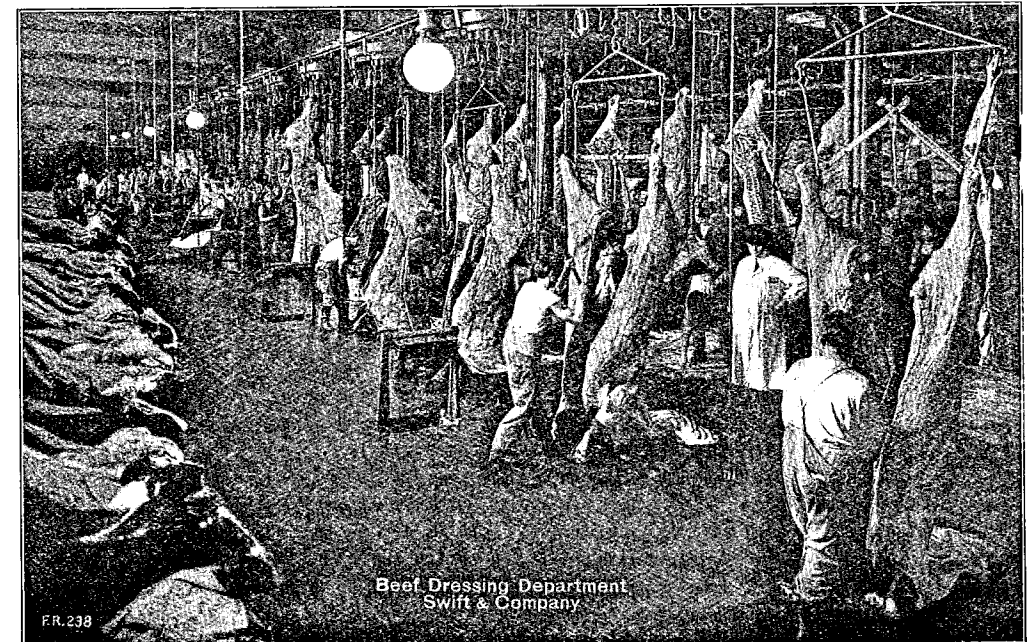


ON THE WAY TO THE STICKERS.

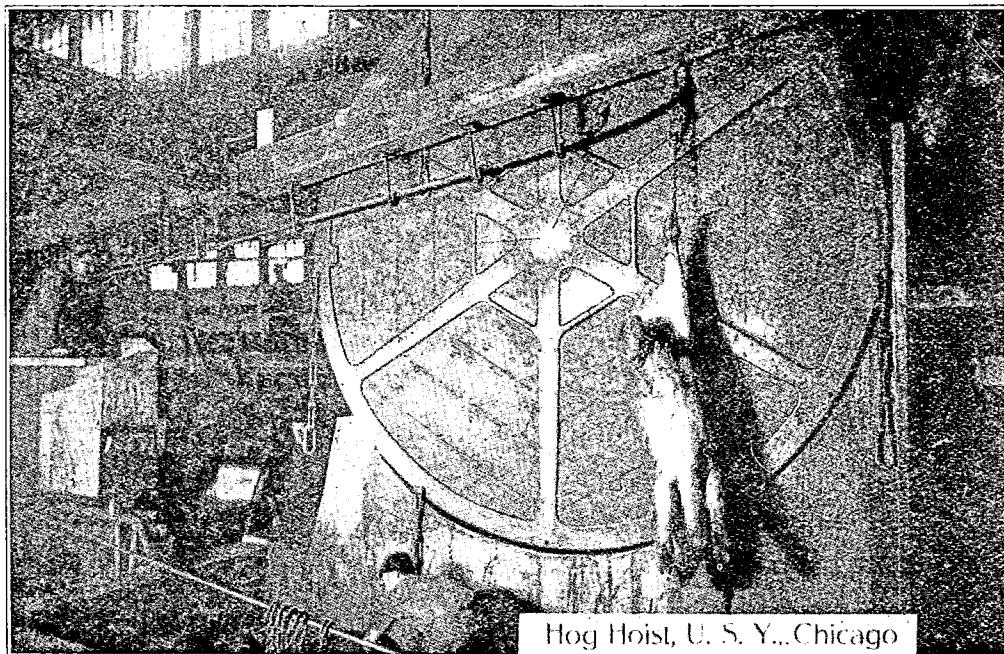
be satisfied with the livestock left over and not sold in the Stock Yards in the big packing centers.

On an average 850 loaded cars are

shipped into the Chicago Stock Yards every day the year round and about 60,000 head of livestock are killed and transformed into meat products every day.



BEEF DRESSERS HAVE TO KEEP PACE WITH THE KNOCKERS.



800 SQUEALING HOGS ARE SILENCED BY THE PIG-STICKERS EVERY HOUR.

Over 900 cars, packed with meat products, leave the terminals at the Stock Yards daily to supply meat in many far nooks and corners of the globe.

Much could be written of the wonderful mechanical appliances installed, by which the cost of production, the labor power cost, is brought to the lowest possible point.

So rapidly are the various operations formed that within one hour and a half after a live animal enters the slaughtering pens the meat is dressed and ready for the chilling process in the great coolers.

How the Beef Trust manufactures its own tin cans, builds its own refrigerator cars, established its own printing plant and daily paper (*The Drovers' Journal*), the story of its ice manufacturing plant, how the entire industry is a community in itself, containing more workers and their dependents than the state of Nevada possesses population, it would take a whole volume to tell. But in these days of scientific production everything is saved. Odds and ends are worked up into soap, glue, grease, fertilizer, collar buttons, combs and other useful commodities.

The grease is no longer skimmed from the ill-smelling Bubbly Creek described by Sinclair. The water is run through a new sort of a separator and screen that combs out every particle of grease and bone. Not one ounce of hoof that goes into the packing houses is wasted, as might be guessed, since the output of cars daily is many carloads bigger than the intake.

As a huge mechanical instrument of production, the packing industry has reached a stage of perfection almost unequalled in any other field.

But the tens of thousands of workers in the packing industry have little to say concerning the conduct of this modern industrial state of which they are so important a part. They have no vote in the administration of affairs in this industrial commonwealth. But one time, some years ago, they established certain rights and used them to say a word and more as to the disposal of their labor power.

The Knights of Labor were the first to wake them up. In 1885 they won the eight-hour day for everybody in the packing industry and without a strike. It was virtually the first industry in which the workers had gained such a revolutioniz-



BEFORE THE HOGS HAVE CEASED JERKING THEY ARE THROWN INTO SCALDING VATS.

ing point. Over 2,500 more employes were added to the pay roll as a result of the curtailment of competition among workers for jobs and wages went up. Common laborers were able to demand 22 cents an hour, while many "skilled" workers today have to be content with 16 or 17 cents an hour.

The packing house workers only enjoyed this prosperity for six months. Agents of the company were made officers of the assemblies of the workers, or officers of the workers' assemblies became agents of the company. The employers took away all the concessions that had been granted. The employes went on strike. Governor Oglesby called for the militia to cow the men. But they did not return to work. Just as the strike was practically won, General Master Powderly of the K. of L. issued the peremptory order for the strikers to return to work. The trial against Spies, Parsons and their associates was in full swing. The newspapers howled against strikers and called them "direct actionists." Master Powderly did not wish to be identified with so unpopular a cause, and for this reason the strike was called

off. Over 4,000 workers found themselves without jobs.

Thereafter new machines rapidly displaced human labor power, and the skilled workers gradually disappeared. Women and even children began to work in the meat-packing plants. The North Germans, Irish and Bohemians, who formerly predominated, were slowly replaced by workers from Austria-Hungary, Lithuania and Slavonia. Wages were slaughtered, too, and the conditions became appalling. A spirit of revolt arose. The teamsters in the yards first struck in 1902 and, supported by their comrades, they won the strike. Other strikes followed, and the packing companies were unable to check the flood toward organization. So they set their agents to work again to divide the workers on other issues.

Fifty-six crafts had to organize into as many craft unions. One was used to defeat the other. The engineers and firemen, for example, both organized in separate craft organizations, were cheated out of an eight-hour day by a board of arbitration composed of clergymen. The form of organization precluded any concerted move.

Later revolt broke out anew. A portion of the workers went out on strike, while others remained at work. All lost in the long run. Organization was completely wiped out.

But the agitation had taken deep root. The hope of the toilers centered now on the political field. They turned toward the Socialist Party. They hoped for reforms through political action. Two socialist representatives, Olsen and Ambrose, were elected into the legislature of Illinois in 1904. But they were not the type of men to "stay in."

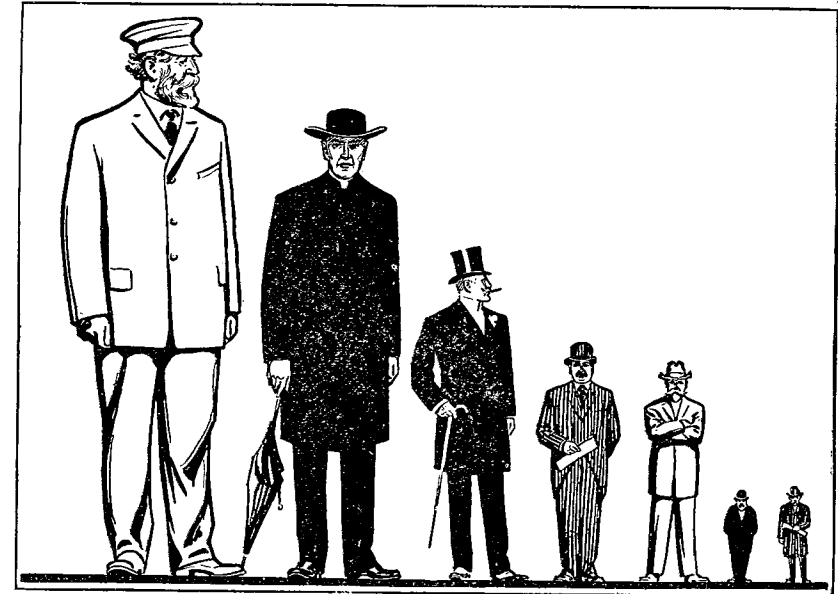
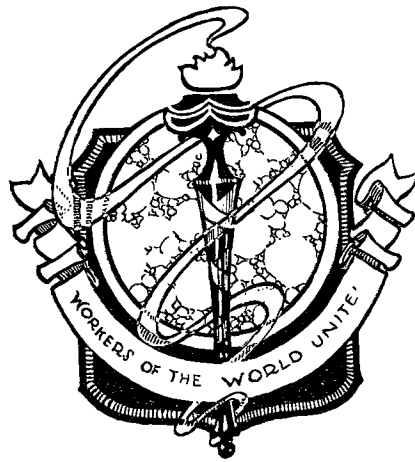
Meanwhile the sales of beef products had decreased enormously, partly as a result of Sinclair's exposures in the "Jungle." The packing plants only wanted a few men for two or three days a week. All the nerve was taken out of everybody. The labor movement temporarily died in Packingtown.

Today Packingtown is wrapped in gloom. Working conditions are almost as bad as they can be. The speeding up of the machines, the introduction of more labor-saving implements, have increased the productivity of the worker about 30 per cent as against 1905. Wages are cut right and left. So appalling is the misery "back of the yards" that reformers and settlement workers despair of ever accomplishing anything there. Their resources do not go far enough to do much in the way of ameliorating con-

ditions. The packers always welcome the charity or settlement workers. Such people keep the workers from the acts of desperation that are the result of hopelessness.

The Socialists will regain the Packingtown districts. They must do it. They can do it. But they must show the workers, thousands of whom are already hearing this message, that charity and reliance will not bring relief. And they must show them how to fight on the job by organizing into One Big Union, the industrial union embracing every worker in the Yards.

The message of One Big Union has been heard in the Stock Yards of Chicago, Kansas City, Omaha and other places. And thousands are eager for the new unionism. The toilers have started to get together. Neither charity nor the acts of the kind-hearted settlement workers will be able to long delay the day when the organized working class will put the Beef Trust on Trial—not to dissolve the Octopus, not to smash the institution, not separate the wonderful apparatus of production into component, disconnected parts, but to redeem to the workers the wealth they alone created and to bring happiness and blessings to the workers of Packingtown the happiness that all the workers the world over will enjoy.



—Literary Digest.

COMPARATIVE STRENGTH OF PARTIES IN THE NEW REICHSTAG.
The Socialists have 110 members; Centrists, 91; Conservatives, 66; National Liberals, 47; Radicals, 44; Poles, 18; all others, 19.

The Elections In Germany

BY

ANTON PANNEKOEK

THE elections to the German Reichstag have resulted in a great victory for the Social Democratic Party. In 1907 the Socialists entered the national assembly with 43 members, and by means of victories at by-elections this number was raised to 53. The great electoral battle of 1912, however, gives us quite a different story to tell. The first ballot, on January 12, gave the Socialists 67 seats, of which 25 represent newly conquered districts. The party of the working-class was, moreover, left as contestant in 121 reballotings. The second elections have netted 43 seats. Thus the Social Democratic group numbers 110 members in the new chamber.

Even more important than the number of seats is the number of votes registered. The popular vote of the Social

Democratic Party has increased by a million since 1907; it has grown from three and a quarter millions to four and a quarter. At the present moment more than a third of all voters (34.8 per cent) support this party. If the German electoral law were a really just and democratic one, giving the same influence to every vote cast, a third of the representatives would now be Socialists. But this is not the case. The electoral districts have not been altered since 1871. Since this date the great cities and the industrial regions, in which Socialism is strongest, have developed tremendously, while the rural districts have become partly depopulated. A simple comparison will show the injustice of the system which has resulted: Comrades Ledebour and Zubeil were elected in Berlin by 142,502 and 162,717 votes, respectively,

while in the rural districts representatives of the Conservative and Centrist parties were elected by fewer than 10,000 votes.

The enormous increase in the number of Socialist votes was universally expected. The last Reichstag had done all in its power to embitter the masses of the people. In 1907 Premier Bülow promised a liberal regime and thereby gathered about his standard the majority of the small bourgeoisie, the government employes, the middle-class, the intellectuals, all those who really cared little or nothing about the outcome of the election. All of these joined themselves with the Conservatives and, although the number of Socialist votes increased from three to three and a quarter millions, the Socialist group in the Reichstag was cut down from 81 to 43. There was great rejoicing throughout the bourgeois world. The Kaiser himself, speaking in poetic phrases from the balcony of his palace, referred to the Social Democracy as a power which had been "trampled underfoot." The government and the parliamentary majority thought now that they could be as arbitrarily reactionary as they pleased. In the beginning Bülow governed with the support of a majority made up of Conservatives and Liberals. The Conservatives represented, of course, the landed aristocracy. The Liberals included the National Liberals, representatives of "big business," and the Free-Thinkers (Freisinnigen), who represented commerce and the

ely financial, stock-exchange interests, each in the past had opposed militarism and the whole reactionary policy of the government. The new government was, naturally enough, anything but liberal. A new law to regulate organizations and public meetings was passed, but it left intact nearly all the police restrictions for which Prussia is famous. In fact, it cut off some of the liberties previously enjoyed; the Poles were forbidden to employ their mother tongue in public meetings and persons under eighteen years of age were denied the privilege of taking part in political organizations or gatherings. All this was openly designed to hinder the labor movement. The Liberals of all shades of opinion supported this law.

Then came the new tax laws. There were constantly increasing demands upon the national treasury. In 1908 the cost of

maintaining the army amounted to 854,000,000 marks, that of maintaining the navy to 339,000,000, while military pensions reached the figure of 146,000,000. During the two years from 1908 to 1910 the imperial debt increased from 4,000,000,000 marks to 5,000,000,000. The income of the nation was not keeping pace with the expenditures. If the constant increase in the imperial debt was to be stopped a greatly increased revenue would have to be provided. In 1908 the government introduced a new revenue law. Under its provisions 400,000,000 marks were to be raised annually from a tax on such articles of consumption as beer, tobacco, whiskey, gas, and electricity, and 100,000,000 from an income tax. The Liberals were willing to vote for these provisions despite the fact that, contrary to the Liberal program, the money was to be raised from the poverty-stricken masses of the people. But the Conservatives would not agree to the income tax provision. They joined themselves to the Centrum (the Catholic party), cut loose from the Liberals, and brought about the downfall of Bülow. The new government bloc dropped the income tax, added to the law provisions for revenue on matches, gas mantles, coffee, and tea, and finally forced it through the Reichstag. Needless to say, it aroused the greatest discontent. The Liberals now made the most strenuous opposition to the "Blue-Black" bloc, thinking thereby to win back the favor of the electorate. When, however, in 1910-11 the revision of the sickness and accident insurance law was undertaken all the bourgeois found themselves in accord. The changes were made in the direction of depriving the working-class of the large share it had previously had in the administration of the law. And the Liberals as well as the Conservatives and Centrists were in favor of these changes.

So the last Reichstag has produced nothing but increase of burdens and decrease of rights. Naturally enough the German workers looked forward to the election as a grand opportunity to settle accounts with their rulers. They knew that a large proportion of the people who had been deceived in 1907 would now vote the Socialist ticket. And in the bourgeois parties there was everywhere in evidence the ap-

prehensive fear of the sinner approaching his punishment.

This sketch of the political conditions which determined the result of the election throws little light, however, on the real meaning of what has happened. Anyone who supposes that the policies of the last Reichstag have been finally eliminated deceives himself. On the contrary, the bourgeois parties will keep to their old course. For this course is not the result of passing temporary impulse, but rather an inevitable result of the development of German capitalism in the direction of imperialism.

* * *

Imperialism is the modern form of capitalism. It has appeared during the past ten or twenty years in all nations. Capital knows no country. The capitalist is not content to exploit the workers of his own land and merely export products to foreign shores. He does not find adequate conditions for development in his country. Therefore *capital is exported* to foreign parts, especially to regions still agrarian in character, to build railways, harbors, or irrigation plants, to lay out plantations, to open mines or factories—in short, to exploit the natives in any way possible. To this end it is necessary to conquer the natives or to make the native government dependent on the enterprising capitalists. This process necessarily involves competition among the various capitalist governments. Imperialist politics is the politics of force, of conquest, of colonial war. It results, therefore, in growing danger of war between civilized nations and the necessity of increased armaments. During the last ten years all the great nations have increased their armies, and especially their navies, at a tremendous rate. The budgets devoted to this increase are being rapidly swelled by hundreds of millions, and constantly growing burdens of taxation are laid upon the shoulders of the masses of the people. There is no money left for social reforms. On the other hand, the spirit of violence and intolerance which is developed toward the people of other countries leads to high-handed brutality at home. Thus the capitalist mind in time reaches a point at which it will hear of no concessions to the working-class. Moreover, the fear of a revolution is diminished. The participation of the entire world in

capitalist production gives new life to industry. Prosperity rules, and the capitalists fancy their mastery of the situation firmer than ever. Individual business men combine in trusts and associations which are able to resist any demands of the workers for increased wages. At the same time prices mount higher, in part because of the combination of capitalists, in part because of the gradual introduction of modern industry into lands which had hitherto furnished raw materials and a market for manufactured products. This is, then, the sum total of the result of imperialism: colonial wars, increased armaments, danger of war, taxes, high cost of living, reaction and suppression of the workers, neglect of social reform.

Since 1890 Germany has been on this downward road. Kaiser Wilhelm II, as the trusted representative of big business, has been the most energetic advocate of the imperialist policy. In numerous public addresses he has urged the necessity of a strong navy. But in German bourgeois circles there has long been little understanding of this policy. There has been dissatisfaction with the burdens, disgust at the horrors revealed in the colonial administration, and exasperation at the tyranny and reaction at home. The demands of big business were, of course, ruthlessly asserted. Members of the Reichstag scolded at the shameless demands of the government and thought with fear and trembling of the moment when they would have to face their constituents, but after all did not dare to vote against the military and naval appropriations. The Kaiser was held up to ridicule when he visited Jerusalem and called on Abdul Hamid in order to secure for German capital entrance into Asia and, more especially, to gain for it the Bagdad railway concession. University professors scolded the government and, occasionally, even gave a word of praise to the Social Democracy for its proud and consistent opposition to all this. The theories, ideals, and party programs of the older, undeveloped, home-keeping capitalism still dominate the thinking of the German bourgeoisie and the German intellectual classes. In the meantime the government and the great bank-capitalists have already put in practice the imperialist policy.

This state of affairs could not go on in-

definitely. Imperialism is a necessity for the possessing and ruling class. Without it this class would be suffocated in its own surplus product and go down in a great crisis. Imperialism affords the only barrier against the rising tide of Socialism. Colonies promise the business man new markets in foreign parts. Colonial mines and railways offer the landholder and money-capitalist new avenues for investment and speculation. Scholars, for their part, are given the opportunity to explore and study hitherto unknown regions. People of intelligence and conscience have pointed out to them the study of bearing "the white man's burden"—that is, of carrying "civilization," or capitalism, to the barbarians of Asia or Africa. And to the bourgeoisie as a whole is given a new world ideal, the vision of its own nation standing dominant among all the peoples of the earth. And this vision, it is hoped, will do something to inspire those who have found themselves powerless in the path of the overpowering ideals of humanity and world brotherhood represented by the Social Democracy.

All of this, naturally, was bound to take definite political form. Herein lies the significance of the election of 1907. An intelligent, experienced financier, Dernburg by name, was placed at the head of the colonial office. In the course of a discussion of the appropriations for a colonial war he came into collision with the Centrists. The liberal bourgeoisie, inspired by its long standing hatred for the clericals, supported Dernburg, had its interest in colonization aroused, and suddenly became conscious of the surpassing beauty and glory of world-politics. As a result, all the wise professors entered the campaign against the blacks and the reds. A wave of enthusiasm carried all the philistines along in the imperialist flood, and the advance of Socialism was checked for the moment. The election of 1907 was a victory of the newly aroused, youthful spirit of imperialism, a victory of the imperialist illusion.

The five years which followed were sufficient to dispel this illusion so far as the mass of the German people were concerned. The great body of the citizens came to know what imperialism really is. They have discovered that for them it has nothing to offer but oppression and heavy burdens.

With this knowledge has come the beginning of a rebellion against it. Not only the working-class, but also the small business people, the farmers, and government officials have suffered. Thus it has come about that this new form of capitalism tends much more strongly than the old to drive these sections of the middle-class into the Socialist movement, and thereby to undermine capitalism itself. For since the last shreds of Liberal opposition went down with the Bülow bloc the only party that consistently opposes the imperialist tendency is the Social Democracy. The election of 1912 is, therefore, the answer to the election of 1907. The result is the defeat of imperialism unmasked, the beginning of the revolt of the masses against it, the natural result of the imperialist disillusionment.

Naturally this does not mean a change in the policy of the German government. The only change in the aspect of affairs lies in the fact that the Social Democracy has grown so strong that it is no longer possible to have two capitalist parties, one Conservative-Liberal and the other Conservative-Clerical. Supporting all governmental action there must now stand one Conservative-Liberal-Clerical majority. All capitalist parties must co-operate in order to furnish to the big business interests the canons, dreadnoughts, taxes, and laws against the working-class. If any one of these parties deserts the bloc, the opposition will have a majority and the government's game will be up. But the imperialist policy is firmer in the saddle than ever. The Social Democracy is a powerless minority in the Reichstag. It can do nothing but protest. Capital can safely rely on the capitalist majority to grant all that is demanded. Appropriations for increases in the army and navy and limitation of the right to strike were promised by the government before the election; it is, then, to be taken for granted that those who voted against Socialism were in favor of these things. With firm step German imperialism goes on to fasten its hold on Africa, China, and Turkey and to prepare for the great conflicts of the future, especially for a possible conflict with England. But the further it pursues this policy the more it will rouse the opposition of the masses. Stronger resolutions on the part of the ruling capitalist

power, constantly rising rebellion in the working-class—this means a fiercer class-struggle. Harder battles than have yet been fought are what the immediate future has in store for the German working-class.

Imperialism has not only changed the policies of the ruling capitalist class; it has also transformed the tactics of the working-class. It intensifies the parliamentary struggles; but parliamentarianism is inadequate to the gigantic conflict which has been entered upon by bourgeoisie and proletariat. Twenty years ago it seemed that parliamentarianism offered a straight and regular road to revolution. The increasing strength of the Socialist group in the Reichstag forced the bourgeoisie to grant a number of reforms; and wherever universal male suffrage prevailed there was a basis for believing that in the course of time education and organization of the masses would secure a majority in parliament. But these expectations have been transformed into dreams by the growth of imperialism. The method of electing the members of the Reichstag has become so undemocratic that a Socialist majority is unthinkable. If the proletariat is ever to achieve a political conquest of the state and thus overthrow the capitalist regime, it must first achieve more political rights by means of non-parliamentary means, *by the action of the masses themselves*.

Under imperialism the working-class cannot win in parliament any further reforms, any greater rights, any diminution of oppression or want. On the other hand, the proletariat has to defend itself against increased burdens and tyranny. The miseries under which it suffers at present cannot be abolished by parliament, for they result only in part from the actions of parliament. In reality the real power of parliament is decreasing at the present time. The policies of the state are more and more shaped behind closed doors by a small group of magnates and ministers. The will of this small group cannot be successfully opposed with parliamentary resolutions; the only force that can make them sit up and take notice is the demonstrated power of the masses themselves. The dissatisfaction with the tax measures passed by the Reichstag was expressed in the election. In fact, the election was chiefly useful as a demonstration of four and a quarter millions of

people against the capitalist parties. But against the high cost of living nothing can be done with the ballot. Spontaneous uprisings like those which occurred in France and Austria must voice the feeling of discontent in cases like this.

Above all does the constantly increasing danger of war spur the people on to action. Wars are not instituted by parliament, but by the government and the capitalists who stand behind it. The growing opposition of interests of the various governments constantly increases the international tension; again and again new reasons for fighting are discovered, as recently in Morocco, and there is danger of an immediate declaration of war. But a war resulting from such a cause would be the greatest calamity which could overtake the world, and especially the working-class. The transportation of all able-bodied men to the borders to butcher one another by millions, complete demoralization of industry, crises and starvation everywhere, the destruction of all civilization, degeneration into barbarism—only a world revolution could put a stop to the horrors of a world-war. For the workers, for all the population beyond a small number of great capitalists, war would be the most terrible misfortune, and they stand ready to risk everything to prevent it. But this is impossible by means of parliamentary methods. The only adequate means lies in the action of the masses themselves.

Thus it comes about that imperialism forces the working-class to rise in its might, either to force from the ruling class new political rights or to fight against war. It is no wonder that during the past five years mass actions have become more and more common in Germany. "Mass action is the legitimate offspring of imperialism," said recently the *Leipziger Zeitung*, a paper which formerly led in the warfare of the principles of capitalism and now leads no less in the revolutionary fight against imperialism. Mass actions begin with mere meetings and demonstrations, developing sometimes into huge street demonstrations, like those which played a part two years ago in the fight for a new electoral law in Prussia; and as the last, and most powerful, weapon the working-class has at its disposal the general strike.

The German working-class has shown

the workers of the world how parliamentarianism can be made a weapon in the revolutionary struggle. Parliamentary activity still serves to carry the truth about capitalism and its tyranny into the smallest villages and to weld the workers into powerful united body. But parliamentary activity is no longer viewed in Germany as the cure-all of the Socialist movement. During the past ten years there has come about a great change in the thinking of the German working-class. This fact has not been universally observed because it is not evident in the speeches of the Socialist parliamentarians, who are mostly reformists. It is much more evident in the press; in numerous Socialist papers of the more radical sort it is being remarked with increased frequency that the conquest of power is not to be brought about by the use of the ballot alone, but that the masses themselves must enter into the conflict. And among the workers of the great cities one can see developing, slowly but none the less certainly, the readiness to employ new methods in the great conflict. Naturally enough, this has brought about internal struggles within the party. The heated discussions at the last party congress grew out of the fact that the executive committee had not been sufficiently prompt in calling upon the masses of the people to demonstrate against the threatened war. Since 1905 the party has recognized in the general strike an important weapon to be used in warding off attacks on the imperial electoral law and in winning new political rights. As to its use in other cases, nothing has as yet been formally decided. The party leaders fear that an official recognition of it as a weapon against war would expose the party to legal persecution and turn

one of the strongest national prejudices against us. But it is clear that in time of actual danger of war, when it is a matter of life or death, of destruction or victory, the action of the masses will be determined, not by party resolutions, but by the deepest impulses of the people. And among the people there is dawning, especially since the Morocco affair, the determination not to be led to the field of slaughter, but rather to resist with any means which offer. When recently Rosa Luxemburg declared in a mass meeting in Berlin that in case of a threatened war the workers must employ all means to prevent it, even the mass strike, her words were greeted by a demonstration which lasted several minutes. But the central organ of the party, *Vorwaerts*, omitted just these words from its report of the meeting. This fact reflects in a strong light the tendencies of German Socialism.

Thus it is evident that the tactics and thinking of the German workers are adapting themselves to the new forms of capitalism. Here the tremendous power of international Socialism stands opposed to a capitalism which is inferior only to that of America in strength, in unity of organization, in degree of development, and in ruthlessness. Imperialism will continue to control our national policies; the elections have served to strengthen its grip. We face new and terrible struggles. But they will not take place exclusively in parliament; the masses themselves will act directly to oppose the oppressions and dangers of imperialism until it is finally and completely defeated, until the proletariat is victorious, until we have the revolution.

—Translated by William E. Bohn.

BILL HAYWOOD

BY

TOM FLYNN

(Suggested by reading Henry Frank's letter About Haywood's N. Y. Speech. This letter Appeared in the N. Y. Call.)

He wonders where you got it, Bill,
Your clear and ready speech,
Was it down in the depths of the dripping mines,
Where the straining timbers screech?

Or was it the roar of the fire-hung blast,
As it tore men's lives away,
That taught you to think what a man should think,
And say what a man should say?

Or may be the yawn of the open shaft,
Pit black as the mouth of hell,
That helped to give you the ready speech
They say you can use so well.

For you are only a miner, Bill,
Did you not dig out the ore?
So what should you know of the grace of speech
High-sounding and rhythmic lore?

Mayhap it came in the hammer's clank,
Or the crunch of the cutting drill,
Or the crushing crash of the falling rocks
That ever lurk there to kill.

Or may be the rush of the water, Bill,
That flows in the flooding mine,
Where men are drowned like cornered rats,
That taught you of words refine.

Perhaps 'twas the damp of the Western jail,
Or the walls of their prison strong,
That taught you to notice the children's wail
And rage at the workers' wrong.

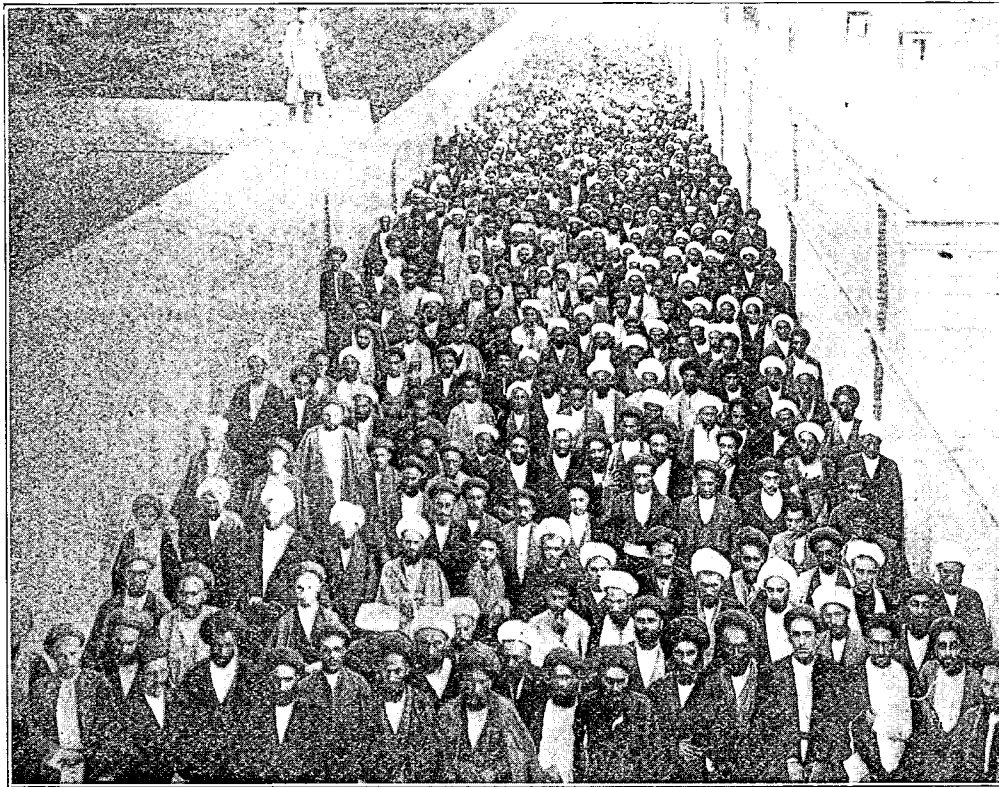
Revolution! That means what it means,
my friend,
Strong, steady and undismayed,
That the workers shall take with the hand of the strong
Making no masquerade.

That means we shall pull the old system down,
And trample it in its fall,
That means just this—and nothing but this—
Or else—means nothing at all.

We shall not look for a purchased law,
Sold out by a servile Court,
But will play the game till the one to lose
Shall pay for the winner's sport.

We want the men who are used to toil,
Not dreamers of idle dreams,
Nor the politicians who compromise,
Nor the "intellectual's" schemes.

We want the men who can look at Death
When the hirelings shoot to kill,
And that's why we want such men as
you,
Our lion-hearted Bill!



PERSIANS PARADING IN PROTEST AGAINST RUSSIAN INVASION.

The Capitalist Quarrel in Persia

BY

PHILLIPS RUSSELL

SO THEY put Shuster out. Probably by this time most of us have forgotten who Shuster is—or was—but it will be remembered that only a few weeks ago the newspapers were making an almighty fuss over the fact that Russia had demanded that Persia give the hook to W. Morgan Shuster, the young American who went over to Teheran last May to straighten out Persia's tangled finances. And Persia, after a hopeless sob or two, did so.

Hence, Mr. Shuster is no longer connected with Persia's Treasury Department. But who put him in there in the first place?

We don't know exactly, of course. Of all the enlightened people in the world, we Americans of the working class know least about our government. We are kept continually in the dark as to its doings. We might toil on from year to year and never know there was a government, except that once in a while we



RUSSIAN COSSACKS INVADING PERSIA.

commit an offense against somebody's property, or we interfere with somebody's profits, and then the government descends on us like a thousand of brick with its laws and judges and agents and inspectors and soldiery.

As regards Shuster, the story as originally given out was that Persia had such an admiration for Yankee methods and Yankee business sense that she applied to the United States government for a brisk, sharp young man to become her Treasurer-General. The United States replied that it had several such young men. So the Persian minister at Washington, we are told, looked over a few names and finally selected W. Morgan Shuster as the right party—selected him, one newspaper put it, "with the assistance of the State Department."

So, mark you, young Mr. Shuster wasn't selected at random. His name wasn't taken out of a grab bag by the Persian minister with his eyes blindfolded, but "with the assistance of the State Department." Get that.

Now, our State Department doesn't do things without reasons. Hence we may safely conclude that Mr. Shuster wasn't sent to Persia without a reason any more

than Robert Bacon of J. P. Morgan's firm was sent as ambassador to France without a reason. J. P. Morgan wanted to list American stocks on the French bourse and incidentally get some money for the Pennsylvania Railroad, and Bacon was sent to look after the job, just as "our" diplomats are sent to Russia to look after the interests of the International Harvester Company, Russia being a tremendous agricultural country, and therefore needing much farm machinery.

Anyhow, Shuster went to Persia and got busy. The first time he turned around in his swivel chair he bumped into Russia. He continued to bump into Russia. It seemed he couldn't make a move without stepping on Russia's toes, and, of course, Russia let loose an awful yell each time, calling on the other European powers to witness the behavior of this boorish interloper.

Now, why these screams from Russia? Let us speculate. In the western part of Persia there is a large strip of territory stretching from the Luristan hills down to the Persian gulf. This territory is fairly oozy with oil. You have only to sink a hole in any part of this strip and you get a gusher of rich petroleum.



A TURKISH GENERAL AND PERSIAN MOUNTAINEERS.

There are two great oil-producing countries. The biggest is the United States. Next is Russia. The oil business of this country is in the hands of the Standard Oil Company. The Russian oil business is likewise practically dominated by a syndicate of capitalists. More than anything else in the world, these Russian oil kings fear our own dear old John D. and his crowd.

Russia has had her eye on these rich Persian oil fields for a long time. For years she has been steadily pushing her "sphere of influence" southward from the Caspian Sea. She has already engulfed the Luristan hills and is still crowding her way south.

The Standard Oil Company does a considerable business in Persia and owns quite a few concessions there. So when Shuster arrives—well, there is no actual proof, of course, but the Russian Bear sniffs the American and decides he smells suspiciously of Standard Oil. That explains the ensuing roars.

It doesn't take the Russian government, prodded on by her oil capitalists, very long to find excuses for objecting to the presence of Shuster. His dismissal is demanded. And when Persia is slow about tying the can to the American, Russia shoves several regiments of Cossacks into Persian territory and occupies

two provinces. Great Britain, not to be outdone, seizes the opportunity to rush two regiments of Indian troops into Shiraz, on the Persian gulf.

Then poor old Persia, hoping to save the remainder of her shirt, Russia and Great Britain having already stolen everything else, is forced to hand Shuster his walking papers.

Russia by this time has probably tipped a wink to our Oil Trust and told it to try again.

And then here comes an American journal and says:

"The sight of Morgan Shuster standing up for the rights of Persia to self-government, and single handed fighting the aggression of Russia on the one hand and of England on the other, is enough to make the heart of an American swell with pride." Can you beat it? Trying to stir up our "patriotism" in behalf of a representative of American capitalism who has gotten into trouble in a country 10,000 miles away! If conditions were ripe Standard Oil could easily invent an excuse for war out of this incident in the same way that the Sugar Trust egged us on into declaring a war against Spain in order that it might tighten its grip on the cane fields of Cuba and the Philippines.

Of course, the working class has no interest in this quarrel between Russian, British and American capitalists on the other side of the world. The only concern of working people is the eighty cents of which they are robbed out of every dollar's worth of value they produce. All the quarrels, the fights, the tricks, the "diplomatic negotiations" that nations indulge in these days are merely features of the constant struggle between the capitalists of the world over the possession of that eighty cents. Having robbed the

working class, they next try to rob each other.

It behooves us to be on our guard, however, when such incidents as this Shuster affair arise. The big capitalists of each country in their fights for the good things of the world are constantly seeking an excuse for war, and if war comes the members of the working class, of course, will do the fighting while the capitalists, like buzzards, will sit off at a distance and enjoy their feasts after the fighting is over.

The Green-Eyed Poll Parrots

Extracts taken from a Lecture Delivered by Comrade PETER KINNEAR before the Tenth Ward Socialist Party Branch, Columbus, Ohio

A TEACHER had a very dull pupil in her school. For weeks she tried to impress on his mind that the three cardinal principles of the Declaration of Independence were Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. Johnnie being unable to master these, she became discouraged and adopted another method.

She handed him three buttons, a white one to represent Life, a brown one to represent Liberty, and a red one to represent the Pursuit of Happiness.

"Now, Johnnie," she said, "go home and try to memorize the three meanings of these three buttons and in a few days I will call on you to give them before the class."

After a few days the teacher called on Johnnie to tell the class what the three cardinal principles of the Declaration of Independence were.

The boy arose slowly from his seat and drew forth from his pocket two buttons. "Teacher," he said, "I have two of them with me, Life and Liberty, but ma sewed the Pursuit of Happiness on my pants this morning."

So we in our time possess two liberties. We have Religious and Political Liberty, but Industrial Liberty, the Pursuit of Happiness, is sewed on to the pants of

the Capitalist Class.

And this is the Socialist Party's contention today. We wish to gain industrial liberty, freedom from work for the capitalist class. However, to this class everything that is old is right and every new thing is wrong.

They admit that Socialism might be practical "if we could change human nature," and this, they say, is impossible. It might mean dividing up, with nothing to divide, and they say that would be of no benefit to the workers, anyway. And again, they caution, Socialism might have something to do with religion and that's against the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. But the best reason of all, they claim, is that it "won't work because it has never been tried."

Now, there is some hope for us and also these skeptics who in all past history have been the unfailing barometers of advancement. Their distrust rose high with every step forward proposed by the working class.

But let us look back a few thousand years and take our consolation out of the past.

We find a subject people rebelling against the impositions of the master class in the exodus of the Children of Israel out of Egypt and into the Promised

Land. Moses, their leader, found in the bullrushes of the Nile by the Egyptian princess, adopted and raised in court, became a power throughout the land.

His heart bled and went out to his race. He saw them tilling the soil for the masters and receiving back in product only enough to keep body and soul together. The ruling class in that, as in our body, recognized the great principle that, to have good and faithful slaves, it was necessary to keep them exploited to the minimum of existence. Otherwise they might become rebellious and throw off their yoke of slavery.

Moses realized that with the exploitation to which his race had to submit it was only a matter of a very short time when a strike for liberty would become an impossibility. Consequently he and the wise men of the different tribes commenced to lay plans for the exodus of his people.

At once the Green-eyed Poll Parrots, the hirelings and spies in the pay of the Egyptians, commenced to get busy and serve their masters.

"Why, this man Moses is an anarchist," they croaked. "He's a visionary. There is no promised land. You Children of Israel are ungrateful. Didn't the Egyptians feed us when we were in want? Didn't they allow us to speak our mother tongue and cherish our traditions?" Then they would shake their owly heads and solemnly croak: "It won't work. It can't be did. It never was, and it never will be."

But we read that Moses actually did lead the Children of Israel out of bondage, but they say now that, after all these centuries, you can hear their croaking cries in the corridors of the Pyramids, echoing faintly: "It won't work. It can't be did. It never was, and it never will be."

Other great revolutionary events to bring joy into the minds and hearts of the struggling slave were in the days of Christ.

In that day the ruling class, through the established Jewish church, taught the working class, who tilled the soil in the interests of the master class, that it had no soul, therefore it had no right to the Kingdom of Heaven. In other words, the only difference between the worker and

the animal was that the worker could speak and think, though he dared not express himself against the established order of things.

This idea had been taught the worker so long that he actually believed it and accepted it as his gospel. The nobles and established Jewish church controlled the avenues of education, consequently education was only for the select few, and consisted mostly of the interpretation of the Scriptures and their relation to the working class. There was no hope of heaven for the working class. The workers, having no education, naturally had no ideals; their thoughts of liberty became stunted. They were living automatons, the ideal workmen from the viewpoint of the ruling class.

Christ, who was a workingman, saw the condition of his own class. It was a class of abject slaves to the established church. Realizing the economic level to which they had sunk, he set about organizing the workers into communistic unions. 'Way above the average worker in intelligence, he commenced to instill in these workers' minds a new ideal for them to strive for.

With the organization of the communistic unions came better food and shelter. Better food and plenty of it made for healthy vigorous minds. The workers began to think.

Jesus now commenced to interpret the Scriptures from the viewpoint of the working class. Minds were ripening for the newer ideal—the thought of the Kingdom of Heaven. The worker felt that he had a soul. "Thy Kingdom on Earth as in Heaven" was given a new meaning, and could be brought about by doing unto others as you would they do unto you. The principle that those who do not sow shall not reap, became the cry of the communistic unions, whose membership ran into thousands.

Naturally the ruling class became suspicious of the large and revolutionary following of Christ, who was speaking nothing but the truth. He was actually talking about a new Kingdom on Earth ruled by the working class. He arrayed class against class. He even went so far, in his indignant wrath as to create a panic in Jerusalem, by going into the sacred tem-

ple, the headquarters of the money changers, and driving them out. This was a sensation and could compare in our time to Gene Debs walking into the New York stock exchange and driving the brokers into the street. The next day we would have a panic.

The Jerusalem Panic brought out the Green-Eyed Poll Parrots. They put on their emerald robes and blinked their owlish eyes as they stalked the streets of Jerusalem. "Why, this man Christ is an anarchist," they croaked. "Why, you workers can't establish a kingdom on earth, you'd have to change human nature first, and we have been trying to do this for years through the church," and then they added: "It's against the religion of the fathers," and with a last appeal they threw out their chests and solemnly croaked: "It won't work. It can't be did. It never was, and it never will be."

History again has written in the affirmative. The rotten carcasses of the Green-Eyed Poll Parrots have long ago been forgotten, even though they went to the length of crucifying this man Christ. The idea that the worker has a soul prevailed, even though the masters persecuted those who believed in this idea for centuries.

However, the Established Order of Rule, seeing the intensity of the belief of the working class for this new idea, for which men were willing to sacrifice their lives, laid plans to capture the revolutionary movement.

The Established Church and nobles now discovered the half-way house, "Purgatory." Through this idea the church set itself up as the direct mediator between God and Man. The principle now was, Hell on earth, Purgatory to follow and Heaven to come, providing you paid your way through Purgatory. The price, as a rule, was always a little more than the workers had.

Gradually mankind drifted into the Dark Ages. The ideal of the workers again became lost to them. Those who had opinions and expressed them against the Established Order of Things were put to death. Superstitious Faith and Fanaticism ran riot. But the greater these persecutions became, the more intense be-

came the desire of the workers for religious liberty.

Again, from the common people, sprang Martin Luther. The reformationist came from poor and humble parents. Educated in the monasteries of Europe, he had a splendid opportunity to see how the game of church and state were used to exploit the workers.

He advocated the right of man to worship God in his own way.

His plea met its responsive note in the hearts of thousands. Followers of Luther sprang up like mushrooms all over Europe, contending from the highways and byways for religious liberty.

Again the Green-Eyed Poll Parrots came forth from the tall timbers and high grass. For once they told the truth, "It was against religion and the Established Order of Things." They were in their glory and put on extra large green goggles to impress the natives and with a chant that can still be heard commenced to repeat the stereotyped arguments of old.

"Why Luther is a heretic," they croaked in unison, as they solemnly added: "Why he's been damned and all those that listen to him. You can't have more than one religion on earth, because God won't allow it. It is against God and the Church." Then they took on a prayerful attitude and chanted: "Why you're placing your right to the Kingdom of Heaven in jeopardy. You will have to change human nature first, and we have been trying to do this for 1,500 years." Then, as a last resort, they would croak: "It won't work. It can't be did. It never was, and it never will be."

It took 30 years of intense warfare against the Established Order of Things to decide this great question of religious liberty that today makes it possible for mankind to worship God in his own way or not at all.

Luther's name is embellished on the pages of history, but the Poll Parrots are quietly slumbering in their forgotten graves.

Religious liberty brought an intense desire on the part of mankind for education. Germany now became the cradle of education. With education came another desire, the wish of man to have a say in

his own government. The new education gradually evolved the next great step that was essential to man's progress.

In the past man had been cowed by belief in the divine right of kings. If by chance nature endowed the king with an heir that was an idiot, why by the divine right of rule men were governed by an idiot. Now, the king could do no wrong, therefore everything the idiot commanded was right.

The demand of men to have a say in government crystallized in the American Revolution.

Again the Green-Eyed Poll Parrots came forth from the tall timbers, contending against political liberty. They critically shook their heads as they gazed after Washington's half-starved army. Here was a contention that had no precedent, that was against all law in the Established Order of Things and had to be rooted out at once. "Why, it's against religion," they croaked. "Proof? Why, there's Tom Paine, an active supporter of this new dream of mankind." And they raised their croaking voices and shouted: "Man has always been ruled by a king, because God intended it to be so. He sent his dictates to Samuel from heaven. What would you common people do with a government? Run it into the ground in four weeks and then beg for a king. You don't know how to vote. One state will be fighting another. Religion will go out of existence." Then they sadly shook their heads and wailed: "You will have to change human nature first and that is impossible." They squinted their eyes after Washington's retreating patriots and croaked. "It won't work. It can't be did. It never was, and it never will be."

History again has written in the affirmative. The Green-Eyed Poll Parrots again took to the woods, blinking their eyes at the progress of man in the last one hundred and thirty years, unable to comprehend the advance of man.

With political liberty came a greater activity on the part of man for educational training. This he demanded for all. The little red school house became the greatest symbol of man's progress. With these educational facilities, man was able, through the invention of ma-

chinery, to lighten his toil and free himself from drudgery.

Step by step he learned to harness Nature to do his bidding. He learned the uses of steam and electricity and how to apply them to his needs. Today he stands aghast at the monster machinery of production that his energy and knowledge have brought forth.

But today he is governed by it, enslaved by its very productiveness. The machine has turned into a curse where it should be a blessing. However, the mind of man will yet turn the productiveness of machinery to his own benefit, marking the next great step necessary to his freedom.

The private ownership of the machines has created the newer slavery—Industrial Slavery. The social ownership of the machines will bring the newer freedom—Industrial Freedom.

Industrial Freedom today is sewed on the breeches of the capitalist system, because the machine today is used to produce goods for personal profit instead of for use. The newer interpretation on the part of the workers regarding profits is that profits are robbery—pure and simple. They are questioning the right of the ruling class to allow them and their kind to suffer for the want of something to eat in a land that is unexcelled for productiveness.

The newer idea, one for all and all for one, each to have an equal opportunity to share in the fruits of machine production is agitating the worker's mind. The thought that we are all dependent on one another is growing by leaps and bounds. The solution to Industrial Freedom lies in the ownership of these monster machines, the modern tools of production. To bring plenty for all, these machines must be owned by those that use them. The workers must receive the benefit of the machines they operate.

And this newer idea that will drive the workers into action for Industrial Freedom is *SOCIALISM*.

Its growth is becoming so tremendous throughout the nation that to save itself the ruling class is again sending its Green-Eyed Poll Parrots throughout the land, contending against this newer idea of the working class.

Again the same old arguments are fished out of the dust heap by the same old motley crew that harassed Moses, that crucified Christ, that damned Luther, that danced with joy at Washington's starving army at Valley Forge. They are contending throughout the land from rostrum and pulpit that Socialism is against religion; that it will destroy the home; that it will lower the morals of the nation; that it is robbery; that it is of foreign importation, therefore un-American; that it will destroy the incentive in man; that all men would be equal in an industrial democracy—and we trust to God that this is true.

And last of all they contend that things have always been as they are now, that they are so intended by the Creator, that there should always be masters and slaves. They say that to accomplish the dream of Socialism, we would have to change human nature.

And in unison this same old anvil chorus, with their croaking Poll Parrot voices, with their ears cocked for the master's bidding and the jingling price of their service held before their eyes, gibber away: "It won't work. It can't

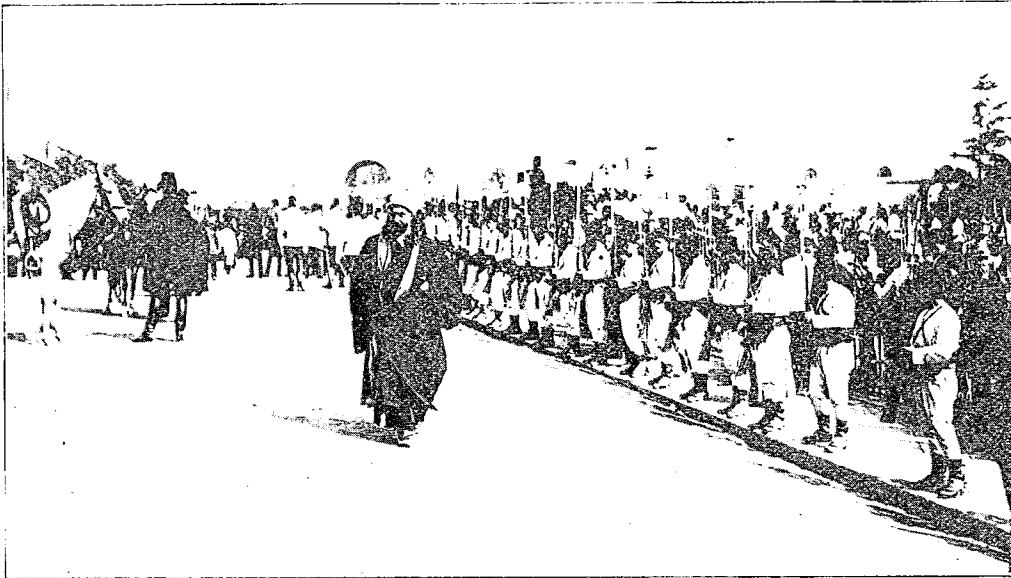
be did. It never was, and it never will be."

But Poll Parrots cannot stay the social unrest that today is prevalent throughout the land. Their arguments are weak. They have no solution to offer for plain old poverty. They cannot face honest men on the rostrum and debate this great principle.

These Poll Parrots are like Don Quixote fighting the windmills. Socialism is a scientific truth. It takes its interpretation from the past. It demands that the rights of man shall prevail over the rights of property, and that Social wealth shall be used in the best interests of man and not to the enslavement of man.

And then only will we have the material interpretation of the philosopher's dream of old, "Thy Kingdom Come on Earth." The Green-Eyed Poll Parrots of our time, with their mouthings from the past, "It won't work. It can't be did. It never was, and it never will be," will fold up their tents like Arabs and silently steal away. For with Socialism will come the destruction of the master class and all of its institutions and retainers.





TURKISH TROOPS BEING INSPECTED.

The Brigandage of Tripoli

BY ARTHUR M. GIOVANNITTI

IT IS a Socialist axiom that all wars are iniquitous from the point of view of humanity and disastrous and reactionary from the proletarian standpoint.

We shall leave to humanitarians and sentimentalists, of which lately there is such an over-abundant plethora, to condemn war at their peace dinners and diplomatic picnics at The Hague on account of its atrocities and horrors, and sticking closely to our class division of humanity we shall consider war strictly from the point of view of the working class.

The working class, which does not declare war, is in the enormous majority the one that fights it—therefore it is the interest of the capitalist class to pretend that in all wars it is always in the main the welfare of the masses that is involved.

Never so much our rulers and masters insisted on this as in the present bloody vaudeville of Tripoli which has been described in the gaudiest colors as the prom-

ised land of the poor, half starved Italian peasantry and a sort of holy sepulchre to rescue from the clutches of the "unspeakable Turk" in the name of civilization and Christianity. Strange as it may seem, a few Italian Socialists, Syndicalists and even Anarchists have openly come out in defence of the Tripolitan hold-up, claiming that the Italian working class would highly benefit by the capture of those squalid and half deserted lands, so that the issues have been confounded to such an extent that it is almost impossible to lay all the blame of this impending disaster at the door of capitalism and the monarchy.

But what are the real interests involved in the present war between Italy and Turkey? To the simplicists who have a ready-made creed in politics and economics, as in everything else, this war is explained only by the tendency of a growing nation to expand whenever its political boundary has become too narrow for its industrial and

commercial activities—but for those who see and study things and events from a broader field of view the answer is quite different.

As a matter of fact, you cannot explain in the same way the seizure of Tripoli by Italy and that, for instance, of the Philippines by the United States for, although the reason is the same—colonial expansion—the economic forces that make for it are divers and disparaging. Colonization, which, in the original sense of the word means the development of virgin territories, means, as a fact, a different thing to each separate nation; to some it means the exploitation of national products; to others, as in the case of Transvaal, Congo, Morocco, etc., the exploitation of natural resources, and to others still, and this in most instances, the general wanton plundering of everything that is worth anything.

Altogether, however, with the possible exception of when it has a mere political reason, colonization means only one thing—pillage.

The excuse is always the same: Civilization—an elastic and malleable word which may mean according to the points of view the Bible or the public school, the cannon or the locomotive, but which, ultimately signifies nothing but capitalism, whether it be investments, taxation or pure and simple highway robbery.

However, it would be wrong to infer from the fact that all capitalist countries have more or less taken to "colonizing" that Capitalism means necessarily war, or rather that the bourgeoisie is war-like and trouble-making; for no class in history was ever, by disposition and natural temperament, so disposed to peace as the capitalist class.

The bourgeoisie, which—as a class—has not fought for its birthright as the proletariat will fight, but has made the people do it—will fight, or rather will make others fight for her only when her existence is imperiled. Were it not so, with the psychology which is the same in all thieves, whether burglars or pickpockets, the capitalist class would ask for nothing better than to quietly keep on enjoying the spoils of their cunning and dextrous plundering, without raising the least disturbance. It is, as a matter of side illustration, just on account of this peaceful disposition, determined by the fact that it has no natural

means of defence and no hope of surviving its defeat as the other classes of history had, that Capitalism has become the champion of Christianity, philanthropy and democracy, the moral, economic and political trinity of peace, charity and good will, the only things that can save it from Socialism, which means the absolute dictatorship of the working class.

The capitalist class, therefore, recurs to war only when it is strictly compelled to do so for its own conservation; that is the maintenance of internal peace and the continuance of the existing order of things—exploitation and profits.

Whenever this peace is disturbed, which may be only by these profits being endangered by the growing demand of the working class—the only one that has any fighting spirit—the bourgeoisie opens the safety valve and tries to expand.

This expansion is determined in the different countries by two factors: either an excessive growth of production unaccompanied by a proportional growth of the producers and therefore of the consumers, or, vice versa, by an excessive growth of the population (consumers), unaccompanied by a similar growth of production. In the first instance, it being necessary to give an outlet to products, we have the seizure of foreign commercial markets; in the second an exportation of men, either by emigration or by the capture of unexploited territories. In both instances, if it is necessary in order to keep peace at home, Capitalism will declare war abroad, but in no instance and for no reasons whatever will it reduce its profits.

By the former reason we will have sooner or later (and nothing short of an economic revolution can avert it) war between the United States and Japan for the control of the Asiatic markets, and by the latter we are now assisting to the bloody tragi-comedy between Italy and Turkey for the possession of Tripolitania.

No other economic reason can be found on the side of Italy, which has taken the aggressive, that that of relieving internal conditions by securing more land for the over-abundance of idle arms.

Italy, in fact, is not suffering exactly from what you may call over-production; she has not an overflow of idle capital and therefore has nothing to export and nothing to invest but men.

The Italian proletariat, especially in the south, has remained through the last forty years what it has always been, the same people of old, mostly addicted to agriculture, stock raising and other labors that are strictly confined to the surface land. Now during these forty years the population has steadily grown with that impetus that has made Italian fecundity famous all over the world, whilst the land has remained the same.

The Italian bourgeoisie having, through their utter lack of courage and capacity, been unable to create industries adequate to the necessity and even to apply modern systems to farming that the land might have grown more productive, has been left to face a desperate problem—that of maintaining 35,000,000 people on the resources of the country and at the same time keep their own profits at the same level. After years of discussion, scheming and heavy thinking they have been able to find only one solution: to depopulate the country.

There were, of course, other remedies—heroic remedies—like, for instance, the drainage of swampy lands, of which there are enormous tracts, the irrigation of dry ones, the further development of existing industries (iron, coal, silk, woolens, sulphur, sugar, etc.) and the creation of new ones; but the Italian bourgeoisie, being the most cowardly and impotent pack of greedy fools that ever dishonored mankind, had no heart to undertake such a tremendous task, and the Italian government could not think of saving a few million on the army, the navy, the royal appanage, the church and other similar leeches. If you only consider that Italy spends for the Ministry of Agriculture only 20,000,000 francs a year (\$5,000,000), while it pays the king alone 16,000,000 and the pope 4,000,000 (which, by the way, he haughtily refuses, so that he might still pose as a prisoner), you will have a faint idea of the shameful conditions that exist there.

The only remedy then, that was left was emigration. For the last thirty years the Italians have been emigrating at the rate of three to four hundred thousand a year, flocking mostly to the United States and South America. Here, however, the Italian peasant, which gives the highest percentage of emigration, has lost its characteristics, and having developed at home

a sullen hatred for the land which has been such a cruel step-mother to him, he has refrained from agriculture and invaded the industrial fields.

Had the Italian peasantry in the United States taken to farming they could, perhaps, upon their return home do what the landlord bourgeoisie had not been able to do: develop, fertilize and till the soil after the scientific American ways and still manage to live—but as they have become industrialized and as the few Italian industries are over-crowded, it follows that all those who emigrate to the United States are entirely lost to the mother country. The few that return home either become small proprietors and business men there or, and this in most cases, sell whatever they have however they best can, gather all their family and clan and sail again for America.

All efforts, both by the Italian and American governments, equally interested in the game, to direct the Italian immigration towards the agricultural south and west of the United States, having failed, and America having already a fast growing army of unemployed industrial workers, Italy has seen lately another specter loom up in her stormy sky—that of a coming restriction of immigration by Uncle Sam, whose symptoms are already apparent. This, added to the strained relations with Argentina, where peonage is still in full force, the growing industrial disturbances at home, the great national disasters of the past few years (volcanic eruptions, floods, earthquakes and lately the cholera, which have been conscientiously aided by the government in its work of devastation) has made Italy look towards Africa to secure a nearer territory for the outlet of idle and, therefore, dangerous arms. Hence the conquest of Tripolitania. This is the only reason for the present war. No other economic interests are involved in it, with the possible exception of those of the Bank of Rome, which during the last few years has invested a few millions in Tripoli, in a manner that falls nothing short of open brigandage.

This Bank of Rome, whether to prepare the ground and reason for the war, already planned, in accord with the government, or to further the interests of the Catholic Church, by which it is owned, controlled and operated; after having established a

branch in Tripoli, has been profusely loaning to the natives and mortgaging heavily their lands and property. The primitive Arabs and Bedouins, unfamiliar with the business ways of the white, rushed at this unexpected Christian manna that seemed to fall from heaven and borrowed whatever they could get, mortgaging the land, the houses, the trees, even their camels and horses.

The holy bank at the beginning was kind and lenient with them, renewing their mortgages and delaying payments, thus inducing them to get still further into debt, until at last having realized that it had a secure clutch on the poor people's throats, refused any further prolongation of payments and promptly dispossessed them and expropriated their property.

This went on in such a shameful manner that the Turkish governor was compelled to issue an edict whereby he enjoined the native population from having further business dealings with the Italians, thus producing a strained situation that culminated just before the war in a general boycott of all Italian goods by Tripoli.

Italy had now at last the excuse that she had been looking for so long and probably had been patiently preparing, to declare war without interference by the Powers, which, had it been only a question of take and hold, would have each one done the thing itself with quicker and better success.

But this was not sufficient, for if this was enough justification in the interested eyes of international capital, before the world at large it was not enough to warrant such a high-handed act of piracy. It had to be cloaked, like the stealings and ravaging of India, China, Egypt, Tunis, Morocco, etc., with the blue mantle of civilization; for capitalism is always very particular about keeping the appearances of justice and morality. Moreover, Italy had to somewhat justify the burglary at home, where patriotism was called a synonymism of liberty and where the Garibaldian tradition, which has made of the Italians the knight-errants of the world freedom, would have been shocked by such an unwarranted invasion of another people's country.

The Italians, who during the last century have made their own the cause of all peoples and fought in succession by regular

expeditions, in South America for the emancipation of the negroes, in Poland against Russia, in France against Prussia for the republic and the commune, and more lately in Greece against Turkey for the emancipation of Crete, and in Mexico against Diaz, could have been won over to the cause of war only if their national pride, rather than the pope's pocket-book, had been hurt and outraged.

To this it must be added that after the disastrous adventure in Abyssinia seventeen years ago, the warlike spirit of the nation had been abated, the army discredited and demoralized and the anti-militarist sentiment fostered by the Socialist propaganda had taken alarming proportions.

Only a shocking deed could overcome all these difficulties and this, intentionally or not does not matter, was ably prepared and brought about by the buccaneers of the Bank of Rome in connivance with the government and the church. When the poor natives realized at last in what an infamous way they were being spoiled, all their dormant primitive instincts blazed up again and, driven to despair and finding no redress, they undertook to harass, insult and persecute the Italian residents, murdering a few of the most hated ones.

Everything was now in perfect order—Italy could sharpen the stiletto of the brigand and make it pass for the avenging sword of Justice. She should go.

Horrible stories of Arabian and Turkish crimes were printed and circulated; of a plain murder they made a massacre, of a burglary an expedition of Raisuli; they spoke of Italian girls kidnapped for the harems of the Moslems or altogether raped in the public squares, and with these and kindred stories, in most cases shameful and arrant fabrications, they bore so much on the spirit of the people that it became worked up to such a frenzy that even the blind beggars began clamoring for war.

And the king declared war without even convoking the parliament.

Italy will take Tripoli. It may take months, years perhaps for the Arabs are determined and have real Mauser rifles instead of flint and stock guns, but ultimately "civilized" warfare will win over primitive ways. But will Tripoli solve the problem, the many problems that Italy is fac-

ing today? And what benefit will the Italian working class derive from a few square miles of cultivatable land and an immense ocean of hot moving sand after hundreds of millions have been spent, thousands of lives destroyed and the bloody hoofs of militarism trampled a great part of that splendid class consciousness that so patiently and laboriously had been cultivated?

So far, from the war, that she has heralded and acclaimed as a holy crusade she has reaped nothing but misery and humiliation, new taxes of money and blood and the atrocious anxiety of the waiting. The people have seen their country stand shamefaced before the nations of the world to answer for nameless atrocities that have been perpetrated by the flower of its youth, they have seen the ghastly and infamous gallows that their fathers had abolished, even for punishing the murderer and parricide, raised up again in the squares of Tripoli by their grandchildren to hang men guilty of having defended their coun-

try and their homes, they have seen the most beastly primitive instincts reconquer the better nature of man, the loftiest virtues fade before military arrogance, peace ranked with cowardice, humanity with fear, brutality with heroism and over all the bloody laughing fangs of murder enthroned. But when, after the effects of the drunken brawl of pillage and slaughter have passed, they shall reckon at last their costs and their gains, they will bitterly realize that patriotism that wants to help them only by sending them to another country to fight working men is a sham and a fraud.

And instead of going to Tripoli or anywhere else in the world they will finally understand that it is better to settle wrongs where they are, and that if they must kill, and get killed for their bread and their existence, it might as well be in a revolution as a capitalist war and rather than shoot a lot of ragged beggars abroad, they will hang a few well-fed thieves at home if necessary to destroy capitalism.



WAR IS HELL! LET THE CAPITALISTS GO TO—WAR.

Tools and Tactics

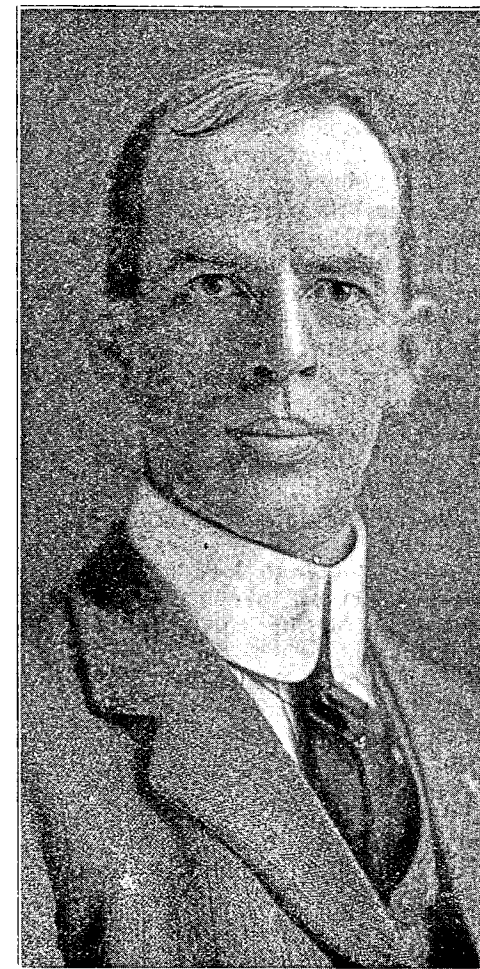
BY

ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE

I HAVE been commanded by my Editorial Chief, Comrade Kerr, to write for the March REVIEW on tactics; and, of course, I must obey. For has not the vivid imagination of my good Connecticut comrade and neighbor, Robert Hunter, the Sage and Squire of Highland Farm, recently pictured the kindly Kerr as the John D. Rockefeller of the Socialist publishing business greedily reaching out his octopus-tentacles to swallow the Socialist movement? It matters not whether or no I have anything to say; the Boss has spoken, and write I must, or be whisked straightway into the copious Kerr interior. Of two evils I choose the lesser, and the REVIEW readers must suffer.

New tactics are merely a means to an end, so that unless we are all clear and agreed as what the end or goal is, we shall but waste our time discussing tactics. We must answer the question, 'Whither?' before we take up the question, 'How?', and I suspect that when we shall have fully answered the former, most of the difficulties of the latter will have vanished.

What then is our goal? The easy answer that will come of itself to the lips of every comrade is the abolition of exploitation of man by man. Very good, as far as it goes, but it does not go very far. That is merely negative, to state what we are going to get rid of. We must know what the positive thing is we are trying to bring into the world. And this positive good for which we are all striving is what I have often described as Worldwide Brotherhood. It is quite true that this Brotherhood is the necessary consequence of the abolition of exploitation, but it is only because the latter brings in its train the infinite emotional enrichment of the race implied by the former that it is worth fighting for.



ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE.

Ruskin rightly said that the richest nation was the nation containing the greatest number of healthy and happy human beings. So that our goal is to people the world with the maximum number of joy-filled and joy-radiating human beings. That means to fill the world to the saturation point with love, for love is the great begetter of joy. How infinitely it will multiply the joy of every human being to be keenly, vividly conscious of the fact that he or she is beloved by all other human beings! We have as yet no conception of the vast sum of pleasur-

able emotion this old world is capable of holding. Our ideal is to fill it to the brim with love and the joy that love begets.

Now, if love is to be the chiefest good in the world in the wonderful days a-coming, it follows that we want every bit of love we can squeeze into the world today. In a word, love is both the goal and the road to the goal. Socialist tactics in their broadest outlines were laid down once for all by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto when they wrote: "Workingmen of the world, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain." The power of the working class depends absolutely upon the unity of the working class, call it by what name you will—class consciousness, solidarity or fellowship or comradeship.

The one task that confronts every Socialist individual and party in the world is to multiply to the maximum in the breast of each worker his or her sympathy with and love for his or her fellow-workers all over the world. This involves increasing their knowledge of each other. For one cannot love a person of whom one can form no definite idea. This is after all the great justification of our extremely expensive and unwieldy international congresses. Though their practical work in its net results may not bulk up very large, the international sympathy and understanding and love they generate is worth far more than we pay out for it.

The Socialist movement needs both HEARTS and BRAINS. But while the world contains very few people outside of lunatic asylums who have not brains enough to make good Socialists, unfortunately the cruelties of capitalist civilization have so deformed and mal-formed the characters of untold thousands that they have not hearts enough to make good Socialists. Atrophied hearts both inside and outside the movement are the great obstacles impeding the advancing march of our conquering army. But very few of these hearts are so completely atrophied that they cannot be warmed into healthy life again by the persistent and unrebuffable love of their fellows.

To be a Socialist one must have brains

enough to see the conflict between the worker and the shirker, to realize that it is impossible to serve the immediate interests of the employer and the employe at the same time. But to be an ideal Socialist one should also have a big enough heart to love all mankind, the employer as well as the employe. The Socialist with both a clear brain and a loving heart will realize that the only practical way to show his love for the capitalists as a class is to fight them with every particle of energy he or she possesses. The more a Socialist loves a capitalist the harder he will hit him when he finds himself opposed to him in the hideous class war. For it is only by the defeat of the capitalist class and the victory of the workers that the true interests (not the immediate, conscious interests) of even the capitalists can be served. To-day even the most fortunately situated capitalist cannot share his joys with a sufficiently large number of people to enjoy them adequately himself. To share a pleasure with one person is to double it; with two persons is to increase it four-fold. This is the geometrical progression of the emotions. When you once realize what this means, you will see that every day that moribund capitalism is prolonged deprives its financial beneficiaries of an incalculable multiplication of their pleasures.

Hence, the more you love a capitalist, the harder you will fight him if you are properly equipped with both brain and heart. The worker who has a big heart and a feeble brain is apt to ignore the class struggle and thus become an unwitting traitor to his class and to humanity. The worker with a clear brain, but an atrophied heart, is too apt to develop diabolical hatred of all capitalists, and thus to become a criminal or an anarchist, a believer in and a practitioner of the *propaganda by the deed*, which, in plain English, means assassination and senseless destruction of property.

Either of these extremes is deplorable, but the deficiency of heart imperils the Socialist movement far more than the deficiency of brain. The latter only acts as a brake on the wheels of the chariot of progress; the former may so stimulate the forces of reaction as to set back the

hands on the clock of Time for decades.

The great mission then of the class-conscious Socialist is to inspire the workers to love one another. It would seem that it might not be amiss to begin by persuading the Socialists to cease hating one another. Most (not all) of the scraps between Socialists are due to misunderstandings. The opposite factions do not use the terms over which they wrangle in the same sense. If they would agree on their definitions the row would in most cases cease or never begin.

Here we have one part of the party brandishing their tomahawks and howling for the scalps of all their comrades who believe in some mysterious entity known as "DIRECT ACTION"; while the other half fiercely vow that never, no NEVER, will they abandon this same mysterious and undefined thing "DIRECT ACTION." The party is rent asunder almost, and yet if the combatants would but agree on a definition of direct action, ninety-nine per cent of them would stop fighting immediately, for they would find that they and their opponents were in perfect accord.

The opponents of direct action always use the words as though they meant bomb-throwing and assassination. The defenders and champions of direct action have nothing of the kind in mind. The fight waxes hotter and hotter, and each side is fighting a man of straw.

This sort of thing is a disgrace to the movement. It must be and will be stopped. On most essentials ninety-nine Socialists out of a hundred are in perfect harmony. Most of the fights between Socialists are merely ghosts or hallucinations of the combatants, having no existence in sober reality. Take the recent rumpus as a sample. Let our veteran warrior, Comrade Hillquit define Direct Action, and Bohn and Haywood and I will denounce and condemn it just as fiercely as he and Spargo and Hunter do. But let me or Kerr define Direct Action, and I am inclined to believe that Hunter and Spargo and Hillquit will favor it just as enthusiastically as we do. By direct action I mean forcing concessions from governments or employers by the economic might of the organized workers without recourse to politics. I

know that practically all the opponents of Direct Action have gone on record again and again as favoring the forcing of such concessions by craft unions, and that of late they have again and again admitted the superiority and inevitability of the industrial form of labor organization.

I have no inordinate affection for the words, "Direct Action," and if their use is splitting the party I am wholly willing to abandon them. But considering that for many years the phrase, "*Propaganda by the deed*," has been used all over the world to mean precisely what the opponents of Direct Action now insist that Direct Action means, would it not be less confusing for them to back down and permit us to keep this convenient phrase, in view of the fact that we cover by it not a single individualistic or anarchistic mode of conflict?

But I want Socialism, and I want it soon. I'm getting old. I don't like to look at the gray hairs when I brush my scanty wisps. And I know that if we are to have Socialism in my time, we must have a united Socialist movement cemented together by true comradeship. Hence I am willing to agree henceforth to use the words Direct Action as synonymous with stabbing an unarmed woman in the back at midnight in a dark alley. Will that bring peace? If it will, I stand ready to sign the compact. But until I see some reason to believe that such an abuse of language will promote harmony, I shall continue to use the words in their obvious surface sense.

The most essential thing in tactics, then, is harmony within the Socialist party, and that depends very largely upon agreement as to definitions. Is that too much to ask?

Politics and Unionism.

There are honest differences of opinion within the party as to the relative importance of political and economic organization. But there are extremely few of us who do not believe in the necessity of labor union organization. Again, nearly all of us are agreed that there is no necessity for any organic connection between the political organization and the unions.

Differences begin to appear when we

approach the question of the attitude of the political party toward the unions. Just as some holds of ships are divided up into different water-tight compartments, so some comrades divide their brains up into different thought-tight compartments, and attempt to keep their thoughts on politics entirely uncontaminated by their thoughts on labor unionism and its struggles. This is the sort of thinking that Engels called "metaphysical," and he thought it was one of Marx's greatest achievements that he had replaced it by the "dialectic" mode of reasoning, which looks on all things as fluid and inter-related, and hence holds that to isolate any fact or thought and look at it by itself alone without considering its dynamic relations to other facts and thoughts is to fail to see it whole, and thus to lead the thinker astray. The machine process, with its insistence upon causation, is more and more causing the workers subject to its daily influence to think dialectically. But the educated bourgeois world still for the most part reasons metaphysically, and that part of the working class who are as yet more influenced by the pulpit and the capitalist press than they are by the machine process, naturally still retain more or less of the metaphysical habit of thought.

Here you have the line of cleavage within the Socialist party. The metaphysical thinkers who have not as yet been sufficiently disciplined by the machine process cling to the idea that politics can be kept wholly separate from industrial activity. Those, on the contrary, who have been molded mentally by the machine and are thus the typical modern proletariat, know that the reactions of politics on unionism and the reactions of unionism on politics are so frequent and incessant that they cannot be kept in distinct compartments. It is scarcely necessary to say that as the invasion of the machine proceeds and the machine process becomes more and more nearly universal the former faction will decrease and the latter faction increase.

The tactics of the near future will recognize that political action must be supported by industrial organization and action. It thus becomes obvious that the

sort of tactics we employ are determined in the last analysis by the sort of tools we use.

As soon as the comrades realize that politics and unionism are so closely related that neutrality on the union field is impossible, the socialist party must declare to the workers that unity is just as important on the industrial field as it is on the political. And that means endorsing the principle of Industrial Unionism. In my opinion we are ready for that step now. But if the Oklahoma City convention decides otherwise I am content to wait for the machine process to do its perfect work. For that step is inevitable soon.

To say that craft divisions are responsible for the lack of unity on the industrial field is to indulge in a trite truism today. But there are still many who do not realize that so long as the craft union was based on the possession of some peculiar skill by the craftsmen, the separate craft union had its economic justification. This is still largely true of such crafts as carpentry and cigar-making. But in craft after craft the skill is passing from the man to the machine; and when this takes place the craft union loses its economic justification. This is what happened to the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers when the special knack of riveting passed from the man to the pneumatic riveter. From that day the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers as a craft union was doomed. Federated with the other building trades it could have lived. But when its economic justification was removed by the pneumatic riveter the effort to prolong its life by dynamite was destined to futility.

The skill of the glass-blower has passed from the man to the machine. The process is daily taking place now in this craft and now in that, and each time the machine drives home the lesson of the essential unity and democracy of the working class. Note the progress in this direction in the United Mine Workers of America since the machine began to mine coal. See how rapidly the Granite Cutters are joining the Socialist party since the pneumatic chisel began to cut granite.

Tactics are made by tools, and with every new invention tools are more and

more forcing the workers to adopt the tactics of solidarity, both in politics and unionism. It is idle to fight against this process. Nothing can stop it. It will proceed until it democratizes and unites the workers sufficiently to make them victorious over all the hosts of capitalism.

We shall then have reached the goal—

World-wide Brotherhood.

And the tactics that we cannot but use to reach it are the tactics taught by Jesus and Marx—

"Love thy neighbor as thyself."

"Workers of the world, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain."

A Japanese Victory

BY

S. KATAYAMA

FOR the first time labor asserted its power in Japan. For the past two days and today (January 2d) the street railway of Tokyo stopped running. Over 6,000 drivers and conductors left their work. Only a few cars ran in some parts of the city, a part of the day on the last day of the last year. They stopped entirely at night. The day was intended to run through the New Year's eve.

On New Year's day only a few cars started lazily in the morning on some lines but these soon stopped, and there was no car running in the afternoon. There are 118 miles of street railway in Tokyo now.

Almighty police authority could do nothing but beg the workers in vain. Everyone must walk, unless he could command the jinrikisha, cab or automobile. It was a sight. A city of two millions without street railways. For the first time the public realized the power of labor, and they complained, not against the workers, but against the company and against the city authorities.

The workers are not organized at all, but they acted as a body and made a fine demonstration of their power and solidarity.

The last day of December and the New Year's day are the most busy days of the year, and the workers knew it very well. They chose these to show the power and usefulness of their work. The public, as well as the city authorities, were obliged to recognize it by sheer necessity.

Cause of Strike.

The Tokyo Street Railway Company was the most powerful monopoly in Ja-

pan. It was a Tammany Hall of Tokyo, and the very source of corruption for the municipal politics. The company controlled the city council and the board of aldermen. Its capital stock amounts to 37,000,000 yen (yen is fifty cents in American gold). The stock is well watered and grown to the most enormous size and its stockholders and the directors of the company pocketed enormous amount of profits in various forms. When, however, there was no more great profit to be squeezed out of the company, then they started to sell the street railway to the city. The city authorities being puppets of the company, were always willing to buy at the highest price imaginable. Two or three times the question was brought up to the city council, and every time they speculated on the stocks, making big profits by stock gambling, but the last three or four years industry in Japan has been at the lowest ebb, and the big stockholders were all hard up; this time they wished honestly to sell the railway to the city and the last cabinet, under Prince Katsura, came to their help. All the legal matters were waived for the time being and hastily the business was closed, and the Tokyo Street Railway became the property of the city on the first of August last. It was sold to the city at 64,160,000 yen. Its nominal stock value amounted only to 37,390,000 yen. This transaction was made in spite of the heated opposition of the citizens. City people did not oppose the municipal ownership of the street railway, but they opposed this because of price agreed being too high. Even ac-

cepting the company figures, the city paid over 8,000,000 yen more than they ought.

The company at its last meeting voted 1,000,000 yen as a bonus to be given to the workers and directors of the company. Now the present strike was over this one million yen. It was promised by the directors on the first part of August last that it would be distributed in the middle of September at the latest. But it was not done till the very last day or two of December, and then only after many attempts and agitations. We had had two or three special meetings on this particular question and I wrote an article in the *Oriental Economist*, a powerful economic, three-times-monthly paper, stating clearly the grievances and demands of the workers, and also attacked the company as well as the city authorities. But they were not convinced of the necessity of action. So complaints among the street railway employes grew more and more strong and every one of the entire workers was dissatisfied with the neglect and heedlessness of the old company, and moreover, if the workers spoke to the city authorities about the matter then they were instantly dismissed, for the city officers who manage the street railways are the old company's directors. Thus the complaints of the workers became stronger.

At last the money was distributed on the 29th and 30th of December, but everyone was not satisfied with the result. It was known soon that the million yen was divided quite unevenly. At the start 400,000 yen were distributed to a few persons, including the directors and the president of the company, and 300,000 yen to engineers, clerks and bosses, numbering some 800 persons, and the remaining 300,000 yen to 6,000, including drivers, conductors and other workers, so that some got only a few yen. None got more than 150 yen. Nobody was satisfied with the share. But what should they do with their complaints? They were not organized and have no organs to express their desires. However, consensus of opinion came to only one thing; that was to express their dissatisfaction by means of a strike, or by quitting their work one by one quietly and quickly.

Within a few hours all car drivers and conductors went out; and the city was quiet for two days.

Result of Strike.

Beside the substantial result of the strike, it impressed the city of 2,000,000 people in the most forcible manner. The public recognized the power of labor and submitted to its command, and the city authorities, as well as directors of the company, simply begged the men to work, and at once the directors agreed and consented to distribute out of their own bonus some 200,000 yen more (\$100,000 in American gold). Thus the happy New Year strike won this for the workers. There were no dismissals or arrests; but most peacefully they won their victory.

But yet the distribution has been kept secret and the workers may demand publicity in the matter. In that event the case will take some time to settle. It is reported through the press that there was formed a city reform association, composing M. Ps., lawyers and newspapers (10), to settle the matter amicably by urging the old street railway company to make the distribution of the bonus just and fair.

Workers, however, seem not so firm on the point and they seem satisfied with 200,000 yen and late on the afternoon of the second of January cars are running nearly everywhere.

Other Strikes of the Year.

The last year was a very eventful one for the workers of Japan. There were many strikes throughout Japan, although mostly small ones. Especially printers and typesetters struck in several places. There was a strike in Yokohama on the *Advertiser*, an English daily, and on the *Japan Times* at Tokyo, also being in English; the Methodist Printing House of Tokyo had a strike involving 600 workers, and one other printing house had a strike involving some eight hundred workers. In all but the last strike the men won what they demanded and they are better treated. This last one failed because in this case pickets were arrested and severe police interferences intimidated the strikers, but those that won their strikes made great gains for the cause of labor.

Some Questions Answered

BY

HENRY L. SLOBODIN

A. Does Socialism mean equal compensation? Will, under Socialism, each member of society receive an equal share of the common product?

B. The question may mean two things. Either that every human being should receive an equal share of the produced wealth; or that every producer should receive an equal share. On close examination both propositions will be found absurd. In the first instance we cannot offer to an infant and to an adult equal shares of everything produced. But even the second case, that is to give an equal share to each producer, is impractical and even impossible. The wants and demands of different persons vary immensely nor is it possible to divide everything equally. Could we, for instance, make and enforce a regulation that everyone should get an equal share of the water supplied by the city or of the public parks provided by the city? It would have been manifestly absurd to do any such thing. It may safely be assumed that under Socialism the main necessities of life will be provided on the same plan as the water and parks are provided now.

A. When I ask whether under Socialism each producer will get an equal share, I don't mean an equal amount of each thing produced but an equal amount in value only, it being understood that each producer will be at liberty to select such things as he may want.

B. In answer to this I will say that there will exist absolutely no necessity for such provision of equality of distribution even in value, if the distribution will be

made on the same general plan as the distribution of the benefits of the water works and parks are taking place now. Wherever one will get all he wants nobody will want more. Nor is there any justice in a plan of rigid equality of distribution where one would get more than he needs and another less.

A. Is the plan of the Socialists then to give to every one according to his needs?

B. Such, no doubt, is the ultimate object of the Socialists and of our ideal of a true Socialist society. But it is not the immediate plan of the Socialists. The Socialists hold that even after Socialism is introduced, it will take some time before society will reach the economic state where every member will get all he wants and where no one will want more than he needs for his life and comfort. The generation which will still remember the slavery of capitalistic surfeit on one side, and capitalistic privation on the other will have to pass away; the sordid viciousness of the present generation of men which is infused into them with their mother's milk, and which makes a man most happy when he can get and keep more wealth than his neighbor, though he may not need the surplus at all and his neighbor may need it badly, will have to disappear. For the present capitalistic happiness consists not so much in having things which you do not actually need as in keeping them from those who need them badly. The generation of men with the remnants of such capitalistic consciences will have to disappear from the earthly scene. A new type of truly free men and women

will arise who will know nothing of the sordid incentive of the capitalistic society, who will not base their happiness on the senseless hoarding of material things and consequent privation of other men and women. The happiness of this new generation of men and women will find its source in the plenty which all will enjoy and the social gladness of all mankind.

A. But until then, what is the present plan of the Socialists. What share and compensation do they propose to each producer?

B. To every one the full fruit of his or her labor is the present demand of the Socialists. This is a demand of conditional justice and not of the ideal justice which the demand—to every one according to his needs—contemplates. This is a demand of the collectivist Socialist. I demand—to every one the full fruit of his labor—takes into consideration the inequality of the capacities and abilities of different men. This inequality of physical and mental ability results naturally in difference of productivity. One man can produce more than another. One man can work better than another. And so long as one man can and does produce more than another, justice demands that the compensation of each should be commensurate with his productivity. The injustice of this plan is that it admits that men are not of equal physical and mental ability; that there are superior and inferior men. Such inequality will be merely a remnant of capitalistic conditions of inequality of opportunity. There will be no such difference in productivity among the men and women reared under the conditions which a Socialist society will provide.

A. Do then the Socialists intend to make all men and women physically and mentally equal, that is, alike and similar to each other?

B. I am glad that you have put this question in this form—"equal, that is, alike and similar?" The question contains the elements of confusion of ideas. This confusion is common alike to those who oppose Socialism and to those who merely doubt its soundness; to professors and other priests of official capitalistic sciences and to the ignorant ditch-digger, who fears that, under Socialism, he will have to divide up. Does equality really

mean likeness or similarity or identity? Does it really mean that if you are given an equal opportunity with your brother or neighbor, for life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, that your opportunity is like, similar, identical, the same as the opportunity of your brother; that you must be treated alike; given an education in the same subjects; taught the same profession and compelled to do the same work? Manifestly not. Equality of opportunity means everything that is the opposite of likeness, similarity, sameness. What it really means, is that the capabilities of each infant and child should be equally well studied; the differences in character and temperament should be equally well determined; and each person should receive equal attention and have his or her faculties equally well developed. It is a striking illustration of the persistence of human error that equality should so long and so widely be confused with sameness.

That the error is partly born of purpose, is shown when on other occasions such a confusion of terms and conceptions is usually declared ridiculous. As for instance, for a father to give an equal opportunity to his four sons is a natural and laudable thing to do. But we would find it manifestly unnatural and reprehensible if the father should understand equality of opportunity to mean education in the same subjects; the same profession for all four sons; where it is evident for even a superficial observer that the boys show different temperaments and inclinations. No one would hesitate one moment to advise the father that equality of opportunity means to give to each boy a chance to develop freely the faculties and gifts with which nature endowed him. To compel all four boys to pursue the same studies and adopt the same profession would be giving the most unequal treatment and offering them the most unequal opportunities. The profession may be very well fitted for one of the boys but not at all suited for the others. Hence such treatment would be unjust, unfair, unequal. Equality of treatment and opportunity for the boys would mean to treat each according to his natural capacities, and give to each an opportunity to bring out what is best in him. Such a treatment has

nothing of the elements of sameness in it and is the least calculated to bring up men and women, who are physically and mentally the same. Nature is infinitely rich in variety and millions of men may be equal, physically and mentally equal and, at the same time, no two of them be exactly similar in any of their characteristics. Equality of opportunity will further diversity of character, temperament, natural gift and endowment as no other thing ever did. As another illustration: The class of manual laborers, low in the economic scale, have more sameness in their lives than any other class. Opportunity they have none. They have equality of what I may term, non-opportunity. What is the result? Mentally they are almost stereotyped, so much alike they are to one another. Even physically there is greater likeness among them than you will find in other classes. There is the same dullness stamped in the features of their faces. If you want to find diversity of individual character you must go to the classes that have more opportunities. It is therefore one of the objects of Socialism to bring about, through equality of opportunity, a greater diversity of individuality and character.

A. I will admit that I committed an error in confusing equality of opportunity with sameness of individuality and character. But you admit the existing inequality of individual ability and consequent productivity, and for that reason you, Socialists, propose to secure to each man the full fruit of his labor. Will not this actually create classes in society? And will not those who will get more want to keep it and accumulate more? And may they not attempt to perpetuate themselves as a class, as upper classes always did, and thus prevent the introduction of the social state where every one will get according to his needs? This transition from a state of society where every one gets the full product of his labor to a state where every one will get according to his needs does not seem to be clear. You admit the latter to be the ultimate goal to which Socialists strive, but you have not shown that there will be an economic necessity for it. And, according to your own position, the validity

of any social ideal must be tested by its economic necessity.

B. Yes, and it will be easy for me to prove that this ideal state where every one will get according to his needs, will be brought about by no other than economic factors; that we, humans, with our desires and ideals are merely limping behind the car of stern economic necessity.

But I must first dispose of your fear concerning classes, in a state where every one would get the full product of his labor. The upper and lower classes were always and are now such, not merely because the upper class had more good things than the lower. The true key to the situation was the fact that the upper class had in its possession and control the things by which the lower class made their livelihood and that the lower class was therefore dependent on the upper class. In order to have economic classes, the means of life for the whole people, the instruments of production, must be owned by one class, and used by another. A state of society in which all the instruments of production are owned and operated in common by the whole people can have no classes. What could these people of superior productivity accumulate? Only things for consumption—things to eat, things to wear, things to enjoy. Could those people by accumulating a store of these things make any one dependent upon them, hold other people in subjection, and thereby constitute themselves into a class? Such a thing is impossible so long as the common source of life and riches—the instruments of production—remain common property, open and accessible to all. So much for your fear of the existence and perpetuation of classes in a collectivist society.

Now, as to the economic necessity which will bring about the true Socialist state where every one will receive according to his needs. At this state of our discussion I will advance the proposition which I have held in reserve until now, namely, that, under Socialism, there will be no actual difference between two states of society, the one where every one gets the full product of his labor and the one where every one gets according to his needs. For in any Socialist society every one will get all he needs and more. No-

body will bother how much of the common product the other uses, no more than we bother now how much air, sunshine, water, streets, parks each of us use though they are very valuable things. There is so much of it and every one is welcome to all he wants. In a Socialist society there will be so much of all things that we need that each of us will be welcome to all he wants.

A. This sound very nice. But so far it is a bare assertion on your part. Where will you get all the nice things which every one will want? How will you satisfy those who make more than others?

B. Yes, and where is the economic necessity for these things? I think you asked this question before. It is the most important point of all. If I show no economic necessity, I prove nothing. I will show the economic necessity by pointing out the tendencies which assert themselves even now and which all make for my proposition. What are these economic tendencies? First: The ever diminishing significance of the personal equation as a factor in the production of the necessities of life. Second: The ever growing differentiation and social character of production. Third: The growing change in human needs, wants and aspirations.

Now, as to the first. With the introduction of machinery the skill of a certain person loses its importance in production. There was a time when knowledge of trades were kept as secrets in families. Subsequently these secrets were transferred to guilds. Machinery has played havoc with these secrets of trade. Not that less skill is required now in production than before. Just on the contrary. But the spreading of elementary knowledge and education and the widespread introduction of machinery have divested all crafts of their secrets and mysteries. It requires now for the acquisition of any trade no more than ordinary intelligence and education. Such acquisition is easily accessible to any one, and it takes even less time to learn a trade. Unusual talent and genius may be more a hindrance for the learning of an ordinary trade than a help. The tendency is to reduce the part of the mechanic in production to moving of levers, pushing of

buttons, oiling, etc. We have not reached that stage yet, but we are coming to it at a rapid rate. Moreover the capacity for more work, for better work, comes into play only when the workingmen must work long hours or with great intensity, as any one familiar with the conditions in a shop will tell you. There will be practically no difference at all between the productivity of two workingmen when they work four or five hours a day and at an ordinary rate of speed. But compel the same two workingmen to work 8 to 10 hours a day and at a high and intense speed and the difference in their productivity may become very great. Now in a state where every one will get the full product of his labor there will be no compelling necessity for people to work long hours or with unusual speed. Hence the difference in productivity will be insignificant. And the ability of the producer will weigh very little in the production of the necessities of life.

A. This may be used as an argument against Socialism. For it would mean putting a premium on indifference to work and laziness. Such a system of society would become fatal to further progress of society. For eventually it would reduce the average productivity so that it would impoverish society to an extent that it would not be able to provide even the necessities of life. Your Socialist system would destroy the incentive to do more work, to do better work.

B. Oh yes; we have heard a great deal about Socialism destroying the incentive. This we will answer in good time. In the meanwhile you are wandering from the subject. I am not done answering your questions as to how a Socialist society will provide every one according to his needs and will not demand from one more work than from the other. You remember that I have advanced three propositions concerning the tendencies in the mode of production. The first—the ever decreasing weight of personal equation in production of the necessities of life—I have proven. Now, as to the second—the ever growing social character of work. By social character of work I mean the ever growing sub-division of labor. Ordinarily a workingman makes now only a small part of the complete work. And this

small part is growing ever smaller. The time when one man produced a complete commodity by his own unaided hands has passed away. The tendency is to reduce the human part in production to superintendence of the machine. Now, when a workingman used to make a complete product, his productivity could be measured by the result of his work. If one tailor made one coat in a day and the other two coats then the second tailor was twice as productive as the first. But with the introduction of machinery we could measure productivity only by the speed with which it is driven and the hours of work. And where both the speed of the machine and the hours which it is made to work will be regulated by society for a whole trade, or at least by shop, there will be no difference in productivity and therefore no practical difference in compensation. And now as to third proposition—the change in individual needs, wants and aspirations. What I want to prove is that under Socialism no one will want to get more things than his neighbor. All the instruments of production will belong to all in common. There will be no classes. There will be no upper and lower classes. How will it be possible for one to accumulate things of value? There will be no object, no motive for doing it.

A. But if every one is to get the full product of his labor and assuming that there will be a difference in productivity there must result a difference in compensation. One will get more than the other and the one who will get more may want to accumulate valuable things.

B. Valuable things? What sort of things, for instance?

A. Things to eat, to wear, to enjoy.

B. Ah, I see. You are afraid that Vanderbilt may want to keep his 200 pairs of trousers. There will be absolutely no objection to any one accumulating a thousand suits of clothes, provided he renders the equivalent in work. But will any one do it? We think not. There will be no reason for it. The motive will be wanting. Did it ever occur to you to inquire into the motives which actuate the members

of the upper class to acquire all sorts of things from which they apparently derive neither use nor joy? Did you ever think of the psychological reason for such action? These things are accumulated by the members of the upper class not because they are useful, enjoyable, or valuable, but because their possession is associated with superior position in society; because having these things is a badge of membership in the upper class. Every one knows how quickly the members of the 400 will abandon the use of an article of luxury once its use becomes common. The bicycle is an example. You may readily see that Vanderbilt accumulated his 200 pair of trousers not because he needs them or derives any benefit from them, but only because having these things is now considered the proper thing for a member of the smart set. Now, under Socialism the whole people will be admitted to the 400; every one will be in the smart set. Having certain things will be no badge of social superiority. For any one could have them for the asking. Result—no one will want to have them. Any one who will want to accumulate 200 pairs of trousers will be an object of pity; for people will doubt his sanity. He will be looked upon then in the same light in which we would look now upon any one who would try to lay up a stock of fresh air, sunshine and water in bottles and barrels. In one word, the capitalists hold and cling to the instruments of production because these secure to them their position of economic superiority. And they cling to the many superfluous objects of luxury, because these objects are a badge of social superiority. After we abolish the basis and foundation of social superiority by making the instruments of production common property, the badge of social superiority will lose all sense and will disappear of itself.

A. But will there be no motive for people to do better than others? Will there be no desire to distinguish oneself and rise above the average?

B. You are returning to the question of the incentive under Socialism. We shall take it up in our next session.

EDITORIAL

Join the Socialist Party. Something must happen soon. Not for forty years have there been such unmistakable signs of unrest and change. Mr. Gary of the Steel Trust voiced the feeling of the more intelligent capitalists when he said in a recent speech:

I tell you, gentlemen, that there are things being said nowadays which are very similar to things said just before the French revolution. I tell you that the spark may yet make a flame, and that soon. * * * Unless capitalists, corporations, rich men, powerful men themselves take a leading part in trying to improve the conditions of humanity, great changes will come and they will come mighty quickly, *and the mob will bring them.*

Mr. Gary's words are significant. The failure of the steel trust to make any concession to its over-worked and under-paid laborers is more significant still. Mr. Gary sees the necessity of doing something. But the stockholders who pay his salary want dividends, therefore he will probably do nothing. The MOB must do what the mob needs to have done. The work of the Socialist party is to ORGANIZE the mob. If you are one of the mob, one of those with nothing to lose but your chains and all the world to gain, you BELONG in the Socialist party; you need it and it needs you. Come in with your eager desire for a share in the good things of life, with your relentless determination to crush the power that enslaves you. In the Socialist party you will find a hundred thousand comrades who want the things you want, and will help you get them. And if you are not one of the mob, but have brains to understand and heart to feel that the mob is right, come in, but take a back seat for a while and listen. You will find that many of the things you have learned among the capitalists and their retainers are not so. Use your eyes, your ears and your brain and you will come by and by to see that the instincts of the rebellious wage-worker are more scientific, because more closely related to the great process by which society is evolving, than are the theories of the philanthropic reformer. When you have learned this, and not till then, you will be ready to

take an intelligent part in the discussions of the party.

New Methods Needed. Comrade Work, the National Secretary of the Socialist party, has made in his annual report a number of suggestions which have not yet received the attention they deserve. The party has outgrown its constitution, and the coming national convention must undertake a thorough revision. We regret that our space permits only the briefest comment on the most important of his suggestions. The constitution certainly should provide that vacancies in national offices be filled by the next highest candidate at the preceding election who is eligible. The signing of undated resignations by candidates for political office should be made obligatory. No one should be allowed to run for office who has not been a party member at least three years, except in the case of a local recently organized. Candidates for president and vice-president should be nominated by referendum vote. State organizations should be compelled on penalty of forfeiting their charters to furnish the national office with a list of local secretaries. The provision in the constitution allowing the national office to hold an election for state officers on petition of a certain number of members should be stricken out. The percentage of locals required to initiate a referendum should be increased. Delegate bodies, including city and county locals which do not hold meetings attended by all members, should not be allowed to initiate or second referendums, and branches of locals should be allowed to do so. All these suggestions seem to us excellent. But we dissent from Comrade Work's view that the national office should be allowed to publish an official organ, or to become "the greatest if not the only publisher of Socialist literature." Once give the national officers power to dictate what party members shall or shall not read, and the way is opened for a self-perpetuating dictatorship which would almost inevitably use its power in the interest of an inner clique. Free discussion of all party questions is essential if democratic control

of the party is to continue. It is just as well to face the fact that there are two opposing tendencies in the Socialist party, one proletarian and revolutionary, the other led by craft union officials and office seekers. The great mass of the membership want Socialism, but have no very definite ideas as to tactics. Consequently, both the right and the left wing of the movement are now represented on the National Executive Committee, and every important question that comes up receives full discussion and is decided on its merits. We have free speech and a free press; these we must keep and the Socialist party will live and grow, to become one of the greatest forces in the final overthrow of capitalism.

Vote for Referendum A. The National Committee made an expensive mistake in voting to have the National Convention at Oklahoma City. The place is far west

and south from where most of the members and delegates of the party live. Local Everett, Washington, has moved that the convention be held at Indianapolis. There are many good reasons for the change, but one will suffice. The round-trip fare from Chicago to Oklahoma City is \$38.60; from Chicago to Indianapolis, \$7.40. In the case of two-thirds of the 293 delegates the difference in railroad fare in favor of Indianapolis will average at least \$30 per delegate, and in the case of the delegates from the Pacific coast and the Northwest there will be little saving, so that a conservative estimate of the net difference in railroad fare is five thousand dollars. Moreover, our date conflicts with an immense Baptist convention to be held at Oklahoma City, and this will make decent hotel accommodations there scarce and expensive. The referendum should certainly carry.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

The Uprising of China

THE world belongs to the capitalists. The capitalists are busy dividing it and making the most of it. This much is clear to the most casual onlooker. But the rapid game of division and exploitation does present problems and uncertainties. What groups of capitalists are to "sit in" at the final deal? Which nations are, in the main, to be exploited by their own capitalists and which ones are to be given over entirely to foreigners? These questions have been answered in part, but only in part. Hardly a month passes without the furnishing of new data toward a complete answer. The whole of the continent of Africa, it seems certain, is to be given up to the big business houses of Europe. Persia, the events of the past few weeks have shown, is not after all to belong to the rising business interests of Persia, but to those of England and Russia. And now comes China.

Most of us had thought that the case of

China was settled. The great Empire of the Sun, the Kingdom of the Center, the ancient seat of art and learning, was to be sliced up by Europeans and Americans. The possession of a civilization older than those of northern Europe and America combined did not in any degree raise it above the fate of Zululand or the Congo region. This is what we thought. But we thought wrong.

For the Chinese have risen. They have asserted their right and their ability to persist as a power in the world. This is the meaning of the Chinese revolution. It is not too much to say that, except for the rise to power of the working-class, this is the most important single development witnessed by the present generation.

At the time of the writing of the present article the revolution appears to be completely successful. Premier Yuan Shi-Kai has given his promise that the baby Emperor will "withdraw" before February

18. Dr. Wu Ting-Fang, whom many Americans remember as a singularly adroit and diplomatic representative of China at Washington, has drawn a provisional constitution for the republic that is to be. Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, acting as temporary head of the new government, seems to be adequately in command of the situation. Japan and Russia have troops hovering about the northern boundary of the ancient empire, but so well are things managed that they have no opportunity to interpose. The revolution seems to be an accomplished fact.

Now is the time, then, to take a look over the situation and see just what it is that has happened. It goes without saying, of course, that this is not a revolution against rulership and exploitation in general. It is not an uprising of the workers of China against capitalism. It is not *the revolution*; it is only *a revolution*. That is to say, like those which occurred recently in Turkey and Portugal it is a national and bourgeois movement. It indicates, on the one hand, the Chinese have entered upon the modern capitalistic stage in their economic development and, on the other, they have asserted themselves as a nation against division and absorption by foreign powers. These two things have naturally come simultaneously, for the second is a result of the first.

To be sure the events of the past few months have been in part inspired by opposition to the dominion of the Manchus, but this aspect of them has been much exaggerated by dispatches and discussions in the capitalist press. The Manchus are as foreign to the Chinese as the Germans or the English. They are a branch of the Tartar tribes. Their dominion over China is, in the long annals of Chinese history, a comparatively recent thing. It dates from the year 1644. In that year they were called in to aid in a factional fight, and they have remained ever since. It is not true, as often stated, that they retained all lucrative position for themselves. They constituted themselves a military caste. In numbers they have all along constituted a negligible part of the population. At the present time there are about five millions of them, while the total population is well over the four hun-

dred million mark. But up to the year 1907 the Manchus were strictly forbidden to enter upon any civil pursuit. They could not enter into business, agriculture, or any other lucrative field of endeavor. In the councils of state they were assured a permanent majority, but for the rest all of them were forced to serve as soldiers for very small pay. It is as a military caste that they have been able to hold their dominion for the past two hundred and fifty years. Wherever their rule has been effective at all it has been tyrannical in the extreme. They have been hated with a whole-hearted and deep-seated hatred. But they maintained their authority. They would still maintain it had they not proved unequal to the task of standing between the business interests of China and the rapacious capitalists of Europe and America.

They have been the less able to do this because of the fact that the development of modern conditions has divided the Manchurians themselves into capitalist class and working-class. One section of them became great land-holders; another enjoyed the benefits of a tremendous system of political graft, and so became possessed of great wealth and industrial interests. But the great majority, prevented from taking part in industry, sank into unutterable poverty. When, in 1907, a decree was issued relieving them from the duty of military service, thousands of them became beggars. The class-struggle split the power of the Manchu race.

But even had this not occurred, the Manchu dynasty would still have been unable to rise to the need of the hour and maintain its position in modern China. The Manchus stood committed to feudalism. When, in 1898, Emperor Kwang-Su was driven from power by the present Dowager Empress, it meant that all government reforms had been brought to an end. It was the momentary triumph of reaction. From that time on the government of China has lacked the intelligence and the willingness to serve the modern business interests of the empire.

Under these circumstances, one concession after another has gone to foreign capitalists. English, French, German, and American capitalists have received permission to build railways. Recently a

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Gentlemen:—Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets were recommended to me for my two-months-old baby, which was sick

and puny and the doctor said was suffering from indigestion. I took the child to the hospital, but there found no relief. A friend mentioned the Stuart Tablets and I procured a box from my druggist and used only the large sweet lozenges in the box and was delighted to find they were just the thing for my baby. I feel justified in saying that Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets saved my child's life.

MRS W. T. DETHLOPE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 12th day of April, 1897.

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Notary Public in and for Erie Co.,
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combination of English, French and German capitalists was formed for the purpose of constructing and owning all railways of the empire. The Chinese were quick to see the meaning of this. Ready means of communication are an absolute necessity to an empire as large as that of China. Under the misrule of the Manchu dynasty the ancient highways of the nation have fallen into such disrepair that they are now of little service. If China would maintain its integrity as a nation it must have adequate railway service and must have control of such service. Place the foreigner in possession of the railways and it meant the end of a united and independent China.

So the idea of "the railways for the Chinese" developed into a great patriotic national movement. Of course, it was a movement in favor of Chinese capitalists as against foreign capitalists. But for the moment it was the thing. In 1906 the government was forced to undertake the construction of a line from Peking to Kalgau with exclusively Chinese capital. In 1907 the population rose against a concession of the Shanghai-Han-Chau-Ningpo line to a British company. Two provinces sent to the government petitions promising to raise the necessary capital if the concession were cancelled. Great public meetings were held and money for the purchase of stock was contributed by everyone who had money to contribute. Soldiers telegraphed that they would go without part of their pay in order that the government itself might be able to take stock. It is related that in Han-Chau a variety actress called together the prostitutes of the town and collected from them 20,000 dollars which were to be used in the purchase of stock. Finally the sum of 20,000,000 dollars was subscribed. A committee was sent to Peking, accompanied by procession of fanatically-excited citizens. When the petition was denied and the concession to the English was confirmed, members of the cabinet were mobbed and a number of persons emphasized their protest by committing suicide.

The actual beginning of the revolution resulted from another incident in this railway war. Two provinces—Se-Chuan and Hu-Nan—had secured the privilege

of building a road with a capital raised among their own citizens. Ten million taels were paid in and work was begun. Then the government borrowed part of the money and neglected to pay it back. Soon the ten millions were gone and there was little to show for them. The people saw that they had been betrayed. The newspapers called it another Panama scandal. Finally, last May, an edict was issued requiring that all railways be turned over to the government. Everyone knew that this was nothing but a move to put power into the hands of the mandarins in order that they might sell out to the foreigners. The railway war took on unexampled proportions. Meetings were held and petitions signed. Appeals were sent to other provinces and to the Chinese populations in foreign lands. On the 24th of August the "League for the Protection of Railways" declared a general strike in industry and institutions of learning. A royal commissioner sent to look into affairs was mobbed. There were a series of collisions between mob and troops. In all some 12,000 persons were killed. This was in September and October. From that time on the revolutionary leaders have been marshalling their forces for the present conflict.

All of this makes it easy to understand why the revolution has been liberally financed by Chinese capitalists. It is said that at the beginning of open hostility the revolutionary treasury had at its disposal the sum of \$15,000,000. It helps one to understand, also, why the poor, even those who cannot hope to own railway stocks, are behind the movement. It is not because they hate the Manchus. Often enough the poor Manchus fought with the Chinese against Chinese mandarins who had helped betray their nation to the foreigner. This conflict has been a great national movement against domination by Europeans and Americans.

What the future holds for China is, of course, problematical. One great advantage the new republic will have: its people are racially a unit. They are accustomed, moreover, to co-operation and community effort. They have a single national literature and a language which, in printed form, at least, is universally intelligible. Their chances for national

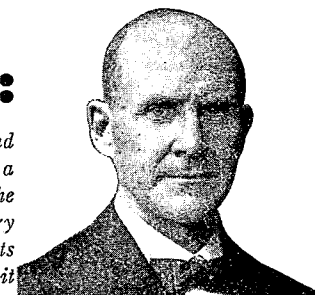
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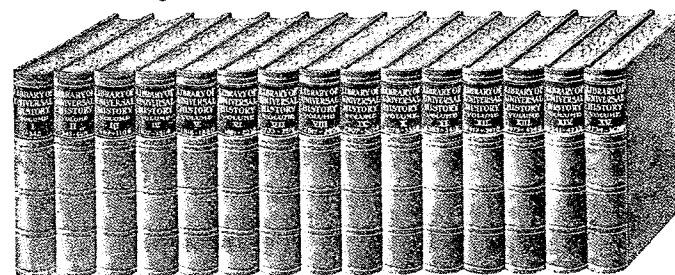
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unity are much greater than those of Austria or Russia. Even in the matter of political intelligence they are better off than most of us suppose. Since they were roused by the defeat at the hands of the Japanese and by the surprising result of the Russo-Japanese war, their eagerness for education and advancement has been astounding. Tens of thousands have studied in foreign countries. Municipalities have made generous provisions for education. Large individual donations to educational purposes have become so common as to excite no surprise or comment. For some time there have been provincial assemblies, and the demand for a national parliament has been wire-spread and persistent. Political interest seems to penetrate to the remotest villages. Of course, there are foreign foes eagerly watching for a chance to intervene. And the early days of any government are dangerous ones. The future must tell its own tale.

In the meantime all those who are truly interested in the progress of the world must rejoice at what has taken place in China. To be sure foreign capital will continue to play a large part in Chinese business. The Standard Oil Company is said to distribute 110,000,000 liters of its product annually from a single Chinese city. It is persistently rumored that this company has given its financial support to the revolution. The American Tobacco Company is not far behind in successful effort. Moreover, to build up at the rate required by conditions im-

mense quantities of foreign capital will be required. The only change brought about so far as business is concerned, lies in the fact that hereafter Chinese capitalists will have a chance, the further fact and the Chinese government will be the organ of capitalist control. This means anything but a set-back for capitalism. In the long run it will not even mean a set-back for European and American capitalism. They will have among the 400,000,000 people of China such a market as the world has never dreamed of hitherto.

Nevertheless the Chinese revolution is a good thing for the world. It indicates that China has entered upon the final stage of capitalist development. It will go on rapidly now. Its working-class will find in time that their countrymen will not allow patriotism to hinder exploitation. Class feeling will soon take the place of national enthusiasm. Then the Chinese proletariat will be ready to join world movement of the working-class. And this revolution places beyond the realm of possibility the ultimate subjugation of the Chinese. This oriental race, with all its traditions, its distinctive qualities, its possibilities of rich contributions to the world consciousness, is not to be flattened out and made of non-effect by the ruthless energy of European and American business men. From now on it will take its place among the nations, to develop through capitalism to Socialism and whatever lies beyond, preserving its own character and making the world the richer for it.

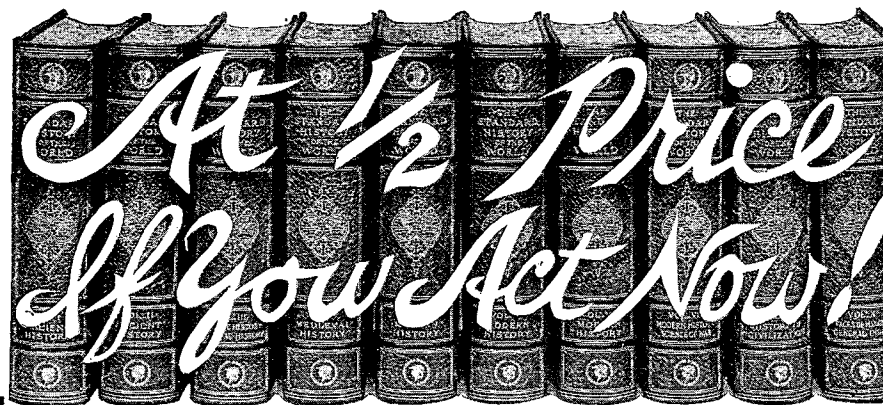
The Labor Struggle

Sammy and the Socialists.—In the *American Federationist* for February, "Sham" Gompers returns to the task which he enjoys more than any other, save perhaps sticking his legs under the banquet tables of the Civic Federation, and that is swatting the Socialists. Every time his direction of affairs in the labor world has gone askew, Sam has sought to distract attention from the main issue by rigging up a dummy, labeling it "Socialism," and then knocking the everlasting stuffing out of it.

This time Sam devotes nearly six pages to a denial of the statement that there is any such thing as "Gompersism" or that the hor-

rible thing exists in the American Federation of Labor. He quotes extensively from the Socialist press, and tries his best to prove, though with poor success, that the Socialists belong with labor haters like Kirby, Post, Parry, Burns, "and their ilk." Gompers can be so absurd sometimes, that he ought to have the title of the Grand Old Woman of the American labor movement.

But there is one point that ought to be brought to the attention of the entire membership of the Socialist Party, especially in Los Angeles and in other centers where the trade union forces have "gone over" to the



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Socialist Party, and that is the statement wherein Gompers says:

"Union labor has on occasions given Socialist local tickets its support as against the old parties, but by way of protest against corruption or machine politics, rather than under conviction of Socialist doctrines."

Of course all Socialists who have not gone buggy over the subject of getting into office understood that, but we are glad to have this frank statement from the head of the American Federation of Labor. It is to be hoped that all persons who, if the Socialist ticket had won in Los Angeles, would have called it a "Socialist" victory will put this statement of Sammy's in their pipes and smoke it.

Gompers in his argument makes another telling point, but not in the way he thinks he does. That is his quotation of Victor L. Berger's signed article in the *Milwaukee Social Democratic Herald* of July 31, 1909, in which Berger declares that "in view of the plutocratic law-making of the present day, it is easy to predict that the safety and hope of this country will finally lie in one direction only—that of a violent and bloody revolution. Therefore, I say, each of the 500,000 Socialist voters, and of the two million workingmen who instinctively incline our way, should, besides doing much reading and still more thinking, also have a good rifle and the necessary rounds of ammunition in his home and be prepared to back up his ballot with his bullets if necessary."

No wonder Gompers is indignant at some of the Socialists. The pure and simple political actionist, when he contemplates a possible defeat of his demands, arrives at exactly the same point as the McNamaras and the pure and simple trade unionist. Instead of class action he can think only of individual and reactionary methods of warfare like bullets, bombs or "mounting the barricades."

Sharing and Shearing.—And now it is shown that the Steel Trust's much-lauded "profit-sharing plan for employes" means an average of 50 cents a month for its beneficiaries. Oh, yes, \$6 a year will do much toward "reconciling the interests of Capital and Labor"! This "profit-sharing" scheme of course is simply the old game of profit-shearing, with a little cheese rubbed on it to make it smell good.

How to Create Jobs.—Organizers for the Brotherhood of Machinists have been busy going around among the wage slaves of the Remington Typewriter Works at Ilion, N. Y., and telling them to come out of their trance. Incidentally they have been sending cold chills into the hearts of the bosses, especially when they insisted on pointing out the contrast in the selling price of a machine, which is \$100, and the average wages of the workers, which is considerably below one-fifth of that amount. The Remington Company boasts that "a typewriter is turned out every minute," or 3,600 every week. Let's do a little figuring. There are 2,500 workers in the Ilion plant. They work 60 hours a week. 60 times 2,500 is 150,

000, which is the number of hours of labor time required to turn out the company's regular quota of 3,600 machines. Very well; suppose the workers organize industrially, fight, and reduce the working hours for each man to 48 a week; 48 into 150,000 goes 3,104 times, which will be the number of workers required to turn out those 3,600 machines a week. Subtract 2,500 from 3,104 and you get 604. In short, the workers of this factory by shortening their hours from 60 to 48 a week could create employment for 604 more people, thus lessening competition for jobs, reducing the army of possible scabs, and making it possible to raise wages. The same procedure will work everywhere.

Keeping 'Em Divided.—It is the boast of the A. F. of L. that Whitehead & Hoag, the New Jersey button manufacturers, "employ members of eighteen labor organizations." Eighteen crafts not only in one industry, but in one factory, all with separate contracts and agreements no doubt, and all the rest busy scabbing when one is on strike! Can you beat it?

"A Christian" in Action.—The Socialists in Pittsburg, made it so hot for one Raymond Robins, a gospel spieler for the Men and Religion Backward Movement, that he forgot all his Christlikeness and called one of them "an intellectual ass." Robins was formerly quite a hero among the trade unions in Chicago and in other cities, and his wife is president of the Women's Trade Union League of Chicago. He is now taking capitalist money to show that there is no such a thing as a class struggle.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Haywood in Toledo.—The Review-Haywood meeting in Toledo, January 29, was a big success from every point of view. More than 1,000 tickets were sold and fully 800 persons attended the meeting. The interest was intense, the audience paying Comrade Haywood the tribute of perfect silence when his utterances revealed the tragedies of the class struggle, and applauding him generously for his matchless sarcasm and his convincing argument.

The members of Local Toledo believe that the strength of the party must be gauged, not by mere numbers, but by the number that insist upon preserving, at all hazards, the working class character of the party and who stand for the triumph of the workers by every weapon within their reach.

We figure that the strongest factor in the building of a revolutionary, uncompromising movement is the right kind of literature. Hence, it is our object to see to it that the REVIEW is read by a constantly increasing number of workers. The message which this fighting magazine carries each month is the strong rock upon which we must build our faith, if the Socialist Party is to train the working class to fulfill its historic mission.

Toledo has had about sixteen years of reform and the administrations of "good men." The Socialists here have had a big job on their hands. Perhaps, reformers have kept us from the pitfalls of reform. Sam Jones and Brand Whitlock have forced us to stand for something more than municipal ownership and remedial legislation if we would get the ear of the working class. So, the members of Local Toledo were not shocked by anything that Haywood had to say, because vote-catching is not our business.

Two Socialists were elected to the city council last November. They are advocating in that body the right of city employees to organize. Through this medium, we are suggesting to the city workers, from the street sweepers, up to the firemen and policemen, and all other workers employed by the city, the formation of a municipal labor organization. One of our councilmen has already experienced the direct action of the capitalist class by being discharged from the shop for his opposition in the council to the vacation of a street in favor of a steel plant that pays its men sixteen cents an hour and works them twelve hours a day.

More power to Haywood and the REVIEW! They teach the naked truth, without "trimming."

J. BATES, Secretary.

From New Zealand. Comrade J. E. Duncan, of Auckland, writes sending in a large order for books, and a share of stock: "I think the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW is the very

best magazine I have ever read." Other letters from New Zealand show us that the comrades are awake to the need of revolutionary action. The little band of Reds there are maintaining two splendid papers and they are seeing to it that every workingman and woman in the country shall hear what a REVOLUTIONARY Socialist party and a revolutionary union mean.

More from Auckland. The same mail brought us an order from Comrade E. Jensen for \$119.00 worth of books and REVIEWS.

Sets Seal on Revolutionary Syndicalism. Christianaia, Norway.—In the last few weeks a most significant change has become evident in the labor union movement of Norway.

In Sweden and Denmark the current of revolutionary syndicalism has for some time been quite strong, but in Norway this current was unknown up to last year. Now a particular type of syndicalism has developed here which, while not repudiating political action, nevertheless upholds the employment in the economic struggle of sabotage and the greater part of the other weapons of revolutionary syndicalism. This movement is being led by very intelligent agitators who have already obtained much influence. Their principal headquarters were until lately at Drontjem.

Recently, after debates lasting three days, the resolution offered by the radicals was rejected by a vote of 181 to 164, and a compromise resolution was adopted. But last week the principles governing union activity were discussed for four days behind closed doors in this city, and, in spite of the opposition of the union leaders, the radicals' resolution was adopted by 221 votes against 212. In addition to sabotage, the resolution recommends the non-observance of contracts made with employers.

During the debates the editor in chief of *Socialdemokraten* (the official organ of the Social Democratic party of Norway) assailed violently certain doctrines of the new movement. Thereupon the assemblage by a vote of 300 to 3, and in spite of the opposition of the chairman, protested energetically against the journal *Socialdemokraten*.

As the convention was called by the political organization of the Social Democrats of Christiania, it is very probable that other sections will join in the protest. This is, surely, the first time that a Socialist political organization has thus set the seal of approval upon the methods of revolutionary syndicalism.

The event is of especial importance in view of the claims so often made that revolutionary syndicalism, sabotage and the other syndicalist methods, only appeal to workers of Latin origin, and can never find firm foothold in countries of Germanic or Anglo-Saxon population. These claims would seem to be amply

Socialist Councilmen—Columbus, Ohio



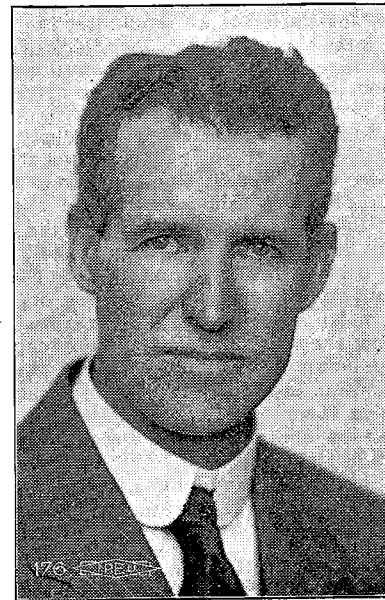
FRED P. ZIMPFER,
First Ward.



F. M. WILSON,
Tenth Ward.



JOHN P. BOHNERT,
Eleventh Ward.



C. E. WARREN,
Thirteenth Ward.

refuted by recent developments in this country.—New York Call.

Local Columbus.—At the last city election the Socialists at Columbus polled 11,000 straight, class conscious votes, electing four councilmen, four assessors and three members of the board of education. On the morning after election a prominent Columbus business man declared that the Socialists could have swept the city if they had not carried the red flag in the monster parade the Saturday night before election. It is sufficient to quote the reply the comrades made in their splendid paper, the *Socialist*, to show where they stand:

The Socialist party has no apology to offer for its platform, its candidates or the RED FLAG. The working class will understand the true significance of the Red Flag before another election and that emblem of human brotherhood will be the insignia of victory.

The Local will put off two rousing Haywood lectures on April 7th.

Accept My Congratulations for the February issue of the REVIEW. Haywood's speech is certainly plain talk. It's what we need. La Monte's article is also to the point.

COMRADE FLURY, Philadelphia, Pa.

From Australia. I indite these few lines to show my appreciation of your splendid uncompromising magazine and to congratulate you on the manner in which you sustain the strict principles of international Socialism. Your magazine, rightly termed the fighting magazine, is getting a good name in Australia and big sales of it here are badly required to brush away the mental cobwebs of fossilism and to rejuvenate the apathetic and cowardly trade unionists here who are afraid to strike. The sound logic, analytical criticism, thorough knowledge and relentless exposures of the REVIEW is greatly appreciated here, for nearly all the branches of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Australia are as fearless, scientific and uncompromising as your REVIEW, owing to the existence of the middle class "Labor Party." The accession to power of the Labor Party has sealed their own doom, and has opened, or is beginning to open, the eyes of the befooled workers. And their to be expected act of "playing the game," as Comrade Charles Edward Russell aptly puts it, glaringly points out the uselessness of reform, and half-measures generally. The lesson to be learned is that the thorough understanding of the basic principle of Socialism, the class struggle, is the principle method of consolidating the workers by making them fully realize their time mission and purpose in life. When I collect a few photographs I will send you an article on "Conscription in Australia." By the time this letter reaches you I will have resigned my position as secretary of the above party, intending to take a tour around the world, when I hope to have the pleasure of visiting Chicago.

J. BLUMENTHAL, Secretary,
International Socialist Party,
Sydney, N. S. W. Australia.

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My sample bargain—a

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50c Per Month



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"The Socialist"
"A Weekly Newspaper Without A Muzzle"

Eight pages of Class Conscious Revolutionary Socialism together with a full synopsis of what our eleven elected officials are doing.

The Ohio Manufacturers Association is endeavoring to raise a slush fund of millions of dollars to fight us. Keep your eye on Ohio, by subscribing for "The Socialist." Regular rate \$1.00 per year in advance.

In connection with The International Socialist Review \$1.50 per year in advance for both publications. Send all orders to

The Socialist Publishing Co.
108 1/2 South High St., COLUMBUS, O.

EDITOR INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW: The Socialist party dues paying membership is about 100,000, and we are proud of it. We would not like to see even a minority of such membership lost.

Yet our system of electing the National Committee, is such as to in many instances deprive the minority of representation. This fact is galling to a large number of Socialists, when any action is taken, not to their liking.

Labor produces all wealth; wealth should belong to the creator thereof. This fundamentally just demand, naturally involves the right of minorities to their share of power. We can never have Socialism until the rights of the minorities and individuals are recognized.

In order to devise a system of elections, that will ensure just proportional representation on committees, I submit the following:

Amend Article VI, Sec. I, to read: Nominations from ten locals shall entitle a candidate to be placed on the ballot. Each individual member may vote for seven candidates, two of which should be marked 1st choice, 2nd choice. Election committees shall count how many 1st and 2nd choice votes each candidate shall have received, and in a separate column give the grand total vote received by each. The canvassing committee at the National headquarters shall declare each candidate elected, who shall have received one-seventh or more of the total 1st choice vote and add thereto, all those who shall have received one-seventh or more of the 2nd choice vote. If the number of names thus secured exceeds seven, the lowest on the 2nd choice shall be dropped; if it fall short of seven, such shortage shall be made up from the remaining candidates who shall have received the highest grand total vote.

Example: Four candidates have been declared elected, because they received at least one-seventh of the total 1st choice vote; two additional candidates were declared elected, because they received at least one-seventh of the 2nd choice vote—leaving one more to be declared elected, and from the remaining list of candidates, the one who has received the highest grand total of votes is declared elected, and thus we have seven members of the National Executive Committee.

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	Grand Totals
Bell	4,000	9,000	60,000
Berger	*25,000	*20,000	30,000
Bohn	*15,000	*11,000	40,000
Branstetter	*14,000	*13,000	50,000
Carey	*10,000	*11,000	70,000
Harriman	*20,000	6,000	100,000
Haywood	*11,000	9,000	125,000
Kirkpatrick	500	9,000	150,000
Maley	400	*11,000	130,000
Maurer	100	1,000	117,000
Totals	100,000	100,000	872,000

Berger, Bohn, Branstetter, Carey, Harriman, Haywood, and Maley are elected.

A progressive minority, could thus by unit-

ing upon a candidate, get him elected, if they could muster one-seventh of the total 1st choice vote. Thus many errors of the executive committee would be avoided, because the minority would have a watch dog or two. In case of a reactionary minority, it would be better to have it represented than to "put our foot on their neck," so to speak, and have them knock the party on the outside and "sulk in their tent." Yours in the Revolution,

PETER J. HOLT, State Sec'y. Utah, Box 477.

Quick Action. "The ten REVIEWS sold within a day of their receipt. Send 50 next time."—Comrade McCaleb, Pennsylvania.

Worth Copying. Comrade Conrad, who is one of the live wires in the growing movement at Wabash, Ind., describes a scheme that he says brings results. On each copy of the REVIEW and other Socialist literature handled by the local, he and his comrades put a little printed sticker telling where and when the local meets. This enables persons who want to know about Socialism and the party to find headquarters and get the right information.

Best Yet. "Please send 60 copies of the February REVIEW. It's the best number yet. We are fortunate in being able to get such a magazine as this."—Comrade Mary Cornwell, New York.

Sure a Hummer. "February REVIEW just received and absorbed. The REVIEW is sure a hummer and is doing a world of good. Enclosed I send you P. O. order for \$1 for which send me 20 copies. I won't let go of mine and so many are stirred up about Haywood's speech, I shall make them buy a copy of their own. I will try and buy a share of stock in Kerr & Company as soon as I can, seeing you are under the papal ban and are about to be investigated."—Comrade Stanley, Florida.

His Second Order. "Enclosed find check for \$5 for which please send 100 more of the February REVIEW. They are great and are going like hot cakes, so rush along the other 100 as soon as you can."—"Hustler" Schmidt, Pittsburg.

The Voice of Labor. Copy of the January number of the *Voice of Labor*, Johannesburg, South Africa, edited by Archibald Crawford, whom many of us had the pleasure of meeting during his recent trip around the world, is at hand, better than ever and full of the fine spirit of revolt. The South Africa comrades are pushing the REVIEW in that district. They hope to add 1,000 permanent names to our subscription list within the next year. Comrade Crawford has promised to contribute an article each month if time can be spared from the work in Johannesburg. Those of our readers who are acquainted with Comrade Crawford and his writings will realize what treats are in store for them. Rumor has it that Comrade Glenn, also of Johannesburg, has reached New York. We hope America will be able to keep him for some time. Com-

WHAT IS IN THE PEOPLE ANYWAY?

By EDMOND R. MORAS, M. D.

Harvard University Medical School, '88; College of Physicians and Surgeons (Chicago) '89. Formerly House Physician and Surgeon in Cook County Hospital (Chicago); Professor of Obstetrics, College of Physicians and Surgeons (Chicago), etc.

A dear old lady writes me:

"What is in the people anyway—the Hospitals and Sanitariums are full!"

My reply is:

People fill up Hospitals and Sanitariums because they are not posted on themselves as they are on their business, finances, politics, etc. If people dealt with their affairs as they do with themselves it would soon land them into Court or the Poorhouse; as it is, it lands them into Hospitals, Sanitariums and Cemeteriums. This is true, indeed truer of doctors and surgeons, lawyers and preachers than of poorman, richman, beggarman, thief.

Most humans eat and drink and drug themselves into heart failure, nerve prostration, dyspepsia, appendicitis, Bright's disease, auto-toxemia, pneumonia, rheumatism, cancer, apoplexy, typhoid, etc., etc. That's why Hospitals, Sanitariums and Cemeteries are full of 'em.

Ignorance of civic laws does not exempt the offender from public disgrace and punishment. But ignorance or disregard of Health Laws does. It will not always be so, for people will some day recognize the elementary principles of right and wrong in health matters; and, then, people will compel their professional and judicial and legislative and executive "servants" to toe the mark.

It's coming—for, don't you know that against every "preventable" death by violence there are thousands of preventable deaths by non-violence—that is, by disease and surgical operations? Are the lives of the former more valuable than of the latter? Look you to your God and Conscience, you who aviate in the hierachy of Business, Finance and Politics and who could and should help to right this civilized blunder. For, there is a far graver economic question of Crime and Loss in cases of illnesses and operations and deaths from disease-causes than there is in cases of injury and death from violence.

What is in the People anyway?

Not HEALTH surely.

Surely not the Kind of Health which through the thick-and-fast and wear-and-tear of Business and Politics can be banked on today and tomorrow, next week and the week after, next year and the year after, next decade and decades after.

For, that Kind of Health does not fill Hospitals, Sanitariums, Jails and Asylums. But, it does make Home Sweet Home.

Well or sick you need Autology as you need light, air, water and food. That you may be shown . . . Write for "Guide to Autology," which contains Newer Thoughts and Newer Suggestions and Newer Commonsense for the good of your body and your brain, in health and in sickness than are to be found anywhere else—barring nowhere and nobody. I mean every syllable of that. And it's yours for 10 cents (dime or stamps).

Address to E. R. MORAS, M. D., DEPARTMENT 846, Highland Park, Ill.

rade Glenn has never been found far from the line of battle in any time of trouble.

From Portland: A resolution was passed by Local Portland, Oregon, as follows: "Relative to Berger's Old Age Pension Bill . . . reported to a committee here . . . was reported on as follows: . . . "We note, with some amusement, that pensions are to be granted to deserving men and women over the age of 60 years. We are uncertain as to whether this bill was aimed to assist the capitalist class and their retainers, or whether the National Executive Committee has arrived at its dotage, but we are positive that the great majority of the most deserving workers do not reach the age of 60. Life insurance statistics, which are thorough and reliable, and cover all classes, show that those persons commencing to work at the age of 20 years reach an average age of 61, but as most workers commence to work before the age of 20, it will be readily seen that the number of workers to exceed the age of 60 would be extremely small. . . . Our largest corporations refuse to employ men over the age of 45 on the assumption that the worker is no longer up to the average social efficiency so that had Comrade Berger shown a revolutionary spirit he would have placed the age limit at 45 and made the pension a sufficient amount to sustain a worker as befits the only useful members of society. Yours for Revolution, C. E. Bennett, M. E. Dorffman, and E. Taylor, committee, Local Branch 1, Portland, Oregon.

The Haverhill, Mass., Socialist Fair and Bazaar was an immense success. There was an exhibition of 56 different Socialist papers and magazines in 16 different languages. The management expressed its heartfelt thanks to the Appeal, The Daily Call, the Rip Saw, the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, and other periodicals for their donations and help in making the affair a success. Secretary M. J. Donohoe reports that the comrades worked hard to get the ideas of Socialism before the people of Haverhill. Mrs. Hartley Burke was one of the most tireless in contributing to the success of the enterprise.

Sends Subs Conditionally. Comrade Friedman of Los Angeles, sends in \$5.00 for five yearly REVIEW subscriptions and says: "Rumor has it that the politicians in the party are trying to oust Charles H. Kerr and the other editors of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for the reason that the REVIEW is carrying on a propaganda of education along industrial lines. I strongly approve of your policy and desire to state that if given a guarantee that Kerr and his associate editors will remain at their desks for the ensuing year, the enclosed money order is to be used as payment for my own and four other yearly REVIEW subs to be sent to names given below who want the REVIEW on the same conditions, and I pledge myself to work and gather more subscriptions for the REVIEW if it keeps on at the tune it is playing at present.

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- Holy Smoke in the Holy Land.....\$0.10
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Jehovah Interviewed......10
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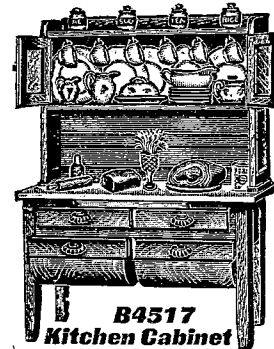
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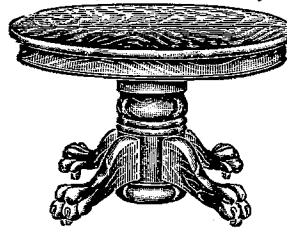
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B4517 Kitchen Cabinet

Madam: Stop kitchen drudgery—it wears one's life away. This Kitchen Cabinet makes kitchen work a pleasure and can be yours on the simplest credit terms. Made of hardwood, oak finish, is 62 inches high, 42 inches long, 26 inches wide, has roomy cabinet and 60-lb. capacity flour bins, \$7.60 Terms, 50c Cash—50c Monthly



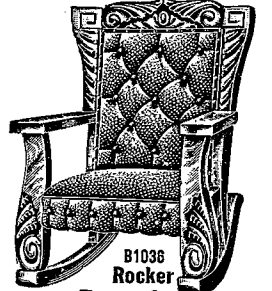
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Solid Oak, Claw Foot, Dining Room Extension Table. Has 42-inch round top, broad rim, massive pedestal base, extends to 6 feet by easy running slides and is fitted with three extra leaves to match top. \$9.75 Worth fully 50 per cent more than our price Terms, \$1.00 Cash—75c Monthly



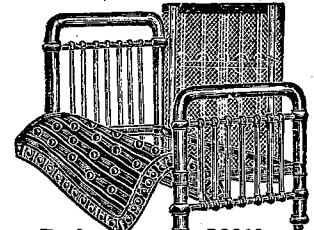
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A most magnificent 100-piece Set of Dishes—made of finest pure white under-glazed porcelain china, polished to a brilliant lustre and richly decorated with real coin gold. The Empire design is entirely new and fascinating. Sold in \$9.95 retail stores at 50 per cent more than we ask. Price, \$9.95 Terms, \$1.00 Cash—75c Monthly



B1036 Rocker

All the points which give perfect satisfaction are embodied in this elegant rocker. It has a high, broad back, large comfortable seat and is upholstered in famous "Imperial" leather (neatly like genuine leather.) Seat contains "Monarch" steel spring construction frame is of highly finished American quartered oak and is uniquely curved. Price, \$3.95 Terms, 50c Cash—50c Monthly



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Just as shown in illustration, in glossed gold bronze or any color enamel, any width, continuous posts, 1-1-16 inch in diameter. Mattress has real felt top, durable ticking, best woven wire springs with spiral springs support. Complete, only \$8.50 Terms, \$1.00 Cash—75c Monthly



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Does the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund Stand for Labor Unionist and Socialistic Principles? In reference as to whether this society stands for labor unionist and Socialistic principles, for which it declares, Branch No. 172, of Easton, Pa., paid sick and death benefits for the late Arnold Steinweg, who was a strike breaker at the Standard Silk Mill in Phillipsburg, N. J. According to an article in *Solidarity*, the official paper of this society, they cannot declare for any political party, or they would lose their charter; therefore, it means that this, and all other foreign-speaking societies of this kind, stands for this present system of society to this extent—that a member can go and take another person's place in the case of a strike, and buy non-union made goods, and vote for the republican or democratic party, and if expelled, he could sue and recover damages, if I understand the law right.

And they are taking the strongest workers here, and probably all over, to serve as officials and other things, to the detriment of labor unions and the Socialist Party.

ALVIN HUFF, Easton, Pa.

Surprised. Comrade Barker, of Arkansas, who was among the first to take advantage of our new credit plan, says he was surprised to find how easily the *REVIEW* sells. Though he got his bundle late in January, he disposed of them in time to put in an increased order for February.

A Good Idea. Comrade Willison, of Ohio, has a scheme for selling Socialist literature in his town which is worth noting. He orders a bundle of *REVIEWS*, puts them on the newsstands in his town at a price which will enable the dealers to earn a small profit, and then takes back all the copies they don't sell and distributes them elsewhere.

A Successful Study Club. Comrade Thomson from Kansas City, writes that the comrades there are conducting a most successful study club. He says the students start out using Mary E. Marcy's *Shop Talks on Economics*; take up *Value, Price and Profit* from page 53, on through the book and expect to wind up with *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*. We are glad to advise other locals contemplating study clubs that these three books may be secured at 10 cents each; or at 6 cents each when ordered through the local secretary.

All to the Good. Comrade Schindler, of Utah, writes: "THE *REVIEW* is ALL good. "It struck me just right when I read it last night. That Alaskan miner hit the nail when he advised the other Socialist periodicals to follow the lead of the *REVIEW*, and advocate industrial unionism. I like Charles Edward Russell's articles and Mary E. Marcy is a splendid writer."

The Workers in American History

By JAMES ONEAL of Terre Haute, Ind.

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In fine cloth binding, gold embossed lettering, postpaid \$1.00
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Send \$1.00 and we will send you the New National Rip Saw for a whole year, and will also send you a copy of Oneal's great book in paper covers.

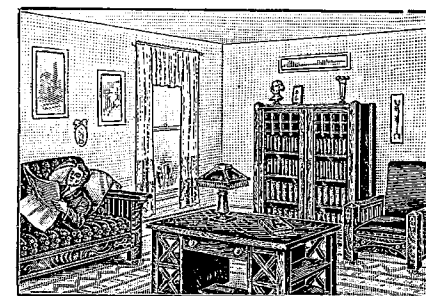
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131 N. FIFTH AVE., CHICAGO, ILL.
Special prices to readers of this magazine.

Keep Away from Portland. There are at present 14,000 unemployed in Portland, Oregon. This is not due to business depression, but to a misrepresentation by lying advertisements spread broadcast throughout the country by the Boosters' Clubs and commercial bodies acting with the railroads. Congested labor conditions reduce labor to a starving condition. A hungry stomach "knows no law." The action of the police in rounding up large bodies of workers and ordering them out of town is inhuman in that it forces them to face exposure along the roads amid the rigors of midwinter, to starvation or into crime.—The League of the Unemployed. W. T. Nef, Secretary.

Building Up a Socialist Library. Comrade Hood, a miner of Wyoming, sends in eight

yearly subscriptions for which he gets 16 cloth bound books on scientific Socialism, and he isn't through yet, he says. He writes that he is making a circulating library out of these books and intends to add to it regularly. Almost any other comrade may do the same, or eight comrades can combine, send a dollar each for a year's subscription to the REVIEW, and get 16 volumes which they can pass around among themselves until all are read. Then they can present the library to their local or union if they like.

The 3 Hour Day, published at 324 West 80th street, Seattle, is a snappy little monthly journal devoted to the propaganda which its name implies. Its program will appeal to every wage worker. Sample copies mailed on application.



Personal To Rheumatics

I want a letter from every man and woman in America afflicted with Rheumatism, Lumbago or Neuralgia, giving me their name and address, so I can send each one **Free A One Dollar Bottle** of my Rheumatic Remedy. I want to convince every Rheumatic sufferer at my expense that my Rheumatic Remedy does what thousands of so-called remedies have failed to accomplish—**ACTUALLY CURES RHEUMATISM.**

I know it does, I am sure of it and I want every Rheumatic sufferer to know it and be sure of it, before giving me a penny profit. You cannot coax Rheumatism out through the feet or skin with plasters or cunning metal contrivances. You cannot *tease* it out with liniments, electricity or magnetism. You cannot *imagine* it out with mental science. **You Must Drive It Out.** It is in the blood and you must **Go After It and Get It.** This is just what Kuhn's Rheumatic Remedy does and that's why it cures Rheumatism. Rheumatism is Uric Acid and Uric Acid and Kuhn's Rheumatic Remedy cannot live together in the same blood. **The Rheumatism has to go and it does go.** My Remedy cures the sharp, shooting pains, the dull, aching muscles, the hot, throbbing, swollen limbs, and cramped, stiffened, useless joints, and cures them quickly.

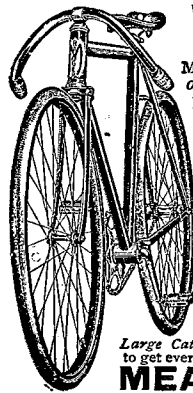
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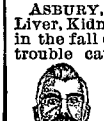
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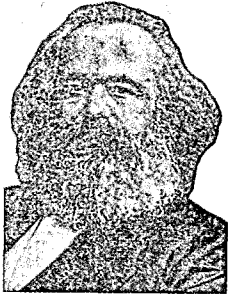
APRIL, 1912

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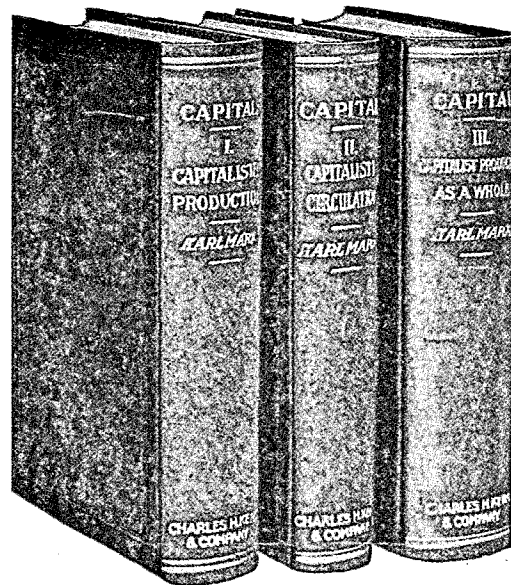
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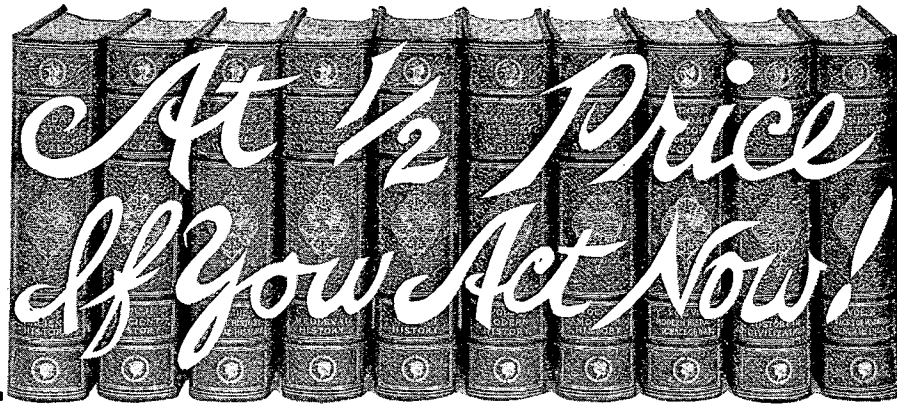
Edmonton, Prince Rupert and Fort George are later examples of towns which have had the same money-making history.

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low the example of some of the keenest investors in Canada, you will take a portion of your idle money and put it into lots in Fort Fraser. This is a town site which is just about to be opened up by the new Grand Trunk Pacific, which already has grading camps within a few miles. Fort Fraser is not an ordinary town site, arbitrarily placed at a certain spot along the railroad. For a century it has been a busy trading post by land and water. It is famous for hundreds of miles around. It is a place of so many tremendous natural advantages that it is already known as the "Hub City of British Columbia," and the coming of the railroad will cause a phenomenal jump in prices within a comparatively few months.

Now if you want to get in on a proposition which will yield the same kind of big profits as came to the Calgary investors, you should snap up lots in Fort Fraser now. If taken quickly they may be had for as little as \$100 to \$200, on the easy terms of 10 per cent down and 5 per cent per month. A small saving will thus take care of the payments as they come along. The titles are guaranteed by the British Columbia Government, and no interest or taxes are charged until lots are fully paid for.

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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

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SOCIALIST REVIEW

OWNED BY 2200 SOCIALIST LOCALS AND COMRADES

CHICAGO, MARCH 28, 1912.

TO OUR READERS

Dear Comrades:

Forty thousand copies of the March Review were sold out before the fourteenth of the month and we were unable to fill orders for several hundred more copies.

The 50,000 April edition has been delayed owing to the removal of our printers to new quarters and our desire to give you a full account of the great victory in Lawrence. Two of our associate editors were on the job up to the time we went to press, and we hope you will be so pleased with the results that you will want to put a copy of this issue into the hands of every workman and woman in your region. Every militant socialist will want to spread the good news of how One Big Union Won in Lawrence.

We have many good things planned for May. Tom Mann, the foremost fighter in the great English coal strike, that is stirring all the crowned heads of Europe, will write about the coal war in England if the jail authorities permit. In any event, the Fighting Magazine will have news and photographs from the scene of the struggle.

Phillips Russell will contribute an article on how women are bought and sold by the check system in houses of prostitution in Chicago. Gustavus Myers will write on the Theft of Farm Lands in California.

There will be many other good things, among them a wealth of propaganda and educational articles that will make the REVIEW the best seller for the May Day Meetings.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW,

Leslie H. Marcy

Associate Editor.

The
INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XII

APRIL, 1912

No. 10

ONE BIG UNION WINS

BY

LESLIE H. MARCY

AND

FREDERICK SUMNER BOYD



—Boston Post.

HAYWOOD AND HISTORIC GAVEL.

THE greatest victory in American labor history has been won by the Industrial Workers of the World in Lawrence, Mass., in a pitched battle of nine weeks' duration against the most powerful cotton and woolen corporations in the world.

For fifty years the great textile corporations had reigned in New England practically unchallenged, save when ten years ago Tom Powers of Providence, R. I., led a fierce battle against the American Woolen Company.

During the nine weeks of the fight in Lawrence every barbarity known to modern civilization had been perpetrated by police, military, courts and detectives, the willing tools of the bosses. Pregnant women were clubbed and their children delivered prematurely. Children were beaten in the streets and jails. Men were shot and bayoneted, the jail cells were filled, three year sentences were imposed for comparatively trivial offences, and machine guns were brought into the city.

And despite the abrogation without a



—American Press Assn.

SONS OF "BOSTON'S MOST PROMINENT FAMILIES" MAINTAINING "LAW AND ORDER."

shadow of legality of every constitutional right, including those of free speech and free assemblage, and despite the provocation offered by the presence of the bosses tools, twenty-two thousand strikers preserved, under the leadership of the Industrial Workers of the World, a self-possession and a self-restraint that was little short of marvelous. Not one overt act was committed by the strikers. Not one desperate deed of an infuriated individual was proved against a striker.

For the first time in America's labor history it has been demonstrated that a bitterly-fought battle between capitalists and workers can be conducted without the workers resorting to any form of violence. If any triumph is to be claimed for the I. W. W. this is one of the foremost of many.

The strike took its rise in hunger and was fought against hunger in the first

place, and against excessive exploitation in the second. Sixty years ago, when Lawrence was little more than a village, and the mills were few and small, the daughters of New England farmers came from the farm to the mill to earn pin money. But as the years passed and the mills grew larger and more powerful there came into the city around the mills a class of people who depended entirely upon the mill for a living. They were first English, Irish and Scotch.

Later Germans and French Canadians began to enter and take their place in the mills, and for years these were the only nationalities to be found. Because the labor market was comparatively restricted and the mill owners were greedy for profits they sent lying emissaries through Europe, particularly to Italy, telling of the wealth of America. These men scattered literature broadcast, and

showed pictures of the pleasant homes to be gained in the new land. One picture in particular showed a mill worker leaving the mill and on the way to a bank opposite.

Thus the Italian workers were lured to New England, and after them came in quick succession representatives of almost every nationality in Europe and Asia Minor, until today among others there are Syrians, Armenians, Russians, Portugese, Poles, Greeks, Franco-Belgians, Lithuanians, Letts, Jews, Turks and Bohemians.

In the meantime the mills had grown and their power increased. Wages in 1912 were practically at the same level as in 1892, although they had been sometimes higher, and sometimes lower. And in 1912 they averaged \$6 a week. With wages stationary during the twenty years when the cost of living has increased at least fifty per cent, the workers of Lawrence were faced with chronic starvation. Medical examination of the 119 children taken at random throughout the city and from all nationalities that were sent to New York showed them to be suffering from mal-nutrition; a condition that was not the result of the strike, during which living has been for large numbers of the strikers actually better than when they were at work, but that began with the mothers who carried and bore them, and was with them as they grew up.

Living conditions in the city were on a level with wages. Lawrence is a city of mills, tenements and a few houses and stores. The tenements are the dwelling places of the mill workers, each tenement containing an average of three floors of two to five rooms each, and every room small. Many of them are dark, and few have any pretense to sufficient ventilation.

In each apartment there exist two, three and even four families. In one apartment of five small, dark, lean-to rooms forming the top floor of one of these tenements were found three families, numbering in all seventeen people, men, women and children. One of the rooms used as a bedroom for five girls was the toilet, and all the seventeen people in the apartment had to pass through the bedroom of the girls to reach it. The

toilet was out of repair at the time of the visit of the investigator, and the stench throughout the apartment was sickening.

One man, Dr. Michael Sullivan, of Lawrence, owns a large number of these tenements, and for two months the toilets have been frozen. In every other way they are in an abominable and filthy condition, but requests from his tenants for repairs have been refused or ignored. All the tenants are strikers, and Sullivan has repeatedly threatened that unless they return to the mills and earn money for rent he will take out the windows and evict every one.

Under such conditions it is not to be wondered at that the infant mortality of Lawrence is 400 in 1,000. That is a death rate that is tantamount to murder—the murder of the innocents.

The low wages destroy what is generally known as family life. Women—wives and daughters—work in the mills, and children enter them the moment they are over fourteen if they cannot be smuggled in before. The joy of rational life is impossible.

Looking over the state of Massachusetts and seeing something of these conditions with uncomprehending eyes, certain well-intentioned citizens known as reformers, after infinite pains and much pulling of many wires induced the legislature of the State to enact a law reducing hours of labor for women and children in the mills from 56 to 54 a week, the law going into effect January 1 of this year.

As has been done in practically every other State under similar conditions, the bosses availed themselves of the opportunity to cut down wages already at starvation point. And as men could not work unless the women and children worked also, wages for all mill workers were cut.

The cut amounted to about 26 cents. Against this the Industrial Workers of the World sent a committee on January 6 to protest. They were turned down at several of the mills when they asked that wages remain the same, and at one mill the committee was literally thrown down the office stairs.

The cut was a deliberate theft. When

the 54 hour week went into effect orders were given to have the machines speeded up. One tooth was dropped from the main driving gear of the looms, increasing the number of picks by 45 an hour. The result was that the production was actually greater after the shorter hours than before, while wages were cut.

Anger was intense throughout the mills, and when on January 12 the pay envelopes of thirty weavers in the Washington mills were withheld without explanation the signal for revolt was given, and the entire mill struck, the workers parading the streets.

The parade went on to the Lower Pacific mill, which struck with the Washington mill workers. The next day, January 13, some 8,000 workers were on strike, parading the mill districts and holding mass meetings. January 14, while the strikers were parading past the Pacific mill, water from firemen's hose was turned on them. This assault on parading strikers, made when the temperature was below zero, enraged the men and women and together they rushed the mill gates, entered the work-rooms, demolished a few looms and induced the workers to quit with them. By January 14, the evening meetings were attended by some 25,000 strikers, all the other mills having struck in support of the original strikers. The strike in the Lawrence mills was general.

From the moment the Jewish and Italian workers went out, the I. W. W. took control of the strike, and subsequent developments make it necessary to state the position of the I. W. W. and the A. F. of L. in the city.

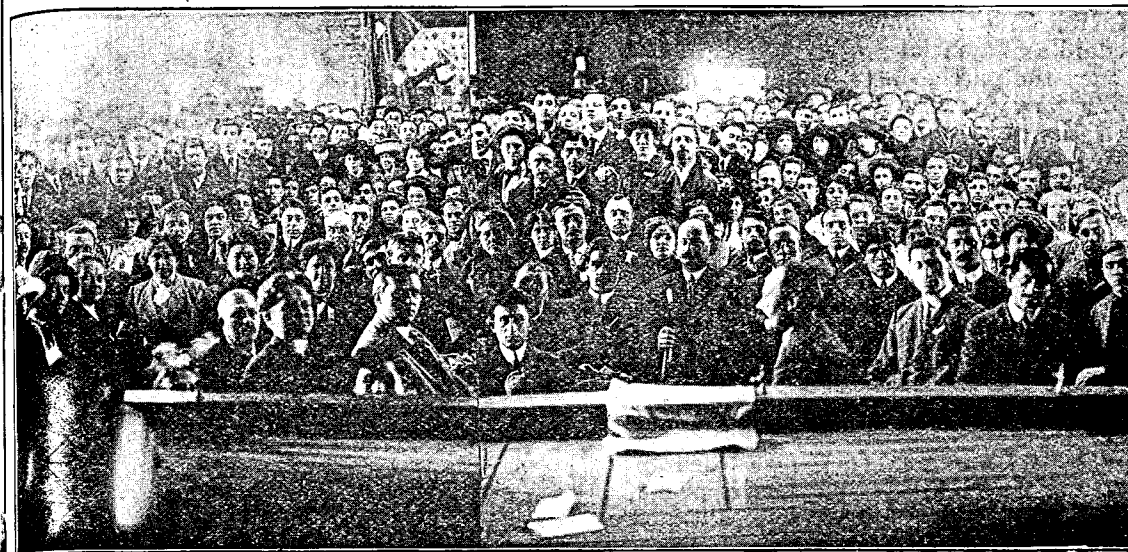
The textile workers of New England have been systematically betrayed by the A. F. of L. officials for years past. Beginning with the strike in New Bedford in 1898, when the bosses closed down the mills for twelve weeks, the National Secretary of the Textile Workers Union, Ross, used the situation to make political capital for his personal ends, and succeeded in making his way into the Massachusetts Senate, of which he is still a leading light. After twelve weeks the mills opened, and two weeks after the workers had gone back after terrible suffering and had gained nothing.

The next big massacre was in Fall River in 1904, when the bosses found their warehouses glutted with goods they could not get an overloaded market to take. A strike was the most opportune thing in the world for them, and for certain politicians. And a strike was called that also lasted for several months and became known throughout the State as the "hunger strike." John Golden was the moving spirit in this deal, and secured the aid of the Salvation Army and other charitable agencies to care for the starving workers.

This was the time when the Socialist Party had two members in the State legislature, several Mayors and other office holders, and everything pointed to a sweeping victory for the Socialist candidates in the elections that were drawing near. But John Golden and his A. F. of L. friends had other destinies for Massachusetts, and Golden, J. J. Driscoll of the Horseshoers Union, J. D. Pierce of the Cigar Makers Union, Jim Tracey, also of the Cigar Makers, and John F. Tobin of the Shoe Makers, together with some others, formed what they called a "flying wedge." These men went around the State speaking in behalf of Douglas, a millionaire shoe factory owner, Democratic candidate for Governor, who was running with the avowed object of settling the Fall River "strike," the understanding being that it was to be arbitrated and that justice would be accorded the workers.

The Socialists went down in disaster, and Douglas was elected. Douglas then fixed things with Golden so that the strikers of the Fall River mills went back to work for thirty days, pending the arbitration of the dispute. The arbitration board was appointed by the new governor, and the mill owners presented figures, based on their watered stock, that showed they had made no profits. These juggled figures were generously accepted, and the award of the arbitrators was that wages would have to be cut from 15 to 18 per cent. To this proposal Golden agreed, and the massacre was complete.

Meantime the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance had formed a strong local in Lawrence in 1899. In 1900 came the split in the Socialist Labor



—Photo taken expressly for The Review.
A REGULAR MORNING SESSION OF THE GENERAL STRIKE COMMITTEE AT FRANCO-BELGIAN HALL. TWENTY NATIONALITIES REPRESENTED. HUNDREDS ATTENDED THESE MEETINGS.

Party, and that was reflected in the S. T. and L. A., which was rent asunder. Fragments of the organization remained in existence until in Sept., 1905, the I. W. W. formed a local in the city, and the older organization merged with it. The first I. W. W. local was mixed, containing representatives of all nationalities, until in 1907 a Franco-Belgian local was formed. The membership grew slowly but steadily, and in April, 1911, an Italian local was formed, and in October of the same year the Cloth Weavers' Union, until then independent, merged with the I. W. W. When the strike broke out the membership numbered a few hundred.

At this writing the membership totals upwards of 12,000, and the various nationalities are organized into their respective language branches.

On January 11, anticipating some difficulty on pay day, the Secretary of Local 20, I. W. W. wired to Joseph J. Ettor, member of the National Executive Board, who was then in New York City, to go to Lawrence. He left the next afternoon, and arrived on the night of January 12.

Plans were then laid for the conduct of the strike. A general strike committee was formed that met daily, each nationality on strike being represented on it by three delegates. In addition there

were three representatives each from the perchers, menders and burlers, the warp dressers, Kunhardt's mill, the Oswoco mill, the paper mill, the workers in which had struck in sympathy with the textile workers and presented similar demands, and from time to time other sections were represented that were gradually merged as occasion demanded. The general strike committee thus numbered 56 men and women, all of them mill workers.

The first work of the committee was to devise means for carrying on the fight and caring for the strikers. There were no funds when the strike was declared, but in a week or ten days money began to dribble in from surrounding New England towns, and as the strike continued contributions came in from every State in the Union, from all parts of Canada and even from England.

The money in the shape of strike pay would not have lasted a week, but this battle was conducted on a different basis from former fights. Each nationality opened relief stations and soup kitchens, and was responsible for the care of its own people. The Franco-Belgians had had a co-operative in operation long before the strike, and food purchases were made through its machinery. Money was paid over to the various national committees as it became necessary by the

general finance committee, with Joseph Bedard as Financial Secretary. With this money the purchasing committee bought goods, and the national committees took their portion.

Meals were provided twice a day at the various stations for the strikers who needed them, and in this manner the Franco-Belgian station at the Mason street headquarters provided 1,850 meals twice daily, the Italians 3,500, the Syrians 1,200, Lithuanians 1,200, the Poles 1,000, and soon, the Germans took care of 150 families and several hundred single workers.

In addition to money, contributions of clothing of all sorts were forwarded to the city, and in particular the Syrians and Poles throughout the country rushed to the support of the strikers with carloads of food, quantities coming from as far west as Chicago.

It was currently reported that the strikers were starving. As a matter of fact no striker starved during the strike, and the vast majority of them were actually better cared for in the way of food and clothes during the strike than they were able to care for themselves while working in the mills.

Before leaving the matter of finance it is interesting to note that the experience with the A. F. of L. methods has led everybody to look for graft and plunder in labor union funds. This attitude in many quarters was the inevitable legacy that the I. W. W. had to inherit, and demands for a strict accounting soon began to come in from various quarters, and from many people, whether they were entitled to know or not.



ON THE WAY HOME FROM A STRIKERS' RELIEF STATION.

Such demands were not granted save to those who were entitled to know. The condition of the war chest was a matter of supreme interest to the bosses, and had to be kept from them. Efforts were made to find out, and Judge Leveroni of Boston, without a shadow of right, demanded an investigation. When the judge's action became known, contributions were accompanied with requests from hundreds of contributors that no information on the subject be published until after the strike and then only to contributors.

The funds have been contributed mainly by Socialists, who sent about

\$40,000, I. W. W. locals and others, about \$16,000, and A. F. of L. local unions about \$11,000, the last named contributing despite the bitter official antagonism of the A. F. of L.

The conduct of the strike and the policy pursued rested in the hands of the general strike committee. At the outset all meetings of the committee were public and were maintained public throughout. There was no secrecy, and no plotting. The city was filled with Pinkerton, Burns and Callahan agents, and they found nothing to do. They attended the strike committee meetings, as did any other individual who was interested in the proceedings. The completest democracy was maintained, delegates reporting on matters concerning their own section. The reports would go something like this:

"Lettish is all right. Same now as before. Have few scabs, others stand firm till strike settle."

"Jews have a few scabs, but they were born scabs. Can't get them out, but all others firm."

"Franco-Belgian have some scabs Two Portugese fellows working in weave room of Pacific. Then French fellows get in and make another strike and scabs chased out. Franco-Belgians all stand together."

Reports would be speedily acted upon, and then came reports of special committees, correspondence, unfinished business and good and well fare. The meetings were most inspiring and enthusiastic. Unity of purpose prevailed, and there was at no time the faintest suggestion of national feeling.

Usually the proceedings finished with the singing of the Internationale and cheers for the strike and the I. W. W.

The committee was presided over by Ettore until he was jailed, and from then on by Haywood, William Yates acting on the occasions when Haywood was



WORKING CLASS DOLLARS SAVED THE CHILDREN FROM GOING HUNGRY.

—American Press Assn.



ONE OF THE MANY RELIEF STATIONS.

away from the city addressing meetings and getting funds. The committee met at 10 or 10:30 a. m. From 5 to 7 a. m. the strikers were out on the line, and a new method of picketing was evolved.

Soldiers' bayonets and policemen's clubs had been used from the first to prevent picketing, and the necessity produced what came to be known as the "endless chain." All the mills but one, the Arlington, lay on the east side of Essex street, and this side of the street was barred to pickets absolutely. But the scabs had to come down streets leading into Essex street, and on the West side from 5,000 to 20,000 pickets massed every morning during the strike.

No one was allowed to stand still for a moment, so the thousands of pickets moved ceaselessly up and down Essex street and Broadway, on the South side of which was the big Arlington mill. It was an endless chain. The sidewalk was black with pickets, each wearing the I. W. W. badge or button, and a label, consisting of pasteboard attached to a piece of scarlet cloth, bearing the words "Don't be a scab," or "I am not a scab."

One of the most prominent figures in the picket line was Mrs. Annie Welzenbach, a young woman known throughout the city as being the most highly paid worker in the mills, earning \$20 a week.



ARRESTING A PICKET.

Everyone knew her, and her slogan every day during the strike was "Get out on the picket line." She and her two sisters were dragged from their beds one night and thrown into jail.

Another well known picket was Josephine Liss, who testified in Washington as follows:

"Did you ever have any trouble with a soldier?" asked the chairman.

"I certainly did," was the reply.

"Well, tell us about it in your own way," said the chairman.

"I was out walking one Sunday morning," said Miss Liss. "When I got near my home a soldier stopped me and told me to turn back. I refused to do so. He caught me by the arm and swore at me horribly. I struggled with him and he dropped his gun. I struck him in the face with my muff.

"Several policemen and militiamen came up then. One of the policemen asked me my name and I refused to give it. I felt I had been insulted. The policemen said he had seen me at court during the trial of Mr. Ettor. When I went to court the next day I was arrested."

"What for?" asked Representative Stanley of Kentucky.

"For assaulting a soldier," said Miss Liss, and her reply caused a ripple of laughter.

"When I was arrested I refused to pay the fine of \$10 and appealed the case. They reduced my bail to \$2."

Threats were repeatedly made against Haywood, Yates, Trautman, Francis Miller and others, culminating in a murderous assault on James P. Thompson, when three thugs entered his bedroom, cut open his head with blackjacks, and fired at him three times. This outrage the police refused to investigate.

On the same day that Thompson was slugged State Police Inspector Flynn attempted to provoke Haywood, who was

ANNIE WELZENBACH
ONE OF THE COMMITTEE OF TEN WHO MET THE MILL OWNERS IN BOSTON.

talking to Thompson as he lay in bed in the Needham Hotel. Flynn, accompanied by half a dozen strong arm men came into the room, and on seeing Haywood thrust his face close to his and menaced him with his fist, saying:

"Mr. Haywood, I hear you have been talking about me in your speeches. Just you understand that I won't have you talking about me and take notice that anything you have to say must be said to my face. Do you hear?"

Haywood was wise to the game, and fortunately for Flynn and for some of his bulls controlled his temper and the episode closed.

An indication of the stress under which everybody worked, and the hourly expectation of arrest, is afforded in the action of the general strike committee after Ettor's arrest, when at Haywood's suggestion a duplicate committee was elected on the same basis of representation, the duplicate committee being present at all meetings and learning the routine and progress of the strike. This plan also brought a larger number of strikers in direct touch with the work at

the central headquarters. There is little doubt that this action went far to checking the police in arresting strike leaders.

At the same time the funds were withdrawn from the banks, only enough being deposited to provide for two or three days ahead at any one time, the rest being distributed where it could be easily secured but out of reach of a court injunction, which was also hourly expected.

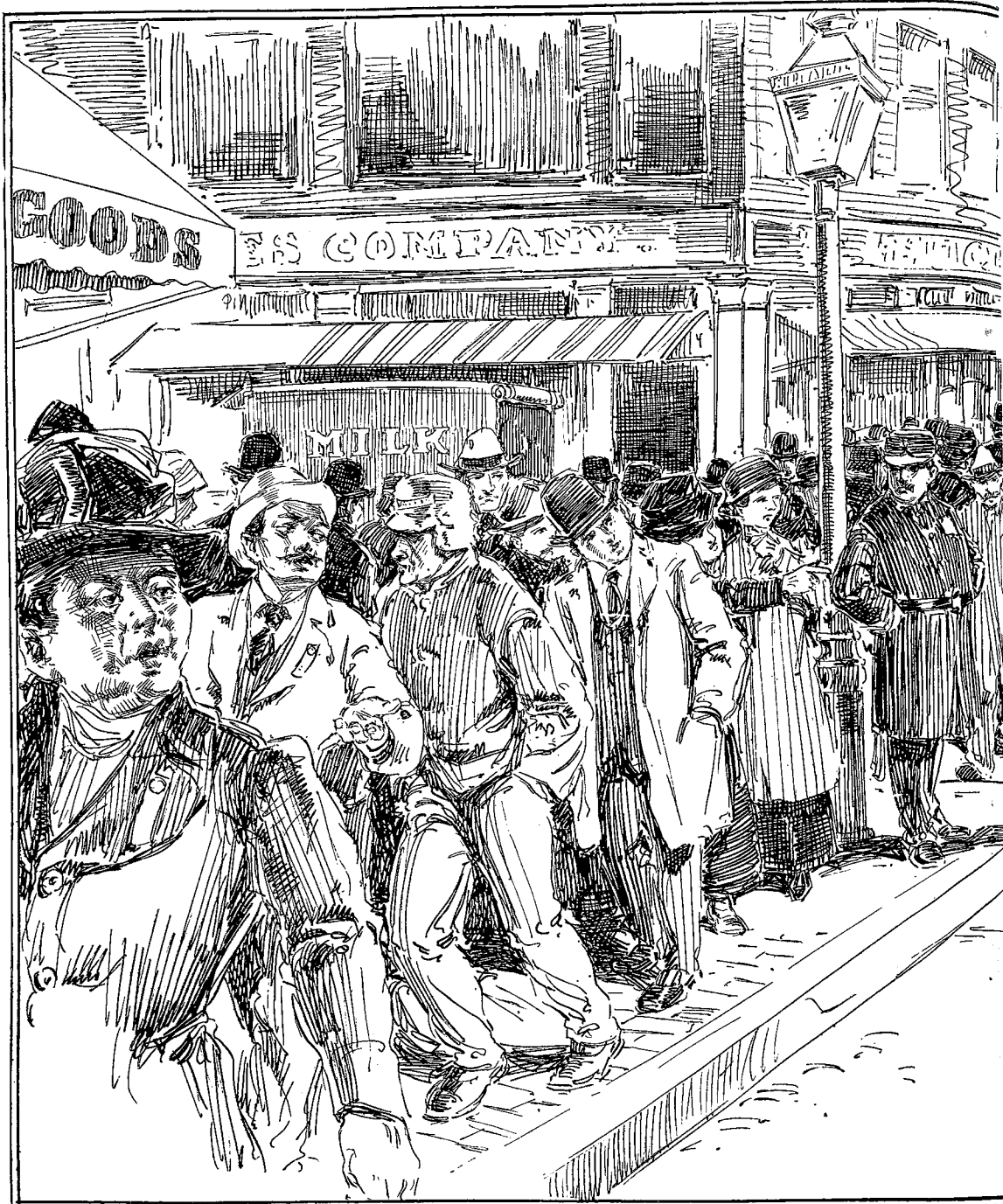
Brute force was not, however, the only weapon used by the bosses to try to crush the workers. They had allied with them the A. F. of L., the Catholic church and the Civic Federation—a very holy trinity!

Two days after the strike was called John Golden, a member of the Militia of Christ, wired Mayor Scanlon, who had called for militia, asking whether he could be of any assistance to the authorities in suppressing the "rabble," which he described as anarchistic. Golden and the Lawrence Central Labor Union, affiliated with the A. F. of L., joined in praising the authorities for importing soldiers, and declared that their presence was necessary for "the preservation of order." Neither by word nor deed did Golden or the C. L. U. condemn the authorities or their tools for the barbarities and atrocities committed. Vice President Ramsden of the C. L. U., whose two daughters were scabbing in the Arlington mill, when interviewed by the writer was loud in his praises of the militia and the authorities, referred to the I. W. W. as an anarchistic organization that fomented violence and lawlessness, and declared it should be suppressed. He asserted that there was no strike and no organization—only a rabble. When he was asked about the dynamite plot engineered by the bosses through their tool John J. Breen, he naturally refused to comment.

Golden publicly declared that the program of the I. W. W. had acted very much to the advantage of the Textile Workers Union, as it was bringing the latter in closer touch with the mill owners, who understood that it would be more to their interests to deal with the organization, he, Golden, represented



JOSEPHINE LISS.

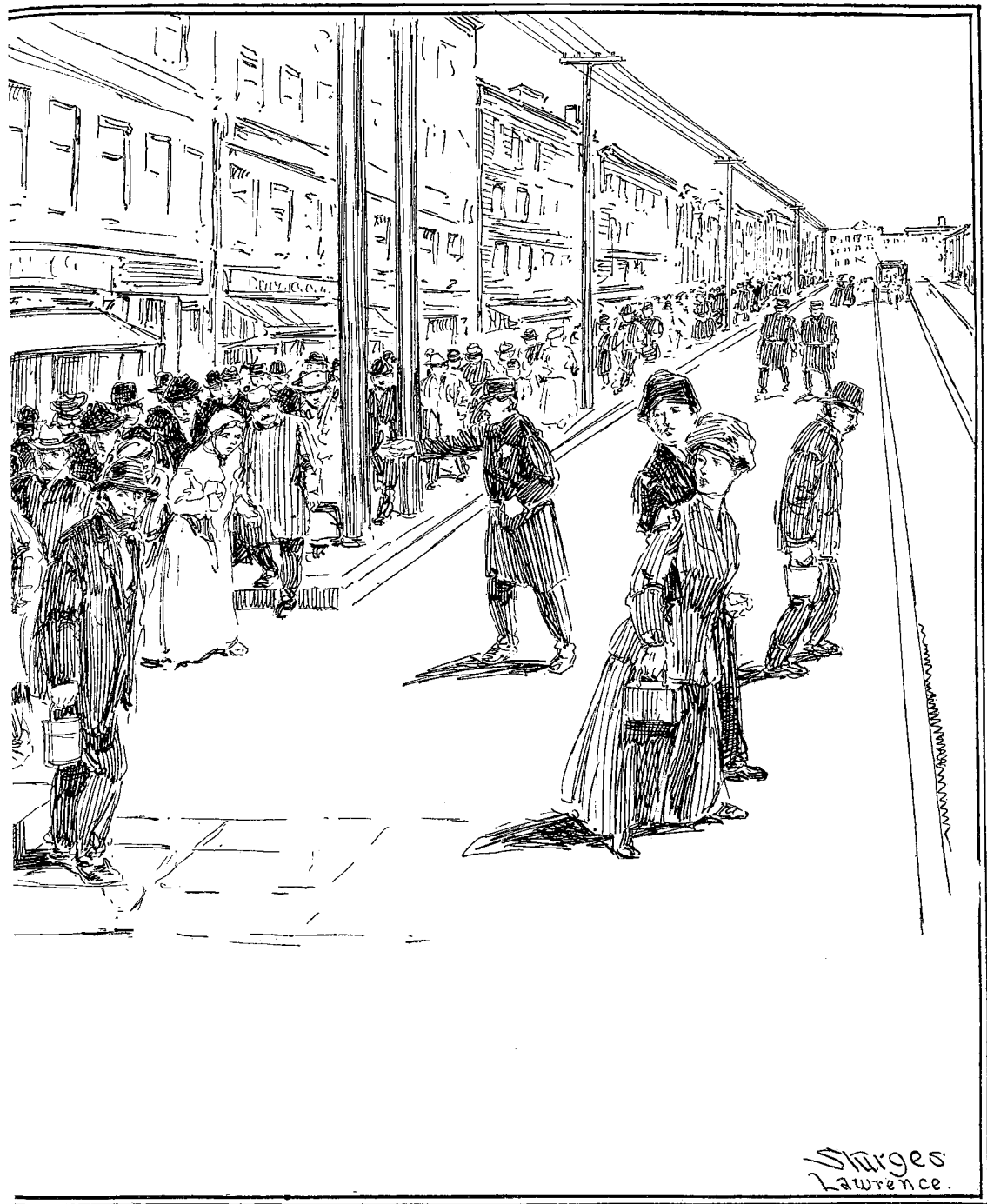


5,000 to 20,000 STRIKERS FORMED THE ENDLESS CHAIN PICKET LINE

rather than with the revolutionary and uncompromising I. W. W.

After having wired, proffering his assistance to the chief of police, Golden got busy in other directions. The mule spinners, numbering according to their own officials, some 180 men, were the only

body organized in Lawrence that was affiliated with the A. F. of L. Golden's union did not have a single member in the whole city. Nevertheless he, in conjunction with Joe R. Menzie, president of the C. L. U., issued circulars to all C. L. U. bodies asking for funds to aid



Sturges
Lawrence.

EVERY MORNING FROM 5 TO 7:30 A. M., RAIN OR SHINE.

—Boston Globe.

the strike and expressly asking them not to send assistance to the I. W. W.

Then the C. L. U. opened a separate fund. So, too, did Father Melasino, and a man by the name of Shepherd appeared on the scene with some sort of free lunch counter, also appealing for funds.

These various appeals for financial assistance, all made in the name of the strikers of Lawrence, and all calculated to injure the I. W. W. succeeded in diverting large sums of money, the C. L. U. benefiting largely at the expense of the I. W. W. Several times committees

from the I. W. W. went to the C. L. U. with evidence that money had been misdirected, but restitution was invariably refused.

Here it may be said that in the seventh week of the strike the C. L. U. strike relief station was practically suspended, applicants being told that the strike was off and that they should return to the mills.

Golden's next move was to endeavor to organize rival labor unions based on the many crafts in the mills. For several days strenuous attempts were made to divide the workers in the old, old way. Meetings were called by Golden and Menzie, a great deal of money was spent on so-called organizing which had been contributed to the relief funds, and every effort was made to break the solidarity of the workers and get them to return piecemeal.

These efforts failed, the only result being that when the bosses made an offer of five per cent increase over the cut rates—equivalent to an increase of one and one-eighth per cent—a handfull of double-dyed scabs whom Golden had secured to do his work went into the mills.

Golden has shown himself in this fight in his true light, and all the world knows him for a traitor to the working class, and his craft unions are a thing of the past. What Golden did was merely in accord with the policy and doings of the official A. F. of L., and many of the rank and file of the Federation have already woke up to the game of their alleged leaders.

The Ironmolders' Union that was affiliated with the Lawrence C. L. U. denounced in a resolution the doings of Golden and his gang and withdrew their affiliation. A motion denouncing Golden and his tactics was lost in the Boston Central Labor Union by a vote of 18 to 16. The Central Federated Union of New York City, one of the slimiest haunts of the professional labor crooks in America, even passed a resolution virtually telling Golden to keep his hands off. The Philadelphia Textile Workers' Union, which had received the Golden appeal, reprinted the I. W. W. appeal for funds and sent several thousand dollars to the I. W. W. war chest.

The latest development in Philadelphia is that 2,000 textile workers have requested I. W. W. organizers to go there and organize a local. All over the country local A. F. of L. unions have denounced Golden and his official friends, and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. has gone on record solidly in favor of their class and against their officials.

Before the strike few of the so-called skilled workers in Lawrence were organized, there being only, in addition to the mule spinners, small independent unions of the loom fixers, wool sorters and warp dressers. None of the mechanical crafts were organized, but within a week after the strike started the bosses called for the officials of various unions, had their employes organized and advanced wages five per cent. Among the gallant band of labor leaders who rushed to the aid of the bosses was Tim Healy, who organized the Stationary Engineers. All the mechanical crafts, including engineers, firemen, electrical workers, machinists and railroaders were "organized" and remained at work, scabbing on their fellows with the full sanction and express approval of their officials.

Allied with the official A. F. of L. was the Civic Federation, which seized the opportunity to pass resolutions endorsing and approving of their good friends and allies the American Federation of Labor.

And there was the Catholic Church. The moving spirit in Lawrence is Father O'Reilly, and he preached from the pulpit against Socialism, Industrial Unionism, and the I. W. W. He went further, and informed his congregation, all of them mill workers, that there was no need for them to go into the mills at 6:45. The bosses, he explained, would be just as pleased to see them at 9 o'clock, and by that means they need not pass the pickets. City Marshal Sullivan, before he stopped the children from leaving the city, consulted three priests, of whom O'Reilly was one.

But the Church, after all, was able to do very little, for the strikers realized that it was not a matter of religion but of bread. The Syrians demanded that their priest allow them the use of the church for their strike meetings, and were at first turned down. When the

priest was given to understand that if the request was not granted support would be withheld from him, he had a change of heart, and the Syrians met thereafter in the church, speakers with their backs to the altar telling of the class war.

The same thing happened with the Lithuanians, the Jews and the Polish. There are two synagogues in Lawrence, and when the request was refused at one synagogue the strikers threatened to withdraw and go to the other temple, their request being immediately granted.

Despite all these efforts to weaken the strikers and undermine their solidarity, they have stood shoulder to shoulder, all races and all religions, presenting a spectacle that has inspired the workers of the world with new hope and given the world a new ideal. And it is this solidarity, that has been the keynote of the strike, and has been rendered possible solely by the method of organization pursued by the Industrial Workers of the World, that has maddened the mill bosses and priests and politicians throughout the country.

This solidarity found its most dramatic and highest expression in the sending of the children of Lawrence to other cities to be cared for there by members of the working class. It was because the bosses of America feared the effect of this demonstration that every constitutional and human right was outraged in Lawrence when children who were going to Philadelphia were seized by the police, supported by the militia, and together with their mothers, clubbed and beaten, thrown into patrol wagons and put into prison.

Two of the women who were thus seized at the station were pregnant, and the brutal treatment they experienced has caused both to suffer miscarriages. One little girl was beaten in the face, and her nervous system so shattered that she could get no sleep and cried out at the slightest sound day and night. She has had to be sent to relatives in Wakefield to be nursed back to health if that is possible.

This monstrous outrage occurred twice, and it was in this connection that the women entered the ranks of the strik-

ers and fought shoulder to shoulder with the men. They were called into action by a little Italian woman, an exquisitely beautiful woman, with a face like a Madonna. She had come to a Polish meeting with three companies, and Haywood, who was to address the meeting, lifted her on to a table and she spoke in broken English, saying:

"Men, woman: I come speak to you. I been speaking to others. Just now tomorrow morning all women come see me half past four at Syrian church. Tonight no sleep. You meet me at half past four, not sleep tonight.

"You all come with me. We go tell folks no go to work. Men all stay home, all men and boys stay home. Just now all woman and girl come with me. Soldier he hurt men. Soldier he no hurt woman. He no hurt me. Me got big belly. She too," pointing to one of her friends, "she got big belly too. Soldier no hurt me.

"Soldier he got mother. We tell all people no go work, no go work till we get more money. Just now stay on strike, Everybody half past four tomorrow morning come Syrian church. All right. Good bye."

As Haywood lifted her from the table a scene of the wildest enthusiasm ensued in the packed hall, containing over 1,500 strikers. Men and women were in tears. Tears were streaming down the woman's face, down Haywood's face, down the face of everybody in the room. The woman kissed Haywood's hands while Haywood kissed hers, and had to leave the hall without giving his speech.

"Soldier no hurt me. Soldier he got mother," the woman had said. But the soldiers did hurt women and little children, too. They and the police clubbed and punched, and women and children were outraged in Lawrence as they would be in no other country but Russia. The evidence given before the Congressional Committee that Socialist Representative Victor L. Berger had appointed showed that literally Russian methods had been used in Lawrence.

The strike has thrown a glaring light upon Schedule K. It has astonished millions of people, who until it came had had no idea that hundreds of thousands

of workers in America were earning starvation wages. It broke into legislatures, and forced District Attorneys, Governors and even President Taft to take ponderous action. It was the cause of investigations by the Department of Justice, by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and by the Department of Labor and Commerce, which has five men still at work under Commissioner Charles P. Neill.

During the Congressional investigation at Washington, Commissioner of Safety Lynch of Lawrence admitted that he did not know the laws of the State of Massachusetts, and could cite no authority under which he had acted in preventing children leaving for other cities where they would be cared for until the strike was ended.

Police Chief Sullivan, who himself struck women at the station, deliberately lied before the committee, declaring that no woman was clubbed by the police. Every city official who testified gave false witness, and one after the other they

were excused and laughed at by all America.

The fact that seemed most to impress the committeemen during the investigation was that the children who had been taken to New York City from Lawrence had no underclothing. Representative Stanley expressed amazement as this fact was brought out by Margaret Sanger, who had gone to Lawrence to bring the children to New York, and asked whether it could be a fact that textile workers had not enough clothes to keep them warm in winter. Then he wanted to know whether their outer garments were woolen, and learned that though they worked in the woolen mills they did not wear woolen clothes.

During the investigation John Golden and Samuel Gompers both testified and both attacked the I. W. W. and the men in control of the strike. Both men left the witness stand discredited and disgraced.

Speaking of the part Berger took. Haywood said in the course of his re-



"ON DUTY" FOR THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

—American Press Assn.

port to the general strike committee on his return from Washington:

"Berger worked night and day on the strike situation, and, while he is a member of the American Federation of Labor, his castigation of Golden and Gompers was quite as strong as any delivered by any member of the I. W. W. Though in the past there has been bitter acrimony between the industrial Socialists and those whose leanings were strongly political, both factions—if they may so be referred to—have worked shoulder to shoulder in presenting the facts to the world and in assisting the Lawrence textile workers to win their fight."

And the Massachusetts State Legislature was also stirred. Socialist Representative Morrill tried in vain to force an official investigation. Other attempts were made, but the power of the mill owners in the legislature was too great. All that was done was that an informal committee went to Lawrence, made some inquiries, and reported that the most feasible plan for the mill owners to do was to recognize and negotiate with the Industrial Workers of the World.

Instantly John Golden, in company with his friends Judge J. J. Mahoney, who had conducted one of the most biased courts against the strikers on record in America juridical history, and J. R. Menzie, president of the Lawrence C. L. U., entered a formal protest against such respectable citizens as the mill bosses having anything to do with anarchistic law breakers.

But the economic power of the workers organized by the I. W. W. was too great for all combinations that were pitted against them. In the eighth week of the strike the bosses made an offer of five per cent wage increase. The A. F. of L. scabs accepted it and went back. The I. W. W. strikers turned it down flat. The offer was made on a Thursday, and it was hoped that thousands of strikers would break ranks and stampede to the mills on the following Monday. When the mills opened they had actually fewer scabs, and looked out on a picket line numbering upwards of twenty thousand.

At the end of the following week the bosses discovered they meant an average

increase of seven, and later seven and a half per cent, and that they would amend the premium system, paying fortnightly instead of by the month as had been the practice, resulting in the loss to a large part of the workers of the entire premium. Again on the following Monday the mills had still fewer scabs, and the picket line was stronger than ever.

When the Committee of Ten left for Boston on March 11th, for the fourth and final round with the bosses, every one realized that the crisis had been reached. Led by the indomitable Riley the Committee forced the mill owners to yield point by point until the final surrender was signed by the American Woolen Company.

The Committee reported at ten o'clock at Franco-Belgian Hall the next day. The headquarters were packed and hundreds stood on the outside. Words are weak when it comes to describing the scenes which took place when the full significance of the report became known. For the workers, united in battle for the first time in the history of Lawrence, had won. The mill owners had surrendered—completely surrendered.

A great silence fell upon the gathering when Haywood arose and announced that he would make the report for the sub-committee in the temporary absence of Chairman Riley. He began by stating that tomorrow each individual striker would have a voice in deciding whether the offers made should be accepted. He said:

Report of Committee.

"The committee of 10 reported in brief that the workers will receive a 5 per cent increase for the higher paid departments and 25 per cent for the lower paid departments. There will be time and a quarter overtime and the premium system has been modified so that its worst features are eliminated.

"Your strike committee has indorsed this report and has selected a committee to see all the other mill owners who will be asked to meet the wage schedule offered by the American Woolen Company. In the event that the other mills do not accede to the demands, the strike on those mills will be enforced.

"You have won a victory for over



HOLLIDAY (Weaver) BORN (Finisher) SMITH (Percher) ADAMSON (Dresser)
 GANINITTI (Comber) BIANKOSKY (Comber) BEDARD (Fin. Secty.) WELZENBACH (Mender) ED RILEY, Chairman (Percher)

THE COMMITTEE OF TEN WHICH MET THE MILL BOSSES—AND WON. JOE ETTOR WAS THE TENTH MEMBER.

250,000 other textile workers, which means an aggregate of many millions of dollars each year for the working class in New England. Now if you hope to hold what you have gained you must maintain and uphold the Industrial Workers of the World, which means yourselves."

Continuing, Haywood said: "These are the terms submitted by the American Woolen Company through the sub-committee to the strike committee. Your strike committee has endorsed this report and the terms. Your committee has selected a committee from all of the other mills to work in conjunction with the subcommittee and proceed at once to demand the same terms as the American Woolen Company has granted.

"In the event of the other mills not conceding these the strike in these mills will be continued. I believe, however, that they will agree as some of the mills have signified their intention of meeting any raise that was offered. You understand that these mills want their old employes back, and were so anxious to get you that they wanted you to go into the mills this morning. This strike is not yet settled. The delegates will report to

their different nationalities in separate mass meetings between now and tomorrow.

"A committee has been appointed to arrange a mass meeting on the Common to be held tomorrow morning at the earliest possible hour (cheers) when the entire matter will be submitted to the vote of all the strikers.

"This is the first time in the history of the labor movement in America that a strike has been conducted as you have carried on this one. This strike since its very inception has been in the hands of the strikers. To expedite business you have reduced yourselves to a committee of 56. Conferences have been held by a subcommittee of 10, which could settle nothing, but must report back to the full committee.

"I want to say further to you, that the strikers of Lawrence have won the most signal victory of any organized body of workers in the world. (Cheers.) You have demonstrated, as has been shown nowhere else, the common interest of the working class in bringing all nationalities together.

"You have won a small increase for yourselves and you have gained an ad-

vance in wages for more than 250,000 operatives. This victory you have won means in the aggregate the distribution of many millions of dollars among the working class. If you hope to hold what you have gained it is necessary for you to maintain your organization. You must uphold the Industrial Workers of the World, which means yourselves. You are the heart and soul of the working class. No one can do things for you. You must do these things for yourselves.

"Everything for your uplift rests in your hands. Single handed you are helpless, but united you can win everything. You have won the concessions over the united powers of the municipal, county, State and National administrations. You have won against the combined forces of the capitalists. You have won in face of the armed force. Detectives and secret service men have not been able to whip you back into the mills. You have won in face of a partial court and in the face of that new form of government known as injunction. You have won by massing your brain and muscle and withholding your labor from the bosses.

"No one can point to any striker and say that he committed any violence. Your hearts and your hands have been clean and your consciences must be clear of any indictment. This is not the last fight that you will be called upon to engage in; this is the first step in the march of progress."

Great applause lasting several minutes, followed the close of Haywood's speech. Then, amid shouts and cheers for victory, labor songs were sung.

Not one of the 20,000 persons present will ever forget the wonderful mass meeting held on the Commons on March 14th when the strikers voted to accept the surrender of the bosses. As each nationality reported a volley of cheers arose as hundreds of hands were lifted high.

Then came the vote on the time for return to work. The Committee proposed Friday morning but this was voted down and when Chairman Bill Haywood put the question "Shall all go back to work on Monday morning?" thousands of hands arose in a unanimous vote which settled the question.

The Red Flag was waved from the speaker's stand and thousands of voices broke into:

"Then raise the scarlet standard high,
 Within its shade we'll live and die.
 Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer,
 We'll keep the red flag flying here!"

The committee received authoritative assurance of the early release of Ettore and Giovannitti otherwise not a man, woman or child would have voted to go back to work.

Following are the notices to be posted in each room of the American Woolen Company's mills, and to be printed in all the languages of the workers:

"To the Employes of the — Mill.
 "On Friday next, March 15, wages will be paid under a notice posted March 1, and the advance in wages will be in accordance with the following schedule:

"All employes formerly receiving 9½ cents per hour, an increase of 2 cents per hour (25 per cent raise).

"Those receiving more than 9½ and less than 10 cents, 1¼ cents advance (21 per cent raise).

"More than 10 and less than 11, 1½ cents (15 per cent raise).

"More than 11 and less than 12 cents, 1¼ cents advance (11 per cent raise).

"More than 12 cents and less than 20, 1 cent (8.3 to 5.5 per cent raise).

"Those receiving 20 cents or more, 1 cent (5 per cent raise).

"All job work to receive an advance of 5 per cent flat.

"American Woolen Company,
 Mill Agent."

"NOTICE."

"The premium being already adjusted to a 54-hour basis, it will be readily seen that the increase of 5 per cent in the wage list is that much to the advantage of the weaver in more easily acquiring the premium.

"Premiums will be given out every two weeks instead of as heretofore, every four weeks.

"Time and one-quarter will be paid for overtime.

"No discrimination against any one."

The strike in Lawrence has had far-reaching effects. As a direct result of the fight wages in practically every mill

in New England have been increased. In Lowell, when the I. W. W. sent organizers into the city, the bosses rushed to give their workers an increase of five per cent.

"Already substantial increases in their wages have been accorded to workers in

	Number of employees
Fall River	25,000
Nashua	3,500
Chicopee	1,800
Waltham	1,500
Holyoke	1,400
Salmon Falls, N. H.	800
North Adams	600
Greenville, N. H.	400
Worcester	300

And many other cities."

The increase in wages in no case falls below 5 per cent. For the lowest class of workers, it will range from 15 to 25 per cent.

To Cost Mills \$5,000,000.

When business is in first-class condition there are about 300,000 textile operatives in New England. It is estimated that the general advance of from 5 to 7 per cent, will cost the 1,500 textile manufacturers \$5,000,000 a year.

As Comrade Haywood says: "The place to stab the boss is in his pocket-book."

As a result of the strike inaugurated by the Industrial Workers of the World, and the wonderful solidarity of the workers of Lawrence, a quarter of a million workers have received wage increases. A million men, women and children are better off and have more of the comforts of life due directly to the work of the I. W. W.

And an even more important thing, about which little or nothing has found its way in the capitalist press, is the fact that a new chapter has opened in the history of New England and the United States. For the first time in history the cotton and wooden kings have been defeated in pitched battle, and they have been defeated by the despised "unskilled worker"—the "foreigner." For the first time in America a method of organizing men and women of twenty different nationalities and leading them to victory has been found.

When Big Bill Haywood declared that the workers are going to make this a world worth living in, a tremendous cheer went up from twenty thousand workers in Lawrence who understood his meaning and realized their power. The battle of Lawrence is the death knell of craft union organization, and the herald of the formation of the workers into One Big Union.

But the fight is not over, and will not terminate until the other mills come to terms and the 63 men and 20 women now in jail are set free.

"While the strikers have won the fight they are not going to forget the outrages that have been perpetrated upon them. The cases are going to be prosecuted, and the officials will be sent to jail if that is possible. Civil and criminal actions will be brought by the injured strikers. Damages will be sued for and claims made against the state for every outrage or injury perpetrated by the minions of the law."

The Battle of Lawrence is but one engagement. The Big Fight has just begun.



—Photo by L. V. Buck, Washington, D. C.
JOSEPHINE LISS AND YOUNG STRIKERS IN WASHINGTON.

Before Congress

BY

ELLEN WETHERELL

THE white marble room, where but yesterday the United States Steel Trust met in a "Heart to Heart" talk with the United States Congress, had been thrown open to the people. The soft, yellow light from the cut glass chandeliers diffused a warm glow over the eager faces of the little children who had come from the mills of Lawrence to appeal to the United States Congress for Justice.

It is a cosmopolitan audience that greets the Strikers. Friends of Labor are here, side by side with the enemy of the working class. Coming in by twos and threes, their feet making no sound on the thick, velvet pile of the green carpet, the people gather for the first time in the history of the nation at a Congressional Hearing,—Striking Mill Slaves versus the American Capitalist.

Red badges with the words "Do not be a scab" flame prophetically from the breasts of the little children. Men of the camera crowd to the front, their ma-

chines raised high for action; the President of the A. F. of L., with his inevitable cigar held jauntily between his lips, moves quickly to a seat beside the Labor Representative from Pennsylvania; Mr. Wilson's face wears a troubled look; things are not going his way.

At the rear, the husband of Alice Roosevelt Longworth stands, his broad-cloth shoulder touching the ragged sleeve of a negro. There are women here from the most "select" circles of Washington, and there are women from the humblest vocations whose hands are rough and reddened by years of toil. Men of the Red Race, stalwart Crowes, one wearing the typical blanket of his tribe, look on unmoved. Men of the press are in their seats, a goodly number.

The witnesses for the prosecution are pressing to the front, their alert, intelligent faces aglow with the spirit of the truth that they are about to speak. The defense, citizens of Lawrence, sit at the right of the Committee, men of mature

years who are here to testify in behalf of the class that denies the right to live to men and women and little children of the working class. Victor Berger, his ruddy, mobile countenance aglow for the Cause he champions, moves uneasily; Mrs. Berger takes a seat by his side; close to them sits the grandson of old Ben Butler, Rep. Butler Ames of Massachusetts, who is counsel for the defense. There is a stir as a place on the platform is made for the "First lady of the land," Mrs. Taft,—her face is impassive and bears no look of interest in the scene.

Now enter the nine gentlemen of the Committee; cigars pass freely among them, the tobacco smoke curls gracefully up obscuring the white frescoes. The hour has arrived for the Hearing to be-

gin; Victor Berger is impatient and moves quickly to the front of the desk. A telegram has been received from the Strike Leader, *William D. Haywood*, saying that two of the women beaten by the police are in the hospital too ill to appear as witnesses.

The children are being arranged before the cameras to be photographed; the Chairman of the Committee leans forward, there is a sharp rap from the gavel on the rosewood; "Gentlemen," cries Berger, "just a moment, Gentlemen," a moment of intense silence, the photographer nods his head, "all right," the little children step back into their seats, and the Chairman of the Committee calls, "The Hearing is now open."

Flashes From "The Hearing."

"I do not care for a general investigation by the labor committee that will be dominated by Samuel Gompers," shouted Representative Berger.

* * * * *

Perhaps the star child witness thus far has been *Camella Teoli*, a 14-year-old girl, who had been employed "twisting." She said she is now a little over 14 years old, and that before she reached 14 a man had come to her father's house and suggested that she be put to work in the mill. When her parents objected on account of her age, she said the man offered to secure a certificate to the effect that she was 14, and therefore of legal age, upon payment of \$4.

The money was paid, she said, and the certificate was delivered next day. She then went to work at the mill. Later, when it was discovered that she was not of legal age, inquiry was made, but nothing resulted. She said she did not know the name of the man who proposed the certificate to her father.

Asked if she had ever been injured in the mill, she replied: "My scalp was pulled off in a machine. I was in a hospital seven months. The company paid the bills, but not my wages, during that time. My scalp is still under treatment, although I am back at work in the Wood mill, receiving \$6.55 per week, almost. I am a striker because I do not get enough to eat at home.

The Tainted Shoe Label

BY

PHILLIPS RUSSELL

FOR some time it has been the fond delusion of members of the Socialist party and sympathizers in general that they are doing a real service to the labor movement in buying only shoes that bear the union stamp of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

As a matter of fact any person who yields to the well-advertised cry of "Patronize the Label" in the case of the Boot and Shoe Workers, which is virtually the privately owned organization of one John F. Tobin, merely gets himself "played for a sucker" and plays directly into the hands of notorious enemies of the working class.

Of all the unions in the American Federation of Labor the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union is perhaps the rottenest and most corrupt. It is owned, body and soul, boot and breeches, by the bosses and a little gang of union officials who fatten off their helpless membership.

John F. Tobin, president of the union, and his little coterie of lieutenants, make use of the union shoe stamp merely as a thing for barter and sale and as a means of enslaving the workers and tying them tight to the bosses' machines.

The union shoe label is one of the rank-est frauds ever put over on an innocent and unsuspecting public. How and why will be shown herein.

For five months a devoted little band of about 200 shoe workers have been on strike in the city of Cincinnati against a reduction in pay. They have stood solid without a break in their ranks for 20 weeks. They would have won their de-

mands long ago but for the fact that their places have been filled in large part by STRIKEBREAKERS FURNISHED BY OFFICIALS OF THE BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS' UNION.

The strikers are members of the United Shoe Workers of America, a seceding organization formed by those who could no longer stand being preyed upon by their officials. In the face of starvation, injunctions, intimidation and attempted bribery they have stood firm without a single desertion, held together by the knowledge that they are fighting a battle for the good of their class.

The man who has done most in an attempt to break their strike and force them to accept a reduction in wages is William Tateman. Tateman was formerly local business agent of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union but so useful did he make himself to the bosses that they took him to their hearts and he is now secretary of the Shoe Manufacturers' Association of Cincinnati at a comfortable salary. Tateman's principal aid in procuring scabs for the bosses has been William Prout, who now holds Tateman's former job with the union.

The close relations that have existed between Tateman, in his capacity as a servant of the bosses, and the officialdom of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, is shown by the following telegram under date of December 18, last, to Chas. J. McMorrow, general organizer for the Tobin union:

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY

25,000 OFFICES IN AMERICA. **CABLE SERVICE TO ALL THE WORLD**
This Company TRANSMITS and DELIVERS messages only on condition limiting its liability, which have been accepted by the sender of the following message. Errors can be guarded against only by repeating a message back to the sending station for correction, and the Company will not hold itself liable for errors or delays in transmission or delivery of Unrepeated Messages, beyond the amount of their paid fares, and in any case beyond the sum of Fifty Dollars, at which amount otherwise stated below. This message has been retained by the sender thereof for 200 in any case where the claim is not presented in writing within three days after the message is filed with the Company for transmission. This is an UNREPEATED MESSAGE, and is delivered by request of the sender, under the conditions named above.
 THEO. N. VAIL, PRESIDENT BELVIDERE BROOKS, GENERAL MANAGER

RECEIVED AT

1513 R. 38pd.

Cincinnati, Ohio, Dec. 19, '11.

C. J. McMorrow, United States Hotel, Boston.

Twelve men come in all right today and the four that came yesterday are all right put them up at the Palace Hotel we can still use two edge setters two edge trimmers, also Rounders, welter, and stitchers.

Wm. Pateman
730 P. M.

Up to this time Tobin and his crowd loudly denied that they were furnishing scabs for the Cincinnati bosses, but after this telegram fell into the hands of the strikers and was photographed and published, the denials suddenly ceased.

The Cincinnati strikers hold a number of documents, affidavits, etc., furnishing ample proof of the fact that the Tobin union from the very first day of the strike began to run scabs into the bosses' factories and that Tatemán himself was supplying union cards to these strikebreakers and in some cases the bosses paid the initiation fees.

That the Tobin union has simply degenerated into a scab recruiting agency for the bosses has been proven many times before, notably in the case of the Brooklyn shoe strike last year, when Tobin's agents marched strikebreakers into the factories between lines of pickets under a heavy guard of police and detectives hired by the bosses.

The Cincinnati strike was called on November 6, last, in 10 shops because of a reduction in the price of inseaming from a cent and a half to a cent and a quarter a pair. This reduction was serious, as it meant a loss to the men of several dollars a week in their already diminishing earnings. The only thing for them to do was to strike and this they

did, with the support of other crafts not directly involved. Members of the B. & S. who protested against this cut were told by their officials that the price was satisfactory and that the workers would have to stand for it. In consequence several members left the B. & S. and went over to the United.

The Tobin policy is to fix up a price list by agreement with the bosses and then to force it upon the workers whether they want it or not. If it involves a reduction in wages, as it frequently does, the members are told there is no help for it because a "readjustment" of wages has been made necessary. Members of the Tobin union are therefore not only preyed upon by their bosses but by the officials of their own union.

If any further proof is needed as to Tobin's methods the following quotations from his famous circular letter addressed "To Shoe Manufacturers" ought to be sufficient:

"In view of the fact that you can use the Stamp without in any way surrendering control of your business or placing yourself to the least disadvantage, EITHER AS TO WAGES OR OTHERWISE, there appears to be no good reason why you should not secure the use of the Union Stamp immediately, which you



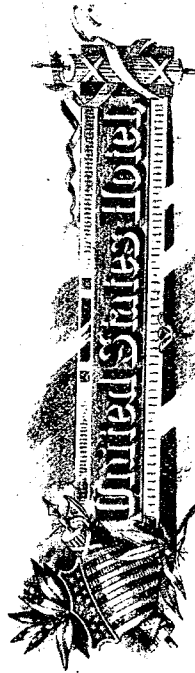
TILLY HAYNES, PROPRIETOR

Boston.

Dec. 16 1911.

It is understood that these men with a good (Brogan) will receive eight or ten dollars per week for a period of six months from the date of their unemployment; this would bring satisfactory. The good gear stitcher among them is to receive twenty five dollars per week with the same provisions.

1911



TILLY HAYNES, PROPRIETOR

Boston.

It is further understood that provided the work and behavior of the aforesaid men is satisfactory they may retain their places until they decide to leave. Also that the men may work by the photo provided, any man decide to do so.

C. J. McMorrow,
Boston Shoe Workers Union

can do by addressing a letter to the undersigned, who will be pleased to furnish you with all necessary information."

The union stamp, by the way, is copyrighted in Tobin's own name and is practically his private property.

Tobin goes on to say:

"We have made the splendid record of having gone through the last four years without the violation of a single contract, and without a strike in any department in any factory throughout the entire country where the Union Stamp is used."

Note how this old union tyrant boasts of the submissiveness to which he has brought his slaves.

The merchandise of which Tobin has made the union stamp is further exemplified in the notorious Cass & Daley case in Salem, Mass., in 1909. When four shops of Cass & Daley were called out on strike, the firm suddenly appeared with the B. & S. label and declared their shops were now "union." Such a smell arose that the Salem Central Labor Union investigated the case and found that the union stamp had been put in "for business reasons only" and that "questionable methods" had been used. The affair eventually reached the Toronto convention of the A. F. of L., and the Gompers crew, to which Tobin belongs, threatened dire punishment of the C. L. U. unless it rescinded the findings of its investigation. The C. L. U. refused, and a year later refused again, but eventually did rescind because of further threats from the A. F. of L. officials though in a half-hearted way.

So contemptible did the methods of Tobin's union become that in August, 1910, William Mailly, former national secretary of the Socialist party and business manager of the Ladies Waist and Dress Makers Union, wrote a letter to the New York Call, in which he called attention to the methods of the Tobin gang in Brockton and Haverhill, Mass., and denounced the union label as a "swindle upon the labor movement." Tobin was so infuriated by this that he threatened to punish The Call for publishing this letter by withdrawing his stamp advertisement, but upon being told in effect to go take his

advertisement and eat it, he let it stay. Tobin realizes full well the value of his label ads in the Socialist press. They have given him a prestige which enables him to double cross both the workers and manufacturers with safety and profit to himself and allies.

The rank and file of the B. & S. Union has been helpless and afraid to protest because they have learned that any objection is dangerous. Tobin and his agents maintain a private blacklist by means of which they can persecute an insurgent all over the United States and make a job impossible for him to hold. The case of C. P. Dean is notorious. Dean is a militant unionist known among shoe workers all over the country. Because he openly opposed the Tobin methods, he is a marked man and only recently was fired off a job in San Francisco for no other reason than that the B. & S. officials demanded his discharge.

Big changes are going on in the shoe industry in consequence of the new and faster machinery which the bosses are constantly installing. Simultaneously with the installation of these machines, which increase the output, the bosses are finding excuses for reducing wages. The Tobin crowd is not only secretly but openly assisting this process, knowing that they have the backing of the heads of the A. F. of L. The United Shoe Workers have already waked up to what is going on. They realize that only industrial organization and a steady reduction in working hours can save them from becoming absolute slaves. They are seeking to draw all the workers in the shoe industry together into One Big Union.

Tobin and his aids have combined with the bosses to fight this new tendency and to assist the manufacturers in putting through these constant reductions in the rate of pay. Many Tobin shops are among the lowest paid in the United States.

The situation is shameful. The little band of strikers in Cincinnati deserve the thanks of the entire working class for making the fight they have. No person who believes in clear-cut and uncompromising unionism will hereafter buy any shoe bearing the tainted label of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, of which John F. Tobin is president.

A STEADY JOB

BY

CON FOLEY

DO YOU KNOW why you have not got a steady job like your Daddy used to have? A lot of people notice that jobs are getting scarcer and scarcer but there are not many of us who think out the reason why.

Of course, you remember what small steam engines they used to have with small trains and clumsy couplings. It took six men to man those trains. Today we see one large compound engine with four times as large a train manned by FOUR men—all due to the air-brakes and patent couplers.

Then look back to the old rolling mill where we puddled iron. It is displaced by the up-to-date steel mill with its great cranes and tables, and if we go into the scrap yard we see a huge magnet over the scrap heap lifting tons upon tons of metal, operated by a single boy doing the work of thirty to forty able bodied men.

Then look into the shoe-maker's shop. No longer do we find the shoemaker sitting on a bench with his hammer, knife, awl and wax ends about him. We find a boy or girl operating a machine that performs the work of heads of families.

The same is true of the sheep shearers, and Old Grandma with her spinning wheel has been divorced from the farm. The ancient spinning wheel is now represented by a great factory where machines are operated by the grand-children. There is nothing left for the old folks to do any more, so it is Over the Hills to the Poor House for them.

Everywhere we see the introduction of machine production where hand production used to prevail. Brains are no longer required in working men and women. The machines are so perfect that anybody can run them.

This is the age of "labor-saving" machinery. But you and I do not benefit by

it. We are thrown out of employment and the bosses' pay rolls are cut down and his profits are increased.

Before the introduction of so many "labor-saving" machines, it was easier for men to secure jobs and the bosses said less about wanting young men. A man was not thrown on the scrap heap just because he had a few gray hairs.

Now we ask the boss for permission to work. He sends us to the company physician who strips us; examines our eye-sight, our muscles, our teeth, our blood; and only the perfect physically are chosen. Only the perfect are permitted to sell themselves on the installment plan—day by day, or week by week—for wages.

It was only a few years ago when the whole country was agitated over Southern "slavery." But the slaves did not have to beg the boss for a chance to work. The boss hunted them up and put them to labor. The "slaves" did not have to worry over butcher bills, rent, doctor bills or clothing. The boss looked out for these things. The slaves did not even have to form unions to make jobs or to give jobs to their members, and none of them were put on the "black list." They were never discharged. Rather did the boss set blood-hounds on their trails when they decided to take a permanent vacation.

To abolish these "barbarous" conditions the President of the United States violated many state laws by declaring the slaves should be free. There was a war over slavery. Men left their jobs and their homes to fight for the freedom of the negro, but when the smoke of battle cleared away we found there was a new kind of slavery and that neither the black nor the white working man was free from it.

We workers found we had to hunt

bosses if we wanted to live. We could not even sell ourselves outright to them so that we would be sure of permanent jobs and permanent homes and steady meals. We found there were more of us than were needed and that those of us who got work had to toil excessively in order to prevent the other fellow from getting our places.

We don't work today because we love to labor, and the boss does not hire us because of the great love he has in his heart for us. He hires us to make profits out of our labor, and we work to get enough money to live on, so that we can go to work the next day.

Today we work for money to feed us so that we may work tomorrow; tomorrow we work to get enough money to work the next day, and the next day we toil in order to earn enough to get the wherewithal that will fit us for the job the day after.

What we want is a steady job. A smile comes over my face when I think how nice it would be to have a steady job for the rest of my days. A steady job is almost as good as money in the bank. It makes a man independent and free from care. There are so many kind things we could do, and so many laughs we might enjoy if we were all sure of steady jobs.

Well, you can get a steady job at good pay. You can get a job where the value of your product will go to yourself instead of to the boss.

Of course as long as the boss owns the factory or the mine or mill, you and I can-

not be sure of a steady job. We shall be absolutely dependent upon him. That is why I am a Socialist. Socialism proposes that the men who work in the mines shall OWN the mines; that the men toiling in the mills shall OWN the mills; that the men running the railroads shall OWN the railroads. In other words Socialism proposes that the men who use the great tools of production, such as the land, the mills, factories and mines shall own them collectively and run them for the benefit of the men who do the work.

As the Declaration of Independence says: when a form of Government becomes destructive of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, it is the right of the people to institute a new government. And the working class is organizing itself into a political party with this end in view. This is the Socialist party, owned, financed and managed by the working class.

There is only one party in the world that has ever proposed to give workingmen and women steady jobs and that is the Socialist party. If you are a working man or woman you belong in it. It is organized and managed by workingmen in the sole interests of workingmen. Write for information about how to become a member. Read some good books on Socialism.

The Socialist party has a working class platform and it stands on that platform every day in the year, because it is a platform made—not to RUN on—but to STAND on.



INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL ACTION

From an Editorial in the *Maoriland Worker* New Zealand

I AM myself a keen and enthusiastic political actionist until I find it glorified at the expense of industrial organization—and then I understand better the direct actionist who scouts political action and would away with it. Similarly, I am myself a keen and enthusiastic industrial unionist until I find it glorified at the expense of political action—and then I understand better the political actionist who scouts industrial unionism and would away with it. Will the working class never learn that these two agencies are complementary, and that in combining these two agencies lie safety, security and advancement? At the root of each agency shelters a principle never yet, throughout all time, proven unsound. In the one case the principle is Direct Action (industrial organization) and in the other case the principle is Indirect Action (political government). Neither is absolute. Running through all progress, all evolution, all revolution, we detect the interplay, even the intervention of one with the other, of the Direct and the Indirect form, method, tactic, principle. Nowhere in history, nowhere in the growth from microbe to man, can I see warrant for the contention that as against its antipodes either the Direct or the Indirect stands forth as sole and true law, or with separate certitude.

* * *

I have tried to put the foregoing plainly. It is the central point of the interminable argumentation between Parliamentarism and Industrialism. In the last analysis our defense or exposition of one or the other comes back to Direct Action vs. Indirect, or vice versa. Broadly speaking, too, politics shapes in dealing with Ideas, while industrialism shapes in dealing with Interests (this, although both merge at periods—for our problems, as our countries, are intricate, diverse, complex).

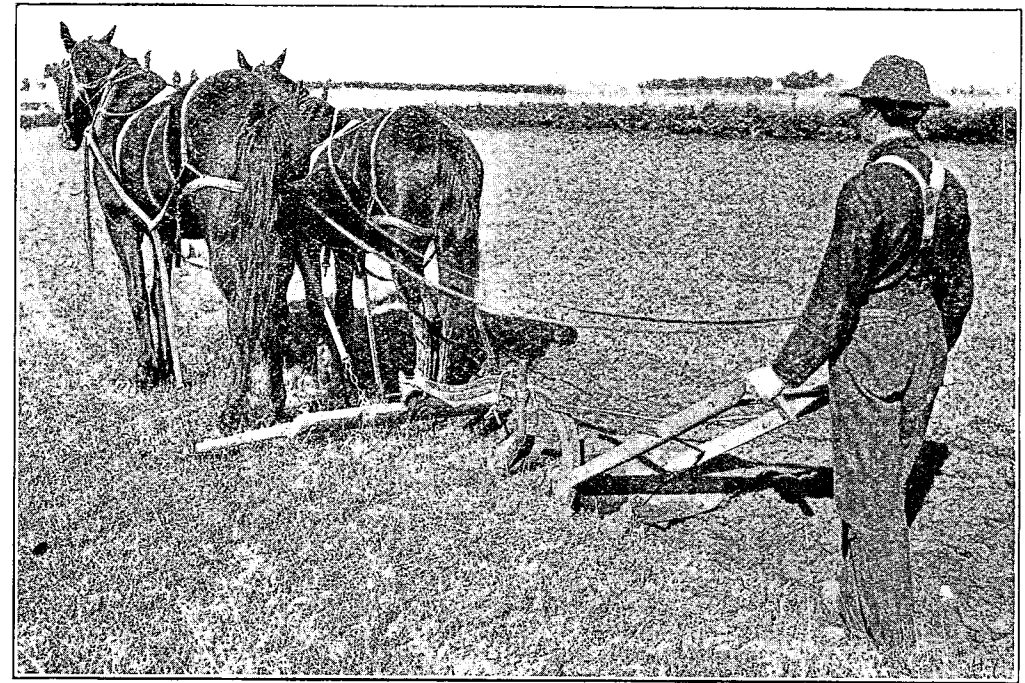
Broadly speaking, furthermore—and in sociological and scientific classification—politics appertains to Ethics and industrialism to Economics. Society has economic foundations upon which develop social relationships and ethical manifestations.

* * *

In the course of The Worker's life we shall get all this as clear as daylight. The statement of it seems necessary as starting-point in the consideration of correspondents' letters. Jack Townsend, for instance, declares that he is no believer in strikes or lockouts, that the A. W. U. never gained anything by strikes, and that "the only strike that the masses can ever hope to better their conditions by is a strike at the ballot-box." Mr. Laracy says: "With regard to the strike at the ballot-box I absolutely agree with Mr. Townsend. Nobody has ever been able to show me what the workers can gain by means of the strike and industrial unionism that they cannot already gain by a strike at the ballot-box." Now, our friends will forgive me if I ask why, since they believe so wholeheartedly in the ballot, they deem it necessary to fool about with unionism, and particularly with their beloved shearers' Association? If the ballot is THE thing, why go to all the trouble of organizing men into a union; and, further, if the ballot is THE thing, why on earth worry about arbitration, for or against? You see, these two pals of mine (I hope I may consider them such) really do not mean quite what their enthusiasm induces them to say. If they thought nothing was to be gained by organizing men into unions, if they believed unionistic strength could gain no betterment in conditions, they would not be giving their lives to unionism. They know that the working class benefits from the ballot-box come from the ballot only

because of the unionism behind the ballot. They know that if they permit their industrial organizations to go to pieces, the ballot never can better conditions. As to your "strike at the ballot-box" (by which our friends mean quite the opposite to striking, since they want the ballot cast and not discarded) tell me, did the ballot give us unionism, or did unionism give us the ballot? Why, that very arbitration defended by our friends came out of unionism! Admitting the benefits gained per politics, is there a single benefit upon Australasia's statute books which was not the outcome of solidarity and strength upon the industrial field? Indirect Action by the pressure of Direct Action, you see. And let me say that a realization of the damage being done to Unionism by the tendency to concentrate upon Labor-in-

politics led me to talk the matter over a good deal with Tom Mann and Scott Bennett, and the three of us came to a recognition of the primacy of economic organization and the secondary character of politics in industrial interests. (Yet, near-enough complementary all the same; not antithetical.) In Australia the political success of the Labor movement resulted in the neglect of Unionism—until of late, when the thinkers began to see that "political success" was unsuccessful without Unionism to complete it. And, more than anything else, Labor-in-politics, and what it brings and threatens, is leading men to discern that it was sectional unionism which mistakenly saw salvation in politics, and that better than sectional unionism and reflex sectional politics is Industrial Unionism.



WALKING PLOW USED ON SMALL FIELDS AND HILL SIDES.

How the Machine Is Making History on the Farm

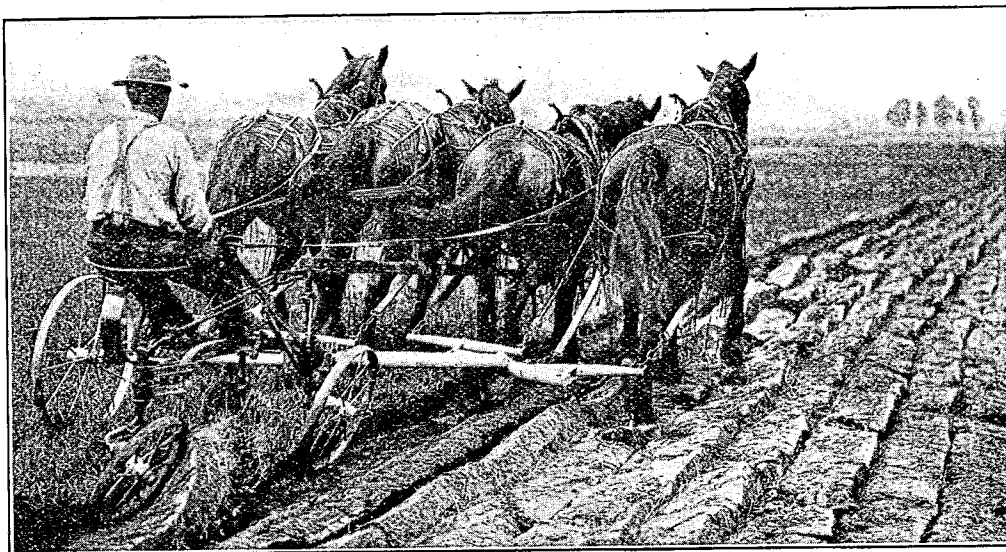
BY

Lynn W. Ellis, Traction Farming Expert

Editorial Note.—Mr. Ellis is not a Socialist, but we take great pleasure in publishing his article on modern farm machinery as being a wholly unbiased view of the trend in the farming industry.

ONE THIRD of the people of the United States, and by far the largest single class of wealth producers, live in the rural districts. National prosperity is dependent on the success of their labors. Any factor that influences their lives in any marked degree is of importance in history. Anything that affects their physical and mental development, the ownership of their land, the quality, volume or price of their products, methods of production and marketing, or the financing of their business, is extremely significant from the historian's standpoint.

Farm machinery has vitally affected this class in the matters above enumerated. In fact, the entire history of American agriculture is divided into periods based entirely upon the development of farm machinery. With respect to the character of implements and machinery on farms, there are three fairly distinct periods. The first is the era of hand methods, continuing until well toward the middle of the nineteenth century. In fact, up until 1850, the wagon, the cart and the cotton gin were practically the only implements or machines which did not belong to hand methods of production.



FOR MORE THAN A GENERATION THE PRAIRIE FARMER HAS USED THE SULKY PLOW.

The second great period was the era of transition from hand to machine methods, continuing from 1850 to about 1870. At the latter date practically all of our modern machines were in the field in some crude form, and the idea of superseding hand methods by machinery had firmly fixed itself upon the mind of the average farmer. From 1870 until the close of the century improvement in all classes of machinery was marked and this might be called the *era of farm machinery*. During this era scientific breeding, based on the introduction of improved foreign stock, improved the efficiency of the average farm horse at least twenty-five per cent. During the same time the number of horses and other work animals used on farms for each farm laborer also increased about four-fold. In view of what will be said later regarding the influence of power on agriculture, it is significant that in the same time, and corresponding to the number and efficiency of horses, the farm products produced per farm laborer increased about *five times*.

By reason of these improvements in machinery and the increase in animal power at the disposal of the laborer, the farmer was relieved of drudgery and given time to study his work. His hours of service were made shorter and his mental faculties stimulated. He became a more efficient worker, a broader man and a better citizen. The quality and yield of his products were im-

proved by confining crop operations within those periods each season when the most favorable conditions prevail.

The farm machine has greatly decreased the cost of production and increased profits. It has greatly reduced the proportion of laborers required to produce the nation's food supply, leaving it free to aid in industrial development along other lines. For example, four farm families in 1800 barely supported one in town, while two in the country now support three in town and still leave a balance for export, in spite of decreasing surplus. This change has thrown upon the cities the burden of providing work for the increased army of workers, and in turn makes it necessary for each farm laborer to produce a greater and greater surplus of food above the needs of his own family. The introduction of machinery has increased the skill required of the farm hand laborer, so that the ordinary city laborer will not make good on the farm. Most important of all, perhaps, this increase in the use of machinery has enlarged the investment necessary for properly organizing a farm. This and the constant rise in the price of land have made it more difficult for persons of small capital to engage in farming.

All of these great changes had actually taken place before the opening of the last great epoch in American agriculture—the age of mechanical power on the farm. Up

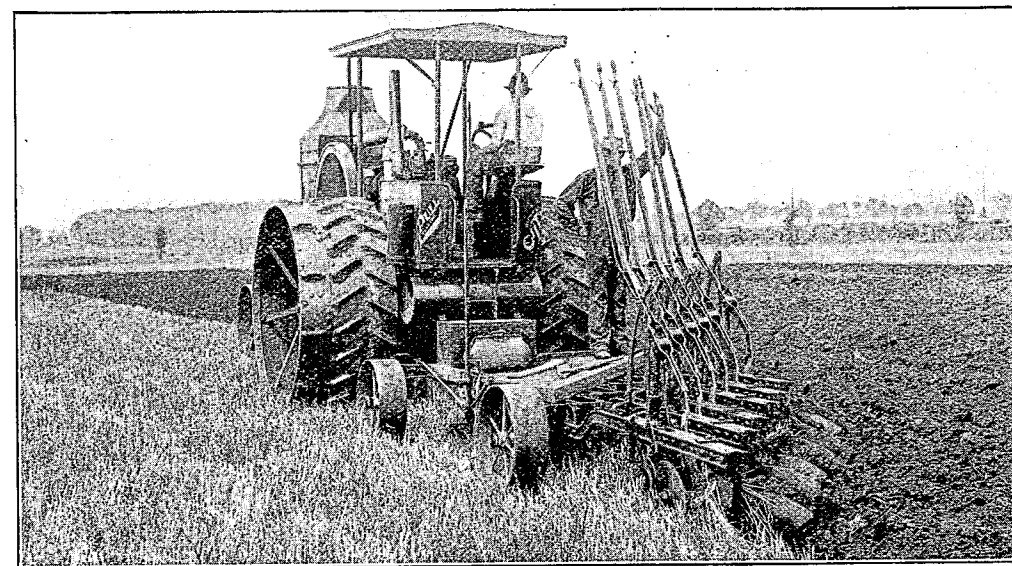
to the present time we have discussed the effect of farm machinery when drawn by animal power—the same power that had been used since the days of the first plow. While farm machinery has been wonderfully advanced, the power had remained the same for centuries. Only in the last decade has agriculture begun a widespread shift to mechanical power, the factor which has so wonderfully developed other industries.

Power shapes our modern world. The thought of power is fascinating to the human mind. Around the struggle for one sort of power or another have centered all the mightiest struggles of history. Around the power of the engine to do useful work have grown the greatest industrial empires ever known. The farm tractor and the stationary farm engine have brought mechanical power to the farm. The latter replaces the farmer's own muscle and lightens his work. The tractor, which is replacing the farmer's greatest source of power, is the great history-making machine of the twentieth century. The reorganization of the farm which must take place will surely hinge on the solution of the power problem.

The human race uses power for the three great fundamental needs: Tilling the soil to produce raw materials for food and clothing, or agriculture; changing the shape of these materials so as to adapt them for human use, or manufacturing; and carrying

these materials from place to place, or transportation. Since Watt's invention of the steam engine, mechanical power in the factory has centered production, drawn the processes of manufacture away from the home, and taken with them much of the best blood and capital. They are now in turn sending back machinery and engines to the country to take the place of the laborers they drafted. The great steam-driven factories are producing at an enormously cheaper rate, and on a much higher plane of efficiency, than the old home-spun and tallow candle methods of our grandfathers. Fulton and Stephenson applied mechanical power to the steamship and the steam railway and today a steam-driven commerce binds the nations together. Agriculture, the fundamental industry, has lagged far behind and it is only with the occupation of practically all of our naturally productive land that the problem of cheaper production has become uppermost.

The problem of applying mechanical power to the soil is vastly different from collecting raw materials for use in a central power-driven factory. The farm power plant must be capable of going from place to place and doing its work wherever found. Again, the limitations of topography, climate and soil make the mechanical problem of supplying an efficient farm tractor much greater than that of making a stationary engine for the factory. The farmer, too, is



SMALL TRACTORS WITH FOUR TO SIX PLOWS ARE INVADING THE CORN BELT.



LARGE TRACTORS WITH A DOZEN OR MORE PLOWS ARE SOLVING THE POWER PROBLEM IN THE NORTHWEST.

conservative, and has been slower to adopt changes than the manufacturer involved in the whirl of modern competition. The farmer, however, must now adopt mechanical power on a scale which compares with that of the other two great industries, or else fail to meet the demand for food with profit to himself.

The broad evolution in farm methods may be illustrated by that of the plow, the fundamental farm implement. From the crooked stick, changes were slow until late in the nineteenth century, and up until a generation ago the walking plow was almost universal. When the farmer began using animal power in larger quantities changes were rapid. The walking plow has now all but disappeared from common use in our western states, and for a generation the farmer has ridden the sulky plow, or the gang, using more animals and less human labor.

From the gang plow to the small tractor is the next step in size, although the largest tractors came first in point of time. Tractors capable of pulling four to six plows are now coming rapidly into use in the corn belt, while the larger ones with from eight to fourteen find ready sale in the northwest. It seemed as though the limits had been reached. Engines had reached the greatest size consistent with safe and economical

transport. But just as two, three or four horses succeeded one, so multiple tractor outfits are coming. At a recent demonstration at Purdue university three 30 h. p. kerosene engines hitched to one giant plow of fifty bottoms broke all known records for plowing. This twentieth century monster broke out a strip nearly sixty feet wide at each trip, plowing at a rate of an acre every four and one-quarter minutes. Four men, three engineers and a plowman, men of skill and keen intellect rather than plodding clodhoppers, handled the valves and levers of an outfit that equalled the work of fifty men with sulky plows and a hundred and fifty straining horses.

The tractor is compelling the change to mechanical power, the greatest change that has come to agriculture since the savage first hitched a forked stick to the horns of his bull and declared man free from the curse of Adam. The horse works only one hour in nine as an average for the year, but he must be kept warm and sheltered, and must be fed and watered three times a day, whether used or not. During the winter his only work is the little that is necessary to keep him in condition. He must be maintained for twelve months to be ready for the work of four. He depreciates in idleness and is subject to disease and accident. The feed of a work horse costs

\$55 to \$60 a year and other items bring the total to \$100, or more than 10c for each hour of work. The cost of buildings has advanced and the cost of shelter for the horse and his feed is becoming prohibitive.

The tractor does not require attention when not at work. Thirty million work animals, each taking 27 minutes of a man's time every day, mean an enormous waste of human energy. The time spent annually in caring for one horse will keep in perfect condition a tractor with the power of thirty. The tractor will endure hard work twenty-four hours a day instead of six and outlive the average horse in hours of service. Its fuel is much more concentrated than food for the horse, and a tractor with a year's fuel supply can be sheltered in a tenth of the space required for horses of equal power and their feed.

The animal, especially in cities, is a constant menace to public health. Both on the streets and on the farm the connection of its refuse with the disease-breeding fly is becoming recognized. Due to our wasteful method of handling natural fertilizers, our work teams constitute a serious drain

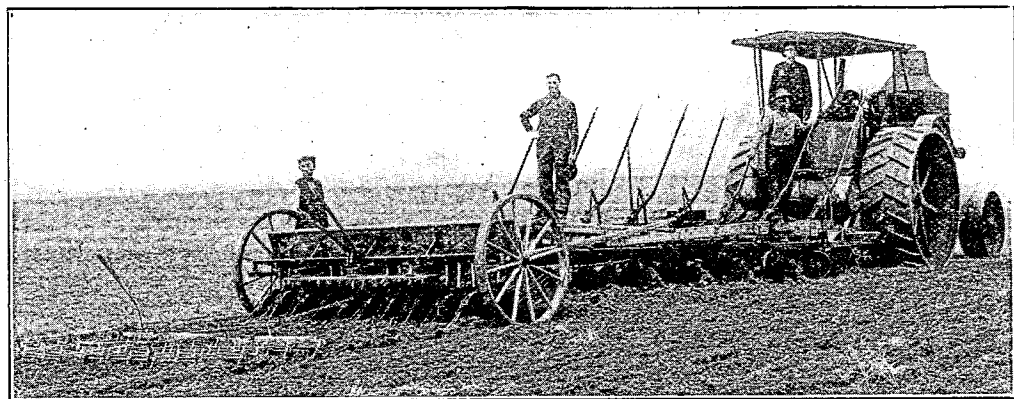
upon our soil fertility. Feed for our work animals costs one and a quarter billions per year, equal to the total income of two million average families. The crops from five to eight acres are withheld from supplying human needs by the necessity of maintaining each animal.

Farm labor is constantly growing scarcer, and where five men would be needed to drive twenty-five horses hitched to gang plows, one man on a tractor, with an assistant on the plow behind, will accomplish as much work. The tractor will handle every operation on the grain farm from soil to market. It will plow, disk, sow, harrow, harvest, thresh and haul the grain. It will combine two or more operations with a great saving in power. By its rapid work it renders the farmer less dependent on Providence and insures greater yields by giving him the upper hand of unfavorable conditions. In the corn belt the tractor enables deeper plowing to be done without the great excess of horse flesh which costs so much for maintenance throughout the idle months of the year.

The coming of abundant power to the



CAPITAL WITH LARGE MACHINES ADAPTED TO THE PURPOSE IS RECLAIMING THE LAND THAT COULD NEVER HAVE BEEN FARMED WITH HORSES.



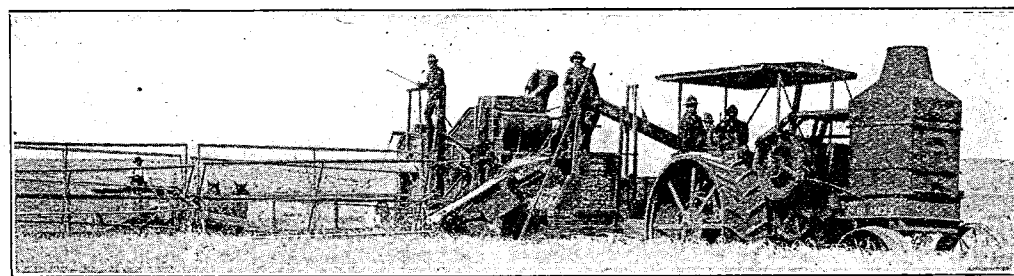
A TRACTOR WITH EIGHT PLOWS, A DRILL AND HARROW, PUTS IN THE WHOLE CROP.

farm means enormous things in the way of better farming and cheaper farming. It enables larger areas to be cultivated as well as before, and the same areas to be cultivated much better. Either way, it increases the effectiveness of the farmer and enables him to produce at a much lower cost of operation expressed in percentage of the total crop.

Mechanical power on the farm saves wages, perhaps, rather than money. The tractor and its accompanying machinery represents an investment which requires capital. Labor is a commodity which can be paid for piece-meal as used, but the machine must be paid for all at once or within a short time. The machine is making history because for wages it substitutes interest on investment. The man with only his labor as capital is coming to the same point on the farm as he has come elsewhere. He cannot compete with machines that represent money and a lower cost of production. It is only natural for him to oppose the introduction of such equipment, yet the small farmer cannot stop the coming of large machinery and mechanical

power. He should have no wish to do this, since it means cheaper production and a saving of human energy, which is our most precious possession. We are, however, vitally interested in knowing who will buy the machine, since the men whose money buys the machine will unquestionably have the direction of its operations.

The question arises as to the fate of the small farmer. It has long been preached as fundamental that the prosperity and continued welfare of the country depends on the success of a large body of farmers on small, independent farms. The cry has been that the big farmer was a detriment to good and profitable farming; that the big farmer was always "land poor" because he could not cultivate his acres with a high degree of efficiency. "The little farm well tilled" has been the ideal, and with former equipment and power this was undoubtedly well founded. Now, however, a new mechanical factor has entered, and the big farm can be handled on a basis of quality. Colleges, other public institutions, and even city business houses are turning out business managers capable of keeping big farms



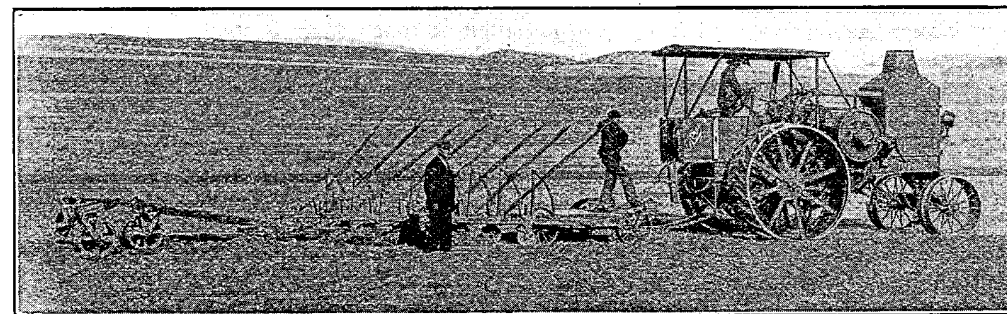
A SMALL FARMER WITH HIS TEAM AND BINDER CANNOT COMPETE WITH THE COMBINED HARVESTER WHICH CUTS, THRESHES AND STACKS 75 TO 100 BUSHELS OF GRAIN A DAY.

up to a high standard. Intensive farming on a large scale is made possible by modern men and machines.

Since mechanical power is the thing that has brought about these changes, it is urged that the small farmer be given a tractor adapted to the size of his present holdings. However, the small tractor costs more to buy and to operate. It costs more to buy because the building and selling cost is not reduced in proportion to the power developed. It has serious mechanical disadvantages which do not occur in the tractor pulling six or more plows. It is significant that Europe, which has long been up against these problems that are now looming up in America, has never solved the problem of the small tractor. The small tractor, if developed, may stem the tide for a time, but it will give way to the larger outfit, just

ive work may sometimes be necessary in order to make these improvements possible. Many a modern factory or office building is torn down after a few years to make room for a bigger and better one. The roads, buildings and fences established when small power units were used may have to be removed at considerable cost in order to adapt farms to more efficient methods of production.

If, after reconstruction, such farming cannot be done at a profit in competition with more favored sections, the system of farming must be changed. Skillful management will decide upon such questions. The individual cannot call in the services of college-trained experts to advise him as a co-operative body can, but the time will come when every operation from plowing to marketing must be under the eye of a



A TRACTOR WITH A HEAD LIGHT AND NIGHT SHIFT CARRIES ON THE FARM WORK ALL DAY NOW LIKE A MODERN FACTORY.

as the single horse gave way to the four-horse team. This outcome is, of course, subject to natural limitations, but wherever the large tractor can be used the smaller will yield, just as water wheels have disappeared from all but isolated neighborhood factories, and sailing craft from all but the slowest of routes.

If the large tractor and the large farm are coming, then what of the small farmer? Will he be driven out of existence, or will he protect himself by learning to co-operate with his neighbor? One or the other alternative seems inevitable. Economy of production points to the use of the largest power unit and the largest machine that the natural features and type of farming will allow. This, then, will mean that the size of the neighborhood co-operative association will be based upon the size of the largest machine that can be used upon the combined farms. Considerable reconstruct-

well-equipped supervisor. The farmer has no more right to be independent in the present sense than the laborer in the city. Some day he must be content to be one of the rank and file, working with his neighbors under the direction of those best equipped, if he is to continue his work at a profit.

In actual practice we now have numerous co-operative associations where the management is in the hands of well-paid experts. If the farmer cannot supply the capital necessary to organize production on a proper basis he must adopt the city's policy and employ money—*borrowed* money. The individual citizen in town could not carry out large public improvements, but working in common with his neighbors he has drawn away capital from the farm and made it pay a profit well above the interest. The city is thus able to spend \$35,000 per mile for streets, where in some cases only \$50

per mile is allotted for country roads. These investments pay, but unless farmers work together they cannot force the use of their share of the country's capital.

Co-operation, real co-operation, is the solution of many difficulties. Co-operation has proved a success in many localities where farms are small, especially where fruit and vegetables are marketed at a considerable distance. In the sections of large farms and local markets this movement has not grown as rapidly as it should. Farms are growing larger, however, in the central states, and are remaining large in new sections where they have not already been parceled out. Mechanical power is coming in rapidly to work these greater farms. It is making co-operation necessary. The farmer who persists in his "independence" and small-scale production for another decade invites absolute failure.

Agriculture is finally committed to mechanical power. The year 1912 will probably see nearly two million mechanical horsepower sold to our farmers. The great multiple-engine and 50-plow outfit at Purdue university has shown that mechanical power may very possibly be applied to agriculture on the scale of the largest ocean liner's engines or the turbines of the central power plant, if farming should ever require that scale of operations. If the small farmer does not co-operate to equip his farm with a share of the most efficient cost-saving machinery, he has no legitimate objection if capital takes the initiative in economical production and reduces him to the wage earning class. For, after all, the real purpose of agriculture is not the enrich-

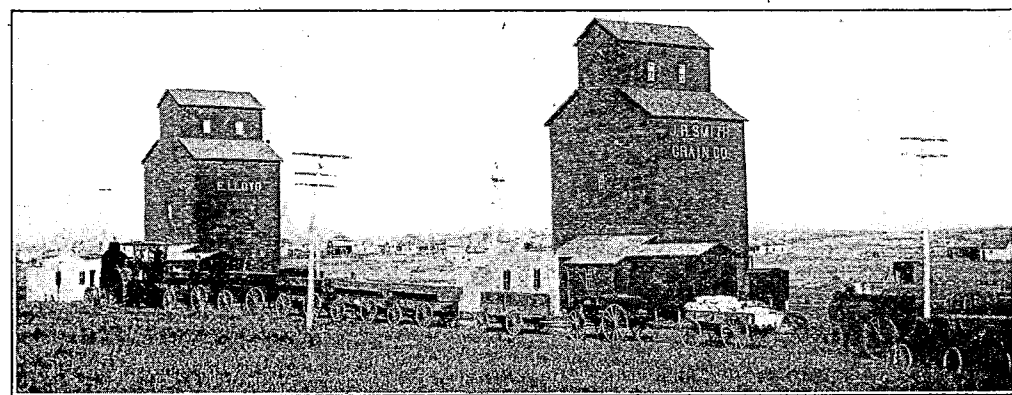
ment of the man who tills the soil, but the providing of a hungry world with food.

Farm machinery in general has made history because it profoundly affected the work and welfare of the farm laborer. The tractor is making history because it comes to solve a problem at a time when the demand for breadstuffs has overtaken the possible supply under former methods of production. New countries have adopted higher food standards. The world is pressing on the limits of production and needs the acres for the human race that until now have been devoted to the feeding of droves of idle animals. The machine furnishes power to cultivate new acres and to make older ones produce more abundantly. It keeps down costs and insures adequate production. Moreover, it is hastening to a decision the issue between men and capital in the last great field of industry. The tractor then is more than a machine. It is a solution of a great world problem—hunger. And it is making history because it is making agriculture over.

Someone has written of a modern kerosene tractor a boast that is significant in its truth and prophecy. It needs little imagination to conceive that the coming of the tractor marks the last and greatest epoch of all:

I AM THE TRACTOR.

I am the tractor, born of the spirit of man. My ribs are of iron and my sinews of steel. I breathe the vital air of heaven. I feed on oil of the earth. Swift lightning courses my nerves of copper. Fire and power awake at their flash in my bosom and drive my sturdy legs to action.



THE TRACTOR CUTS THE COST OF CARRYING FAR BELOW THE COST WITH TEAMS AND SINGLE WAGONS.

I serve the children of men. At their bidding I become a thing of life, to draw the plow. I lift the yoke from their shoulders and bear the heaviest burden of their toil. By day and by night, unresting, I upturn the hidden depths. Hand in hand with sun and frost and rain, I crumble the wild plain to fertile dust.

I sow. I reap and glean. I winnow corn

from the chaff and fetch it to give new life. I bring the dumb beast rest. I bring to the toiler his daily loaf. I bring happy occupation to hosts on railway and sea, in the mill and the factory. I am today's beast of burden. I am the hope of food and life for tomorrow's millions.

I am the tractor, born for labor unending.

The Fight for Free Speech at San Diego

By VINCENT ST. JOHN

THE town of San Diego is the latest to make the attempt to relegate free speech to the back lots where it will do the least amount of damage to the parasites that infest that section of California.

Up to date there are 210 men and women in jail for attempting to exercise their supposed right of free speech and peaceable assemblage. Those in jail are members of the I. W. W., Socialist party, Single Taxers and members of the various trade unions of San Diego. Thirty-eight of those who are under arrest have been charged with criminal conspiracy to violate the laws of California. The servants of California corporations are following in the footsteps of the officials who made Spokane "famous." The lack of success from this line of tactics that attended their use by the City of Spokane does not seem to be appreciated by those in charge of San Diego's legal destinies.

The San Diego *Herald* quotes one Harry Utley as uttering the following sentiments. (The paragraphs below will give the readers a good idea of the mental equipment of San Diego officials.)

District Attorney Utley says: "These people are vandals, barbarians, hoboes, I. W. W.'s, and trash.

"Any man who can't get a political job and make money has no right to live. Any man who is out of work should be put in jail, especially if he insists on talking about it.

"We'll starve them into submission while they are in jail awaiting trial. They won't feel like telling the truth so much when they get out."

The I. W. W., Socialist Party, Single

Taxers, and the Trade Unions have organized a free speech league and want every revolutionist in the United States and Canada to know that the fight will be continued until San Diego is convinced beyond any question of doubt that free speech will have to be allowed in that section of the world.

The men and women who are on the firing line are appealing to all in the state of California for their active assistance. They are appealing to all in the country to help them advertise the town of San Diego so that it will be a stench in the nostrils of all the world.

The Free Speech Committee requests that you hold protest meetings in your locality. Send your sentiments to the mayor and city council of San Diego. Raise funds to help the men and women carry on the fight.

Above all rouse men that are ready and willing to go into San Diego and take an active part in the fight for the protection of the supposed constitutional rights of Free Speech and Assemblage.

Remember this is your fight as well as it is theirs. A speedy and complete victory in San Diego means that you will profit as much as the workers of San Diego. It also means that when you are engaged in a fight you will be able to call upon the San Diego workers for support and get it.

Make a noise. Raise MEN and money for San Diego.

The more recruits that come to San Diego now the shorter will the fight be. But short or long the fight will go on until it is won.

A Night in New York's Municipal Lodging House

BY

GUY McCLUNG

A CAPITALIST, whose workers go on strike, can—if he has been in business long enough for them to heap up profits for him—shut up shop and go to Europe. Or, if he prefers, he can stay quietly in his comfortable home, enjoy his usual good meals and sleep in his warm bed.

Meantime his slaves go cold and hungry.

Here is the story told me once by Earl Stone, 24 years old, a plumber's helper:

"I was thrown out of work by a strike. When it was settled my boss refused to take me back because I had been one of the main agitators. I was put on the blacklist, which meant that no other plumbing firm in town would hire me, so I took to the road.

"I blew into New York early one cold morning in a side-door Pullman with just ten cents in my pocket. I sat around in the parks all day and was going to spend the night in one of them but just about dark it started to rain. It wasn't long till I was chilled through. I had nothing to eat all day and the most I had the day before was a plate of soup.

"I tramped the streets up and down trying to think what I would do. It was the first time I had ever been in a real big city and New York sort of frightened me. I tried to decide what I would do with that dime. I walked up and down with my hands socked into my pants up to my elbows, holding that dime in one fist till it was warm and damp. First thing I knew I looked at a sign post and found myself on the Bowery.

"It's queer, but let any strange rummy what's down and out blow into New York and before the day's over he'll be on the

Bowery. I don't know exactly why it is. Something seems to draw a bum down there.

"I couldn't make up my mind whether to spend that dime for a bed or take it out in beer and feed at the free lunch counter. But the more I thought over it the worse I hated to part with that dime. It was all that was between me and plain starvation. If I let go of that ten cents then I would be up against it for fair. Besides, as long as I had that dime I could sort of hold my head up. So I made up my mind to hold on to it for an emergency.

"Just then I recollected to have heard of the Municipal Lodging House where you could at least get in out of the wet for a night. I asked a bum where it was and then started for the foot of East 25th street feeling cheerful and hopeful, though of course I didn't know whether I could get in or not as I had heard there was lots of applicants.

"I found the place and went right in and sat down. A man come up to me and says: 'What you settin' here for?' I told him I didn't have anything else to do. 'Well, line up,' he says, 'and take out your matches and dump 'em in that box.' I did like he said and got in line with the rest of the rummies.

"When my turn came before the man at a desk, he asked me my name, address, the year I was born, who was my last employer, how long I was employed, and how long I had been out of work. Then he give me a bag for my valuables—knife, keys, and such—and handed me two checks with a loop to hang around your neck.

"Then I went into the dining room with the rest of them. There was a counter

covered with coffee cups and five big tables, seating about thirty men each. I got two pieces of bread and a cup of coffee.

"Then I was led downstairs into a room where there was a lot of chairs and a rack in a corner with nets in it. I was ordered to strip. I did like the rest of them, put my belts into my shoes, my shoes into my hat, and got a check for the lot. I won't forget the number of that check soon. It was No. 237.

"Then we filed into another room filled with shower baths. As I went in a man standing at the door dipped up a gob from a can of soap and slapped it on my head. It looked funny to see a lot of men come sailing in with a big lump of soap on top of their heads. Every man was told to give himself a good scrubbing and they had to do it too.

"Then we all went into another room where we were given towels to dry with.

Next we got a pair of gray Sox and a nightshirt. You have to bring those socks back too. 'No socks, no clothes,' they tell you.

"Next I got into an elevator to the third floor. I found it was a big dormitory with berths built in the form of racks and aisles between. Each man gets a blanket and two sheets and another blanket to sleep on.

"I was waked up at five o'clock and told to bring my two sheets and pillowslip down

with me. The elevator took me back downstairs where I handed over the check for my clothes. I got dressed and filed in with the rest to the dining room where each of us got a bowl of porridge, two slices of bread, and a cup of coffee.

"We were all lined up again at seven o'clock and made to face the 'judge' at the desk in turn. He asked each man what sort of work he was accustomed to and then assigned them to different jobs by squads. The sick and weak were allowed to go. I was sent with 20 men to the room where we all undressed the night before. We were put to work scrubbing the floor with bucket and brush. We scrubbed and mopped away from 7 till 10 o'clock. It was harder work than it sounds like. I didn't mind it, but most of the men were so weak from lack of regular food that it was all they could do to hold out. One man in front of me was barely able to move, much less work. I could tell by his face that he hadn't had any regular meals for a long time. I watched him after we were turned loose and gave him half my ten cents. The other nickel I spent for coffee and buns, for that porridge and buns hadn't more than whetted my appetite and I could have eaten a horse. Part of my squad didn't get out with me but got sent to the island. You are allowed only three days a month, you know, and if you get caught coming back any oftener, you get sent up."

Who Made the Bricks?

"WHAT did you say to that man?"

"I told him to hustle—to work faster."

"May I ask what right you have to arbitrarily command him to work faster?"

"He is in my employ; I pay him for his time and I want all of it."

"How much do you pay him?"

"Ten reales per day."

"Where do you get the money that you pay to him?"

"Selling bricks."

"Who makes the bricks?"

"Well, I do—and the others here."

"How many bricks do you, yourself, make?"

"Well, er—the 24 men in my employ make 24,000 per day."

"Oh, I see! Then it is not you who pay these men but, in reality, they who pay you—for telling them to work faster."

"But, sir, you seem to forget that 'he machines are mine!'"

"And how did you get these machines?"

"Selling bricks—afterwards I bought the machines."

"But who *made* the bricks?"

"O leave me in peace, man! Don't you know that if those idiots over there were to get the idea in their heads of running the machines themselves, there would be one hell of a mess? Can't you see that?"

"Yes, plainly, one hell of a mess for you!"

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

BY

WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

THE APPEAL TO REASON rightly says: "Socialism is against the purchase of telegraphs at any price. Wireless telegraphy is rendering them obsolete, and the men who are about to lose out by being behind the times must not unload their worthless properties on the people. Watch for grafting politicians posing as 'socialistic.' They are lying thieves." *The Appeal* explains that government ownership as practised in New Zealand is not "socialistic" at all but state capitalism. To be socialistic, it says, industries must be under the management and control of the whole people and besides must be operated, not for profits, but "in order to end profits."

This plan of "unloading" properties no longer profitable or of selling them at prices even higher than their present inflated values is at the bottom of all measures of government ownership as long as the capitalists continue to own all governments.

And yet our Socialist Congressman has proposed a well-meant but stupid bill which will greatly aid their schemes. Congressman Berger's measure for government ownership of telegraphs and railroads might be all right if presented to a Socialist Congress. But he leaves to a proposed committee of twelve congressmen the right to determine what the "ascertained" and "actual" physical value is. Now there is only one Socialist Congressman. So Berger is willing to entrust this work to a committee which would either be composed of capitalists exclusively or in the proportion of 11 to 1. His measure is thus nothing less than a vote of confidence in the present Congress.

As Berger has not made it clear that

government ownership by a capitalist government is not even a partial installment of Socialism, he is guilty of having (unintentionally) aided the capitalists in their schemes.

Government ownership of railroads is demanded by the interests of small capitalist shippers. It is supported on that ground by A. C. Barber, former president of the Match Trust, and favored by Winston Churchill of the British Cabinet, though, like Mr. Hearst, the latter has not indicated the date or the price to be paid. The Mikado, the Czar and Diaz and other reactionary rulers and governments have already established it.

Government ownership is demanded not only by many small capitalist shippers but also by small capitalist investors, who want the government credit and guarantee to protect their investments.

Government ownership is also in the interest of small capitalist tax payers. A large part of the national expenditures of Germany are squeezed out of the railroads and so out of the nation—simply another form of indirect taxation. The wealthy classes are thus relieved of so many inheritance and income taxes they might otherwise be forced to pay. This money when not used to reduce taxes is invested chiefly in army and navy. But in Germany as well as England and America the profits of government ownership are going more and more to investments in canals, irrigation, reclamation, and other governmental projects for the benefit of capitalists. And an increasing part is going to be expended henceforth for "labor reforms," aimed to improve the physical and industrial efficiency of what is now conceded to be the most profitable of all capitalist assets, i. e., its "working-cattle."

But above all government ownership (or government control so complete as to amount practically to the same thing) is to the interest of the whole capitalist class because, until labor becomes stronger than capital, it would put an end to all strikes that are at all "dangerous." The very industries most likely to be nationalized—the railroads, mines, telegraphs, the steel trust, etc., are those where a prolonged strike would be most injurious to all capitalists. Such strikes not only damage the capitalists immediately involved but all others—and also landlords, real estate dealers and all shopkeepers, lawyers, doctors, etc., who are not immediately and chiefly dependent on the wage-earners.

Government ownership, which will make striking a crime similar to treason, mutiny or rebellion will therefore have the support of the whole capitalist class in proportion as the railway organizations become militant and effective.

Government ownership under a Roosevelt will mean that the remnants of the right to strike now possessed by the railroad men will be taken away, as has happened in every single instance where railroads have been nationalized. Mr. Roosevelt's *Outlook* even says that a strike of government employees is *mutiny*. Which can only mean that it may under certain circumstances be punishable by death—if other penalties don't prove sufficient.

The "radical" British government has already indicated its intention not to allow either a national railway strike or a national coal strike to become effective. Ex-President Roosevelt has repeatedly shown that he has the same intention and President Taft has lately indicated that he also is planning measures to protect what he calls "the public interest"—doubtless through the Canadian compulsory "investigation" law. Mr. Victor S. Clark, the special investigator sent to Canada both by Roosevelt and Taft, has recommended this law for the United States and predicts that "public opinion" will demand it after the next great coal or railroad strike. No doubt he is right.

And if this is the government's attitude where there is private ownership, we can picture what it will be when mines, railways or trusts are under its

direct ownership or control. Indeed the examples of France, Italy, Switzerland, Australia, and other more or less "democratic" countries where government ownership prevails leave no room for doubt. Government ownership will prove the most effective means yet discovered to repress the unions.

The Socialist Mayor of Schenectady (Lunn) no doubt has these facts in mind when he says: "Government ownership today would establish a bureaucracy more tyrannous than we now have."

And Debs has explained that one of the chief motives of those trust magnates and their political friends (like Roosevelt), who want the government to go into partnership with the trusts in the control of prices and wages, is to secure more effective means to put the unions down.

Only recently Senator Owen expressed the small capitalist fear of government ownership or control, in the widely applauded phrase: "The government cannot control the trusts as long as the trusts control the government." As state after state falls into the small capitalist or "progressive" hands, this fear is removed and the demand for government ownership and regulation of "trusts and labor unions" will soon echo from coast to coast. For all "progressives" are agreed both that strikes of government employees are "inadmissible" and that some plan must be found to abolish all strikes that have any possibility whatever of overturning capitalism or even of seriously weakening it.

Here, then, is Capitalism's challenge to Labor. Here at last we have arrived on that favorable field of battle which Lafargue said it was the sole purpose of present-day revolutionary activities to procure, namely, the struggle over those workers who, like the miners and railway men, are in a position to paralyze industry. The capitalists will put off the battle a few years by intimidating these unions, by making striking "treason" or some other form of crime, and by endeavoring at the same time to bribe them and to separate them from the rest of the workers by giving somewhat better conditions and wages. Both policies are succeeding in many countries, and will doubtless succeed here—for a while.

But in the meantime every battle fought in this field will be more intense and stupendous. Each conflict will line up more and more of the population in one or the other camp. The first of the great struggles into which we are now entering may seem to be lost. These may be followed by a brief period when striking in mines or on railways has become a crime and the workers in these employments seem intimidated on the one hand and bribed into relative contentment on the other. By these means the capitalists may have postponed the final day of reckoning a few years.

But these years are absolutely indispensable to the Socialists and unionists to perfect their organizations. We are certainly not ready for the final struggle today. We may not be ready by 1916

or 1920 and it is only when we are fully prepared and can back the railway workers and miners by an organized majority that they can hope to succeed in paralyzing industry. It is only then that we have any right to expect them to put up a real fight.

Government ownership or government regulation, compulsory investigation or compulsory arbitration, injunctions or no injunctions, constabulary militia, or the United States army, the essential struggle will be the same. When the majority is organized and includes all important groups of wage-earners it will be able to take possession of industry and government. Nothing the capitalists do can delay that day. And nothing the workers do can hasten that day except as it improves and strengthens their organizations.

BEWARE THE PRAISE OF PARASITES

BY

ED. MOORE

CAPITALISM thrives on unpaid labor.

Unpaid labor is the work done during that portion of the day for which the worker is not paid. With modern machinery the wage-worker produces enough wealth in two or three hours to pay his wages. The rest of his product is divided by the capitalists into rent, interest, profit, dividends and taxes.

Capitalism in order to live must, therefore, have wage laborers, for unless there is a class that must sell its knowledge of brain and skill of hand for wages, there can be no part of the work-day or product taken to be divided among landlords, manufacturers, merchants, bankers and politicians.

Herein, then, is the cause of the misery of the wealth makers. The more wealth there is taken from them to be divided among the capitalists, the less there will be left for themselves. And it follows that the more wage earners there are offering themselves for sale (or hunting jobs) the greater will be the opportunity of the man-

ufacturers and merchants to buy intelligence and skill at a low price or wage.

It is a self-evident fact that unless a thing is made it cannot be taken and used. Therefore the source of all unpaid labor is on the farm and in the shop and mine.

Automatic machinery and scientific management are cutting down the number of wage-earners required to make wealth, and, therefore, reducing the number of jobs for workers. As a result, the unemployed, "the reserve army of capital." Marx called it, is increasing enormously. From it are recruited the professional strike-breakers. The professional politicians of all parties get from it the demagogues, strong-armed men, ballot box stuffers, jury fixers, plain-clothes men and deputy sheriffs.

Fear of losing their jobs is making intelligent wage-earners think about what will happen to them if a machine is put in to do the work they get wages for doing. Modern business methods are making bookkeepers and clerks wonder how long it will be before recording and adding machines, manipulated by boys and girls

with only a primary school education, will make unnecessary their services. Engineers are beginning to complain of the "hand book men," who, under the direction of a corporation's consulting engineer, are closing the doors of opportunity to them. A college diploma will not balance the advantage to the corporation of a cheap "hand book man."

On all sides wage-earners are searching for the source of the evil. The brainy capitalists know where it is. They will not, if they can help it, let the wage-earners find out where the stream of wealth that flows to the employers is coming from. For its source is the unpaid labor of workers.

One of the most successful tricks of the capitalists to keep wage-earners from tracking to its source the cause of their miseries is the political game called General Welfare. Illustrations of moves in the game are: (1) The holding up for public inspection of statesmen who "get in wrong" with the Interests, and who are cast adrift to please the deluded wage-earners. The workers fondly imagine that "clean politics" has a direct bearing on shop conditions and wage scales. (2) Agitation by manufacturers (who employ cheap labor) for seats for sales-ladies in department stores that do not handle their products. It is a good way to knock a business rival and fools the wage slaves. (3) Movements instigated and financed by proprietors of department stores for cheap postal package rates and rural delivery. (4) Propaganda paid for by bankers and stock exchange bulls and bears for old age pensions. (5) Regulation of the liquor traffic by associations organized by distillers and brewers. This often freezes out enemies and gives all the trade to the "right" parties. (6) Vice crusades started and carried on by landlords who own houses of ill-fame, for the purpose of getting higher rents for their properties. (7) Civic federations kept alive by trust magnates to keep carpenters and structural iron workers fighting over which shall put on the bolts and rivet the metal trim taking the place of wood. These are the kind of sops that fool us.

An illusion that we need masters makes it easy for capitalists to delude confiding wage-earners with false doctrine that kind-

hearted men will lead the way to the happy time when mankind will live a life of ease untroubled by the bread and butter question. But as the bread and butter question is an every-day fact, our masters, the capitalists, see that to continue to ride on the backs of the wealth-making wage-earners they must give the illusion the appearance of reality by granting us what are practically worthless concessions. They give us the right to quit one boss and go looking for another, or allow us to combine to make the bosses give us enough money for wages to buy food. And it is to their interest that we keep strong enough to work to make profits for them. Remember that profits can only come from unpaid labor.

Underfed and overworked slaves will gladly listen to those who promise them more food and less work. And if the slaves are ignorant of the reason why they are held in slavery, they will look up to a fellow-slave, or an agent of their masters, who will teach them to confine fault-finding to after work hours. These workers may listen when advised to show their masters by temperate and logical argument why, if given more food, they will be stronger, will work harder, will produce more profits for the masters. These leaders will tell them that under these favorable conditions the masters will have a surplus from which they can give a little to care for the slaves that old age has made too feeble to work.

Should there be a movement among the slaves to free themselves from the rule of the masters, for the purpose of keeping the wealth they made for themselves, the slaves who would oppose this movement and argue that a step at a time would be the better way, would find favor in the eyes of the masters, and would, no doubt, be praised as "practical," "sane and sensible," "clear-headed and logical." And self-interest would show the masters that it would be the best policy for them to put the slaves who preached compromise on the easy jobs, and flatter them by pretending to consult them about what should be done to elevate the workers, so that, in the far distant future, "slavery shall disappear."

Is the Socialist movement, a movement of wage-slaves to overthrow wage-slavery,

in danger from the teaching of doctrines that will make the workers rest satisfied with more food and less work? Are there those in prominent places in the movement who are being praised by the master class for their "sensible" and "practical" actions in leading the working class to take "easy and short" steps on the road to the millennium, in which beef-eating wage-workers will not be let out to make room for rice-eating ones?

Is there ground for fear that we have in prominent places in the Socialist Party those who fear its candidates will not get votes, and therefore will not be elected to offices paying good salaries if the party bravely states that its only mission is to overthrow wage slavery at the first opportunity that offers?

Are the evil days come upon the revolutionary political movement of the wage-slaves to abolish their slavery when the praise of our enemies, the master class, sounds more gracious to the ears of prominent members than does the clear-cut defiance of the slaves who would rather starve fighting for freedom than to eat at the political banquet tables spread by the master class in legislative halls and executive offices, spread to seduce revolutionary slaves to betray their class.

Regulating the household affairs of capitalism under which we are the field hands and domestic servants, is not fighting the class struggle. Well was it said by Wilhelm Liebknecht:

"Whoever conceives of socialism in the sense of a sentimental philanthropic striving after human equality, with no idea of the existence of capitalistic society, is no socialist in the sense of the class struggle, without which modern Socialism is unthinkable. To be sure Bernstein is nominally for the class struggle in the same manner as the Hessian peasant is for 'the Republic and the Grand Duke.' Whoever

has come to a full consciousness of the nature of capitalistic society and the foundation of modern socialism, knows also that a socialist movement that leaves the class struggle may be anything else, but it is not socialism."

Praise and perquisites have turned the heads and filled the pockets of leaders in great movements. Well do our masters know how to seduce by flattery and influence with well paid positions those they wish to use. Wage-slaves must look with suspicion on everything our masters praise. We must beware of giving the official approval of the Socialist Party to "enlarge and extend the hostile power that dominates over them" (wage-slaves), for "the better the conditions under which they are allowed to labor (for the further increase of the bourgeoisie's wealth and for the wider extension of the power of capital), the more contentedly will they forge for themselves the golden chains by which the bourgeoisie drags them in its train."

The Socialist Party is not seeking the approval or praise of the capitalist class. When that class praises any of the party's policies let us beware, overhaul them and see if they really are useful to help to make an end of wage-slavery. Chains, whether the golden salaries of political offices or the iron ones of wages for work, are still chains.

Let us not drown our battle cry of "Workers of the World, Unite. We have nothing to lose but our chains. We have a world to win!" with shouts for old age pensions for worn-out wage-slaves.

BEWARE THE PRAISE OF PARASITES. OUR MASTERS COMMEND CONSERVATISM IN ORDER TO CONTINUE CAPITALISM. ONLY UNCOMPROMISING REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM CAN PUT AN END TO WAGE-SLAVERY.



LOADING SLEDGE.

THERE is scarcely a state in the union but has some industry of which it is proud, and "Maryland, My Maryland," is no exception, for her oyster beds are quite as famous as Chicago's killing beds are infamous, or as are the Lawrence's mills betwixt and between. But he who enters a café of any "denomination," and orders "half a dozen fried," or a "small stew," must needs know that the oysters placed before him were gathered under extraordinary circumstances.

Indeed, I have heard Marylanders say that hundreds of wops have sacrificed their lives, to say nothing of their health, in the arduous task of procuring the food of the sea. And yet, when you meet a gentleman from Maryland the first bit of information he will convey to you is that "We have the best oyster beds in the

THE OYSTER BEDS

BY
DAVID FULTON KARSNER

Photos by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

country, in fact, in the world." I doubt not the assertion. But anyone who has visited the famous Eastern Shore of that state can testify that in the chilly months of the year there are more men out of work there than, possibly in the City of Baltimore.

This is true by reason of the fact that when the frosts begin to come down in that state, the owners of the oyster beds advertise for hundreds of men to tong for the bivalves. They go down there in droves of fifties. Only the best of the groups are chosen, of course.

The various owners of the beds have various ways of paying the tongs. Some are paid as high as ten cents a basket, while others are paid all of seventy-five cents a day. Perhaps these men will stick to their jobs throughout the season, but you may be sure they will not return



TONGING THROUGH THE ICE FOR OYSTERS.

the next year if they can earn a living any other way. I am told upon good authority that the little bosses have taken unto themselves the task of coercing men to work in the oyster beds. Not a few have actually been forced upon ice floes, given a pair of tongs and told to get to work. They have likewise been detained from day to day.

When the men are sent out upon these floes they are given a bushel basket, and when this basket is filled with the delicious blue-points, they are given another. But it is not at all likely that a single worker will be able to dig more than three bushels of oysters a day. And their days are long ones—averaging ten to fifteen hours. At this rate, it is plain that the diggers earn very little for their trouble. As usual the employers reap the benefits. It is stated that the bulk of the oyster beds in Maryland are either owned directly or indirectly by the different steamer lines which sail their vessels between Maryland and the Virginias. This may be true, but on the other hand, the steamer lines are either owned directly or indirectly by a certain gentleman named Morgan.

Hence, these hundreds of men digging oysters in the Chesapeake are employed indirectly by Morgan, who takes the product of their toil.

Not infrequently places which contain the best oysters are covered over with ice. In this case, the man on the floe saws through ten or twelve inches of ice, wedges his tongs through the cracks, breaking the surface until he is able to scoop and draw up the oysters. This process makes the worker's position a very unsafe one. Sometimes he often falls into the bay, is carried down with the undercurrent, and lost. Of course, no one ever pretends to know anything about these minor details for there are always other innocent wops on short waiting to take the place of the man on the floe, or under the ice.

Just as soon as the baskets are filled they are dragged to the shore, from which they are lifted to sleds drawn by men who pull them to the depot. But before this is done the foreman of the crew takes a check on the baskets. Most of the lot is shipped direct to Baltimore. From this port they are distributed



SAWING OUT A SECTION OF ICE OVER AN OYSTER BED.

throughout the United States, shelled or unshelled.

And right here it might be well to say something about the other wops whose duty it is to shell the oysters. One can see them any day in oyster season, sitting along the wharves of Baltimore opening the shells. For this work the shuckers are paid something like two and a half cents per quart of oysters. It is not a pleasant job, but when a fellow becomes accustomed to the use of the knife he may be able to shell twenty-five quarts in a working day.

They say down in Maryland that the negroes and wops delight in the oyster season. But this is not true of those who have worked in the oyster beds. They detest it. As many as can get out of the state. They either borrow or steal

the fare with which to get away. Anyway they disappear. For they know that as sure as they remain about the Eastern Shore or about the wharves of Baltimore they will be "drafted" to the oyster beds. It is better to steal or ride the bumpers out of the state, they say, than to become "drafted" scoopers in the oyster beds. At least, they argue, it is far better to be a live slave on shore than a dead one in the bay. And they are right.

They say, the beds of the Chesapeake will continue to yield their largess for many years. There is no present fear of the supply of Blue Points running low. But it is a wise wop that stays ashore. And the wop is beginning to shun the oyster beds as he would the plague. Probably "drafting" will increase for the necessity of the Boss knows no law.

A Cry from the Pit

BY

J. EDWARD MORGAN

Why all this grudging and drudging for gold
Aping the customs so foul and so old—
Aping and cringing and lumb'ring along
In the paths of the fathers, by fathers led wrong?
Out upon precedent, custom give o'er,
The wilds of life's Infinite lie on before.

Leave the foul creeds of the past to decay,
The Dreamland of Science just over the way,
Where man is triumphant, illumined and free,
Lies waiting, long waiting, why longer delay?
Turn the old page of the past to the wall,
Old Error stalks drunken, make way for his fall.
Out upon Custom's law, ape we no more,
The realm of Freed Science lies luring before.

Bear the glad tidings! Oh, spread the good news
Everywhere man is found: Time to cut loose
From the creeds that enslave, from the customs that bind
In the soul-taming hells the bulk of mankind.
Out upon Duty's croak! Hell take its lore!
Life and Love's Infinite lie on before.

Rend the false pattern, we build all anew;
The axe to old sign posts; Life's longings are true.
Up, out of bondage to man and his creed,
And damned be the vassal whose heart cannot bleed—
Whose faith cannot follow his veins gushing lore
To Freedom's fair Freeland that beckons before.



The Black Man's Burden

BY

HUBERT H. HARRISON

PROVIDENCE, according to Mr. Kipling, has been pleased to place upon the white man's shoulders the tremendous burden of regulating the affairs of men of all other colors, who, for the purpose of his argument, are backward and undeveloped—"half devil and half child." When one considers that of the sixteen hundred million people living upon this earth, more than twelve hundred million are colored, this seems a truly staggering burden.

But it does not seem to have occurred to the proponents of this pleasant doctrine that the shoe may be upon the other foot so far as the other twelve hundred million are concerned. It is easy to maintain an *ex parte* argument, and as long as we do not ask the other side to state their case our own arguments will appear not only convincing but conclusive. But in the court of common sense this method is not generally allowed and a case is not considered closed until *both* parties have been heard from.

I have no doubt but that the colored peoples of the world will have a word or two to say in their own defense. In this article I propose to put the case of the black man in America, not by any elaborate arguments, but by the presentation of certain facts which will probably speak for themselves.

I am not speaking here of the evidences of negro advancement, nor even making a plea for justice. I wish merely to draw attention to certain pitiful facts. This is all that is necessary—at present. For I believe that those facts will furnish such a damning indictment of the negro's American over-lord as must open the eyes of the world. The sum total of these facts and of what they suggest constitute a portion of the black man's burden in America. Not all of it, to be sure, but quite enough to make one understand what the negro problem is. For the sake of clarity I shall arrange them in four groups: political, economic, educational and social. And first as to the political.

Political. I.

In a republic all the adult male natives are citizens. If in a given community some are citizens and others subjects, then your community is not a republic. It may call itself so. But that is another matter. Now, the essence of citizenship is the exercise of political rights; the right to a voice in government, to say what shall be done with your taxes, and the right to express your own needs. If you are denied these rights you are not a citizen. Well, in sixteen southern states there are over eight million negroes in this anomalous position. Of course, many good people contend that they may be unfit to exercise the right of

suffrage. That so? Then who is fit to exercise it for them? This argument covers a fundamental fallacy in our prevailing conception of the function of the ballot. We think that it is a privilege to be conferred for "fitness." But it isn't. It is an instrument by which the people of a community express their will, their wants and their needs. And all those are entitled to use it who have wants, needs and desires that are worth consideration by society. If they are not worth considering, then be brutally frank about it; say so, and establish a protectorate over them. But have done with the silly cant of "fitness." People vote to express their wants. Of course, they will make mistakes. They are not gods. But they have a right to make their own mistakes—the negroes. All other Americans have. That is why they had Ruef in San Francisco, and still have Murphy in New York. But the American republic says, in effect, that eight million Americans shall be political serfs. Now, this might be effected with decency by putting it into the national constitutions. But it isn't there. The national constitution has two provisions expressly penalizing this very thing. Yet the government—the President, Congress, the Supreme Court—wink at it. This is not what we call political decency. But, just the same, it is done. How is it done? By fraud and force. Tillman of South Carolina has told in the United States Senate how the ballot was taken from negroes by shooting them—that is, by murder. But murder is not necessary now. In certain southern states in order to vote a man must have had a grandfather who voted before negroes were freed. In others, he must be able to interpret and understand any clause in the Constitution, and a white registration official decides whether he does understand. And the colored men of states like Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana who meet such tests as those states provide are disfranchised by the "white primary" system. According to this system only those who vote at the primaries can vote at the general elections. But the South Carolina law provides that: "At this election only white voters. . . . and such negroes as voted the Democratic ticket in 1876 and have voted the Democratic ticket continuously since. . . . may vote." Of course, they know that none

of them voted that ticket in 1876 or have done so continuously since. In Georgia the law says that: "All white electors who have duly registered. . . . irrespective of past political affiliations. . . . are hereby declared qualified and are invited to participate in said primary election." Under the new suffrage law of Mr. Booker T. Washington's state of Alabama, Montgomery county, which has 53,000 negroes, disfranchises all but one hundred of them. In 1908 the Democrats of West Virginia declared in their platform that the United States Constitution should be so amended as to disfranchise all the negroes of the country. In December, 1910, the lower house of the Texas legislature, by a vote of 51 to 34, instructed its federal Senators and Congressmen to work for the repeal of the two amendments to the national constitution which confer the right of suffrage upon negroes. But the funniest proposal in that direction came from Georgia where J. J. Slade proposed an amendment to the state constitution to the effect that colored men should be allowed to vote only if two *chaste* white women would swear that they would trust them in the dark. But, however it has been effected, whether by force or fraud, by methods wise or otherwise, the great bulk of the negroes of America are political pariahs today. When it is remembered that they once had the right of suffrage, that it was given them not upon any principle of abstract right, but as a means of protection from the organized ill-will of their white neighbors; that ill-will is now more effectively organized and in possession of all the powers of the state, it can be seen at a glance that this spells subjection certain and complete.

Economic. II.

Political rights are the only sure protection and guarantee of economic rights. Every fool knows this. And yet, here in America today we have people who tell negroes that they ought not to agitate for the ballot so long as they still have a chance to get work in the south. And negro leaders, hired by white capitalists who want cheap labor-power, still continue to mislead both their own and other people. The following facts will demonstrate the economic insecurity of the negro in the South.

Up to a few years ago systematic peonage was wide-spread in the South. Now, peonage is slavery unsanctioned by law. In

its essence it is more degrading than mere chattel slavery. Any one who doubts this may look to modern Mexico for proofs. This peonage in the South had reduced many black men to slavery. And it isn't stamped out yet. It was on January 3, 1911, that the Supreme Court, in the case of Alonzo Bailey, declared unconstitutional the Alabama peonage law, which had been upheld by the state Supreme Bench. About the same time W. S. Harlan, a nephew of the late Justice Harlan of the United States Supreme Court, and manager of a great lumber and turpentine trust, doing business in Florida and Alabama, was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment and fined \$5,000 for peonage. He has since been pardoned and had his fine remitted by President Taft.

One of the forms of this second slavery is the proprietary system, according to which the negro laborer or tenant farmer must get his supply at the proprietor's store—and he gets it on credit. The accounts are cooked so that the negro is always in debt to the modern slave-holder. Some of them spend a life-time working out an original debt of five or ten dollars.

But peonage isn't all. The professional Southerner is always declaring that whatever else the South may not do for the negro it supplies him with work. It does—when he works for some one else. When he works for himself it is very often different. For instance, there was the Georgia Railroad strike of May, 1909. The negro firemen were getting from fifty cents to a dollar a day less than the white firemen, they had to do menial work, and could not be promoted to be engineer. They could be promoted, however, to the best runs by the rule of seniority. But the white firemen, who had fixed the economic status of the black firemen, objected to even this. They went on strike and published a ukase to the people of the state in which they said: "The white people of this state refuse to accept social equality."

On the eighth of March, last year, the firemen on the Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas Pacific Railroad did the same thing. In the attacks made on the trains by them and their sympathizers many negro firemen were killed. Occurrences of this sort are increasing in frequency and they have a certain tragic significance. It means that the negro, stripped of the ballot's protection,

holds the right to earn his bread at the mere sufferance of the whites. It means that no black man shall hold a job that any white man wants. And that, not in the South alone. There is the case of the Pavers' Union of New York City. The colored pavers, during the panic of 1907, got behind in their dues. The usual period granted expired on Friday. On Monday they sent in their dues in full to the national organization. The treasurer refused to receive the dues and at once got out an injunction against them. This injunction estopped them from appealing to the National Executive Committee or to the national convention. They are still fighting the case. Last January the several walking delegates of the Painters', Plumbers', Masons', Carpenters', Steam Fitters', Plasterers' and Tinsmiths' Unions compelled the Thompson & Starrett Construction Co., the second largest firm of contractors in New York, to get rid of the colored cold painters who were engaged on the annex to Stearns' department store. They would not admit them to membership in the union; they merely declared that colored men would not be allowed to do this work. And these are the same men who denounce negro strike-breakers. They want them out of the unions and also want them to fight for the unions. Presumably they would have them eating air-balls in the meantime.

Last February the New York Cab Company was dropping its negro cab drivers because, it said, its patrons demanded it. Last November the white chauffeurs of New York were trying to terrorize the colored chauffeurs by a system of sabotage in the garage, because they, too, believed that these jobs were white men's jobs.

It is but a short step from the denial of the right to work to the denial of the right to own. In fact, the two are often linked together, as in the next case. In the latter part of 1910 land speculators in Hominy, Okla., sold some land for cotton farms to negroes. The negroes paid for this land, took possession, and were getting along splendidly when—"the local whites protested." "Night-riders (i. e., Ku Klux) around Hominy several days before served notice that all negroes must leave the town at once, and to emphasize the warning they exploded dynamite in the neighborhood of negro houses." So the negroes fled, fearing

for their lives. At Baxterville, Miss., the same thing happened in March. In November, 1910, a colored man named Matthew Anderson in Kansas City was having a fine \$5,000 house built. But the jealousy of his white neighbors prevented its completion. It was blown up by dynamite when it had been almost finished. In Warrenton, Ga., notice was sent to three colored men and one widow, who had prospered greatly in business, to the effect that they must leave immediately because the white people

of Warrenton "were not a-goin' to stand for rich niggers."

One of them has been forced to sell out his business at a loss. Another never answers a knock and never leaves his house by the front door. All through these things Mr. Washington tells his race that if it will work hard, get property and be useful to a community it will not need to strive for a share in the government, and they call this man a "leader"!

(To be continued.)

TOILERS AND SPOILERS

By SAMUEL W. BALL

LABOR produces all the wealth in the world. Wealth consists of houses, cars, mined coal, hats, coats, shoes, books, sugar, bread, and any other article of use or value.

Natural resources are not wealth in this sense. Coal in the ground is not useful. It is not a convenience. It heats no houses, makes no steam, runs no machinery nor is it a thing of use or beauty. It satisfies no want of man as long as it remains in the ground.

Trees in the forest are not useful. They are not convenient. Potentially they are chairs or houses, yet they are actually neither. A clay bank is a brick house potentially, but it is not a real house. Gold, copper, silver have no value until the hand of man is applied to them. It requires labor to transform them or to move them about so that they become useful or convenient.

Labor does not create things. It transforms and transports things so that they satisfy a want or become useful.

Therefore, all the wealth of the world is artificial. It is produced by men working with their hands. These men form a class distinguished from all other classes. They have brains also. But the action of their brains must become manifest in the work of their hands before any wealth is produced. This class produces the wealth of the world. They feed the world. They clothe the world. They house the

world. Without their labor the world would not be a fit place in which to live.

But those who produce the wealth of the world are empty handed. They have not even the bare necessities of life, and none of its comforts or luxuries. Everything they produce is in the possession of those who do no work.

The other class, those who do no work, mine no coal, build no houses, run no machines or mills, do nothing but own. They add nothing to the comfort or progress of the human race. They only accumulate what others create. The only wealth they produce is to be found in cigar ashes, empty champagne bottles, ruined lives.

The wealth they accumulate is expended in monkey dinners, dog funerals, butterfly balls and other dissipations. This class resides mostly in Atlantic City, Palm Beach, Weehawken, Baden-Baden, Carlsbad, Monte Carlo and other such *industrial centers*.

The fact that the producers of wealth have no wealth and that some of them should be content to have no wealth is at once the most grotesque and pathetic thing in the world.

Workers of the world, how long will you have it so? You have but to join forces—all of you, black and white, brown and yellow brothers—to make a new world wherein you shall enjoy the full product of your labors.

A Positive Platform

By AUSTIN LEWIS

A CORRESPONDENT, who, like so many hundreds of other workingmen, has left the Socialist party, disgusted with its latter day opportunism, writes to ask me with regard to a "positive platform." The expression occurred in a recent article which I had published in *Revolt*, and this is only one of several inquiries of a similar nature received.

By the way, it is almost pathetic to see the type of men who are being driven out of the Socialist party. Young and vigorous workmen, full of ambition for the cause of the proletariat, enthusiastic and generous, refuse to be herded along a path which leads to disillusionment and makes only for the advantage of misleaders.

My correspondent belonged to a local which broke up after the endorsement of the present state administration and ever since the proletarian ex-members of that local have been looking for a foothold which would give them a chance to maintain that fight. It would seem that they gained nothing by leaving the party. Their places are taken by smooth bourgeois, mealy-mouthed anemic ethicists and political adventurers. It is a poor exchange and we are all the poorer thereby. The men should have stayed since they could do no better; they should have stayed and helped the rest of us.

It is easily comprehensible that a vigorous working man should desire to play a game more to his evident immediate interest than the political. For the political game at its very best can be no more than a reflection of the actual fight carried on in the shop, the mill and the mine. Adventurous spirits will naturally find in the real fight, the economic fight itself, greater zest, greater opportunity and more real satisfaction than in manipulation and that eloquent hypocrisy which is inseparable from popular speaking and the marshaling of political sentiment. All this can be readily granted. No one can blame a working-

man, who, breaking loose from the bourgeois associations which membership in the Socialist party necessitates, goes into the industrial struggle itself determined to put his whole force where it will immediately tell.

But the Socialist party exists and will continue to exist. It has a role to play; it is on the stage of history. The character of the role is largely dependent upon the working class and those who think with the working class. It is quite likely that the maintenance of the present tendency in the Socialist party will cause it to degenerate into a mere appendage of reform republicanism, and that its leaders by careful bargainings, may, as is the way with leaders, land successfully, leaving their deluded followers wallowing in the mire. They are not far from it now. The recent Socialist party activities placed side by side with those of reform republicanism are hardly distinguishable except by the inferiority of their texture and the evident amateurism of their construction. We find the same "constructive" policy, the same burning anxiety to give the capitalists a chance to dispose of insecure plants for secure bonds, the same flatulent sentimentalism about a reformed society, even the same desire to truckle to the organized labor bodies. It would be hard to say where reform republicanism leaves off and Los Angeles socialism begins.

Still the Socialist party is going to live. In spite of all its present vileness, its double dealing and double shuffling, its belly-crawling and humiliating kow-towing to labor organized on safe, sane and conservative lines, it is a political manifestation of first-class importance. The economic acts of the proletarians must mirror themselves in political action and in this country they will, in all probability, find their reflex in the Socialist party.

It is necessary then that the Socialist party should, as far as possible, be made

amenable to the proletarian, so that the latter may find in it a ready response to such political desires as he may possess. For, even laying the least possible stress upon political action, it is necessary that the actual achievements of the proletarian should be converted into statute law enforceable by the power of society as a whole. If the Socialist party is not to mirror merely the defeat of the small capitalist and to be phonographed in history as a futile whine, it must be made to mirror the advance of the proletarian. It can only do this by the presence of the proletarian in its ranks and the presence also of those who are able to interpret the psychology of the militant proletarian.

Besides this, moreover, the Socialist party must engage in a campaign of education so as to obtain the support of that mass which while not proletarian still will cluster round the militant nucleus if the aims of that militant body can be made to appeal to their sense of right and justice. These latter are abstract terms and, it must be remembered, that while such abstractions play no real part in the equation of social progress after cancellation is made, they are still most important elements in generating or developing individual and even mass enthusiasm. These abstractions the bourgeois element in the party is using to its own advantage at the present and is emotionalizing with political career well in view.

Against this tendency and this emotional thimble-rigging we protest in vain. Negations cannot head off positive effort, for men after all, express themselves not in negations but in affirmations. A critical correspondent in *Revolt* said rather a good thing when he declared that words unmade men. Negations may unmake men and, even affirmations, as the story of opportunist socialism conclusively shows.

Now, what is meant by a positive plat-

form? A platform which will make proletarian affirmations as against the bourgeois affirmations of the opportunist socialists. There is no space now to go more fully into this, but I will set hereafter a list of matters which might be made the prominent features of a socialist campaign. These can be more fully discussed in later issues:

"A Maximum Working Day for Men and Women."

"A Minimum Equal Wage for Men and Women."

"Old-Age Pensions, Without Working Class Contributions."

"Maternity and Disability Pensions, Without Working Class Contributions."

"Exemption of All Wages From Attachment and Execution."

"Close Regulation of Hire, Purchase Businesses and Money Loans on Salaries, and Prohibition of Assignment of Wages Except to Members of Family."

"Prohibitive Tax on Private Employment Agencies."

"Full Legal Recognition of the Right to Strike, Boycott and Picket."

"Absolute Prohibition of Police Regulations Tending to Abridge Liberty of Speech and Assembly."

"Provision for Unemployed, Male and Female, So As Not to Interfere with the Operation of Running Industries, by Municipal Farms or Otherwise."

"Abolition of Employers' Hospital Fees and Compulsory Medical Treatment of Employees Under State Supervision."

"Abolition of Poll Tax."

"Provisions for Extending the Voting Franchise to Migratory Laborers."

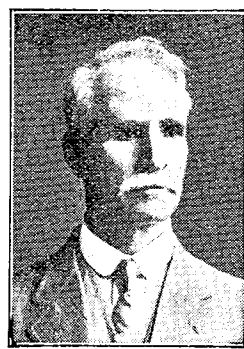
The above is a tentative list of proposed political measures which might tend in some measure to give the working class a better opportunity to make their fight. They may be regarded as starting points of proletarian political action.



CHARLES EDW. RUSSELL.



FRANK BOHN.



N. A. RICHARDSON.



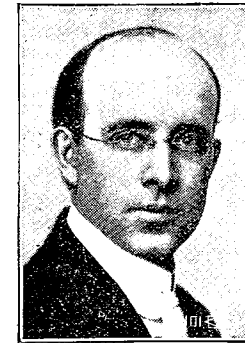
PHIL H. CALLERY.

THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST LYCEUM LECTURE BUREAU

THE REPORT of the National Lyceum Bureau indicates that it has accomplished one of the greatest pieces of propaganda work ever undertaken by the Socialist Party. In all 1,560 lectures were conducted by 312 locals. The average attendance being over 300, there was in all an attendance of 500,000 up to March 1. The total receipts were \$61,827.62. This means just that amount of subscriptions to papers and books. The distribution of over 2,000,000 pieces of advertising had in itself incalculable propaganda value. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the advantage which organized, systematized lecture courses have over the casual public meetings which most locals have been in the habit of conducting during the winter season. The division of the subject of Socialism into five parts and the discussion of each phase by a competent lecturer was a most fortunate conception on the part of the manager of the Lyceum Course, Comrade Katterfeld. The purpose of the Lecture Course was first, to educate party members and sympathizers in Socialism. Second, to bring new members into the party. Third, to increase the circulation of all legitimate party pub-

lications and distribute sound literature. Fourth, and by no means the least important, to get the party membership into the habit of performing propaganda and educational work during the winter time. The Lyceum Bureau has been successful in attaining every one of the purposes with which it set out. Of course there was a considerable number of failures among weak locals. Nor did the smallest locals prove to be the weakest. What an inspiration it is to find one like that at Plaza, North Dakota, successfully conducting a course to a conclusion. Plaza has but 500 people but its Socialist Local there sold 344 tickets. Many of the Lyceum tickets were sold to surrounding country people and some of them rode as far as thirty miles with the temperature way below zero to attend the lectures. Washington, Pennsylvania, with a population of 18,000, had an average attendance of 600 and upon the completion of the first course it applied for a second. So many locals made a splendid success of their work that it would be impossible to mention them all.

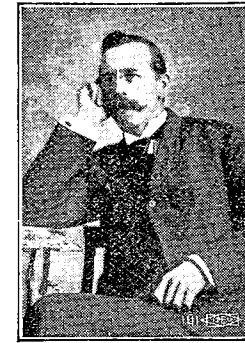
It might almost be considered strange that we have waited until this late date before organizing this lecture work. It



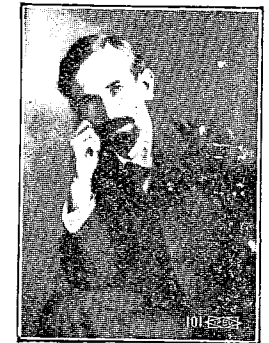
ARTHUR BAKER.



BENJ. F. WILSON.



FRANK W. SLAYTON.



GEO. D. BREWER.

needs no argument to show that an average local simply cannot secure by itself the speakers needed for a systematic course. And whatever causes in the past may have led some of the state organizations to take a doubtful view of the work of the National Office, these ought not at present to count against the work of the Lyceum Bureau. The far-reaching results of the Bureau's work are much too valuable to permit its discontinuance or weakening by any lesser considerations whatsoever.

The communications from the Bureau were generally signed by the National Secretary. But Comrade Work, we are sure, will heartily sanction our emphasis of the fact that the success of the Bureau

was due in a large measure to the indefatigable zeal and painstaking labor of the secretary of the Bureau, L. E. Katterfeld.

It is to be hoped that next year the Lecture Course will be conducted by at least twice as many locals as this year. Intense interest in Socialism everywhere abounds and purely propaganda work is being conducted to a gratifying degree with inspiring enthusiasm. It is the soldier work of education which our American movement has hitherto lacked and which will make it a hundredfold more efficient in the near future. The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW heartily endorses the educational work of the Lyceum Bureau and wishes it larger success next year.



The Red Card Organization And State Election Laws

By F. P. O'HARE

THE most important problem for the organized Socialist movement to solve at the present moment is the one dealing with our form of organization. It has been the belief of the writer for several years, that a portion of the time and energy of our National Organization could be well spent in an effort to digest and understand the primary laws passed by the various state legislatures and study their effect on the old-time form of organization of the Socialist Party of America.

To get the matter squarely before the minds of those interested, the question which I proposed to an old Socialist organizer might be restated: A western state legislature proposes that the delegates to national party conventions shall be elected at the state primaries and their fares paid out of the state treasury. When delegates thus elected at political primaries present themselves at the national convention of the Socialist Party and claim the right to sit at its councils, what will be the action of the Socialist convention, composed largely of delegates elected by the *Red-Card* membership.

The comrade had no definite answer and yet this question must be answered. Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri, Illinois and other states now have primary laws prescribing the plan of organizing all political parties, including the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party in its beginning fell into a mould similar to the forms of the national labor unions. We have state "charters," local "charters," membership cards and a dues-paying system, pledges and all the paraphernalia of the labor unions. For many years the state laws permitted us to organize the Socialist Party in our own way. It seems to the writer that the Socialist Party was the only political party in America organized on a democratic basis permitting a group of citizens to own collectively and manage democratically a po-

litical party. The whole manner of organization was democratic, and revolutionary; and being revolutionary, and furnishing a means for the proletariat expressing himself, has collided head-on with capitalist political institutions which are essentially monopolistic and despotic.

No one who has studied the primary laws of various states will deny that they furnish a most effective means of destroying the pure revolutionary character of the Socialist Party unless the Socialist Party has the wisdom to circumvent this insidious attack. Several years ago when the matter was brought to the attention of various state conventions of the Socialist Party by the writer, the movement did not have sufficient experience with the primary laws to foresee their full effect and no action was taken; but today we can see plainly that state primary election laws have not been thoroughly digested by the Socialist Party and our state party constitutions are not carefully adjusted to them; this furnishes the means of creating splits and schisms which can and do keep the party in a constant turmoil. There is not the slightest question but that the St. Louis controversy would have been settled long ago were it not for the fact that the "St. Louis Socialist Party" (composed of individuals not now affiliated with the "Red-Card" organization) held political control of the Socialist Party in the State of Missouri. For many months the legal state chairman of the "Socialist Party in Missouri" did not hold a card in the Socialist Party of America. The legal city committee of St. Louis, having absolute control of campaigns and elections was composed of individuals who were not members of the Socialist Party of America. Before the Socialists of Missouri can go into the campaign of 1912 the law requires that \$6,000.00 in money must be raised and placed in the hands of the legal State Chairman. This is required by law, and if the Red-Card

members of the Socialist Party of America should not feel like raising this money and placing it in the hands of a state officer of the Socialist Party, who might not be a member of the Red-Card organization, Missouri could not have a *Red-Card* Socialist ticket in the field. Illustrations without number of similar cases can be presented from widely scattered states which have the state primary laws, and the Socialist Party of America is brought face to face with this problem which absolutely must be settled. While I was a member in Kansas City, Kansas, we found that some individual unknown to the Socialist local of that city had been elected to the Wyandotte County committee. What did he care for the Red-Card Organization? He did not know about it; he was indifferent to it. There was no way of removing him. He was not subject to any referendum or recall. The legal State Chairman and legal State Committee of the Socialist Party in such states as have primary laws are officials recognized by the government of the state and are beyond the power of our Red-Card working-class organization. Like the Socialist mayors who have been elected in various cities where Socialists have endeavored to recall them, they may wriggle their fingers and laugh at the Red-Card Organization.

It would seem that a wise thing would be for the Socialist National Committee to appoint a commission to digest all the state laws in states having primary methods of organizing political parties, and to also digest the state constitutions of the Red-Card Socialist Party of such states, and lay the facts before the next National convention. It seems they should appoint a commission to frame up a series of suggestions to guide the state organizations in the adoption of state constitutions for the Red-Card Socialist Party which will permit us to minimize the risks of divisions which I have mentioned.

A great many of the divisions in the Socialist Party are due to deep lying causes. Every locality thinks that the "fight" is about this or that. They think it is due to a rivalry for leadership. They think it is due to a difference in Socialist tactics. While it is true that there may be rivalry and differences in theories regarding tactics, and differences in interpretations of the national and state constitutions of the party and other differences of greater or less importance, none of these differences would be effective in keeping the party in turmoil and struggle were it not for the fact that capitalist law recognizes as the party managers individuals who are entirely indifferent to the Red-Card Organization, that we have been working for and building up for the last twelve years.

It would be useless to call attention to these facts without suggesting a course of action and the writer recommends that the Red-Card members request the National Executive Committee to appoint a commission, providing salary and expenses for it, and giving it ample time to make a thorough study into the capitalist state laws governing party organization, and a thorough study of the constitutions of the Socialist Party in the same states, in order that the Socialist Convention which will meet on May 12th may have definite information to work on and may take action that will permit our Red-Card Organization to grow and flourish and yet retain its collective, democratic and revolutionary characteristics. Unless such steps are taken, we may expect a new Socialist Party to arise, organized on the same plan as the Republican and Democratic parties characterized by constant struggles for party leadership, divorced from the control of the common working man, answerable to no one for its actions and capable of bringing discredit and scorn on the Socialist movement of America.

CRAFT UNIONISM

By J. H. FRASER

TO SAY that a craft union can be revolutionary is a contradiction of terms and an unpardonable abuse or misuse of language. The craft union is based upon the idea that the interests of the master and the workers are identical and that contractual relations are possible between them.

Revolutionary industrial unionism demands that the worker receive the full product of his labor and parasitism cease. This leaves nothing for the capitalist to do except to go to work and be of some use to himself and society by becoming a producer. To say that the average capitalist would sign a contract on these terms is to make yourself ridiculous. Contracts between capitalist and wage-worker are generally about 95 per cent in favor of the capitalist.

If the craft union contained even a perceptible revolutionary element, clauses demanding that every union member be given sufficient employment to enable him or her to live decently, at least, would be the most prominent in these contracts. But one may search in vain for them. This has given rise to a condition about which little is known outside of craft union circles, and which is only mentioned here that those who are so anxious to enter into political affiliations with the A. F. of L. may be warned.

The number of unemployed union men is usually large at all times and especially so during certain seasons and in large cities. This gives rise to a fierce competitive struggle for jobs and in the elimination of the less competent from permanent employment. To protect themselves, and perhaps justifiably, they have in some unions banded together and formed secret organizations and cliques inside the unions.

There, through lodge or church influence and sometimes through intimidation and by physical violence such as slugging, etc., they succeed in electing members of their ring to responsible offices. In this manner the employer is reached

and the average employer is usually very willing to have the president or other high official of a union become a foreman or straw-boss. The foreman with the club of unemployment hanging over him, regulates the hiring of employees so as to give employment only to members of his clique, or to those whose actions, economic and political, he can dictate.

In this way employers are able to control the union and to nip in the bud any Socialist or revolutionary action on the part of its members. Keeping a few men on the payroll who are not the most competent as workers but who are willing to assist in stifling any revolutionary tendencies, is recognized as a good business investment by crafty employers.

This condition has been exposed and men have been fined and expelled from unions, but it has not resulted in the elimination of the evil. The point is that the evil lies within the organization itself. A man may be a Christian, a Jew, a Mohammedan or what not; he may swear upon a stack of bibles or by the beard of the prophet; if he is kept out of employment long enough and has some one depending upon him for support who gets impatient on days which should be pay-days, that man is apt to accept employment upon terms which otherwise he might not even consider. And this will continue to be true until the unions reduce the hours of work sufficiently to give employment to all their members or until the other alternative is reached—annihilation.

The tendency with many unions is to establish homes, old age pensions, mortuary benefits, accident insurance, etc. The necessary funds must come from the dues of the membership. It cannot be obtained from God, from whom Baer of the Reading Railway said he received his. The tendency toward unemployment and the constant increase in dues inevitably brings about loss of membership. The man who is compelled to give up his membership in a union, through inability

to obtain sufficient employment to enable him to pay dues, doesn't usually retain a very great amount of respect for that union. In fact, most of them are willing to act as strike-breakers and to accept employment on non-union jobs. The epithet "scab" is a very weak barrier to put between a hungry man and a job. Many men have been compelled, against their wills, to obey the first law of nature. Many men, who by nature desire the association of their fellow-workers for their mutual benefit, have scabbed. They must not be called degenerates. The degenerates are those who are opposed to improving the condition of the working class either by economic or political action and who never join any working class movement unless forced to.

Trade unionists admit this very reluctantly, but the majority of them are thoroughly aware that a craft strike is suicidal. Even the strike on the Harriman lines, in which a number of crafts engaged simultaneously, and in which the demands are very mild indeed, may result in the defeat of the men. The trainmen, station men and telegraphers remained at work. Had they struck with the rest it is doubtful if the strike could have lasted one week. The men know this to be true.

But there is another point to be considered, namely: If a union of all railroad employees were advocated, it is quite probable that the trackmen and section hands might demand recognition. No one will deny that the men who build railroads and keep them in repair are as essential to the operation of a railroad as the most lordly "skilled mechanic." It may be objected that it requires less time to learn to handle a pick and shovel than it does to handle an engine. So it does but let us remind you that it requires a greater expenditure of energy to juggle 90-pounds-to-the-foot rails than it does to pull a throttle. The fact of the matter is, no one ever pulled the throttles or waved signals on a railroad where there was no road-bed or rails. Now, why should there be such a difference in wages? The engineer receives about \$200 a month and the trackman about \$40.

Superior intellect, daring, endurance, etc., cannot be advanced as an answer to

this question, because motormen are running three and four car trains at high speeds too, for from \$60 to \$80 per month. Then where does the difference lie? Perhaps it is because the trainmen can be depended upon to stay at work and break the strikes of other employees. One of these days when the trackmen discover themselves and their true economic position they may pull off a strike in which they will win. When they realize how they have been exploited, not only for the benefit of the "skilled mechanics," there will be some routes over which trains will not be run—unless they have wings. They surely never will go on wheels until a settlement is made with the "shovel-stiffs."

For a time Americans practically abandoned common labor but for reasons already mentioned many of them are being forced back to it. Furthermore, many of the so-called Cholos, Dagos, Hunkies, Niggers and miscellaneous white trash which go toward the makeup of the Universal Brotherhood of Man, are being contaminated with the spirit of revolt and with the idea that they have a right to live. Personally, I have infinitely more respect for the "foreigner" who knows enough to cut an inch off his shovel when his wages are reduced, than I have for the craft unionist who will remain peaceably at work and assist in breaking the strike of another craft! These men will soon organize and nothing short of a readjustment of the entire economic system will prevent it! But when this organization comes it will be as the expression of discontent on the part of an enormous body of aroused workers and not as a business institution which aims at being a job trust.

Very few craft unions are holding out any inducements to non-unionists to join their respective organizations. In fact they have none to hold out. They therefore dicker with the employers and promise to furnish more efficient help and by demonstrating that it is to the ECONOMIC INTERESTS of the EMPLOYER, induce him to sign contracts that none but union men shall be employed by him. He fires his INCOMPETENT non-union help. These, in turn, are compelled to join the union and are then

furnished to some other union employer as COMPETENT help. Jonah swallowing the whale isn't a circumstance compared to this.

Nothing seems to be accomplished by it for the working class as a whole, and seldom is any advantage gained by the craft. Under our present form of organization the real strike is impossible and the boycott illegal. Will we then turn to political action?

It is true, absolutely and undeniably, that some of the very best thinkers and revolutionists in the world are today members of craft unions, but very few of them are leaders or are even allowed to take any prominent part in trade union affairs, so when Socialist politicians dicker with trade union leaders, they must necessarily deal with the men who are "safe, sane and conservative" enough to meet employers of labor and transact BUSINESS with them like BUSINESS MEN. Now, where is there any difference between a Socialist politician who dickers with labor leaders who dicker with bosses, and a politician who dickers directly with the bosses without any labor leader to act as go-between?

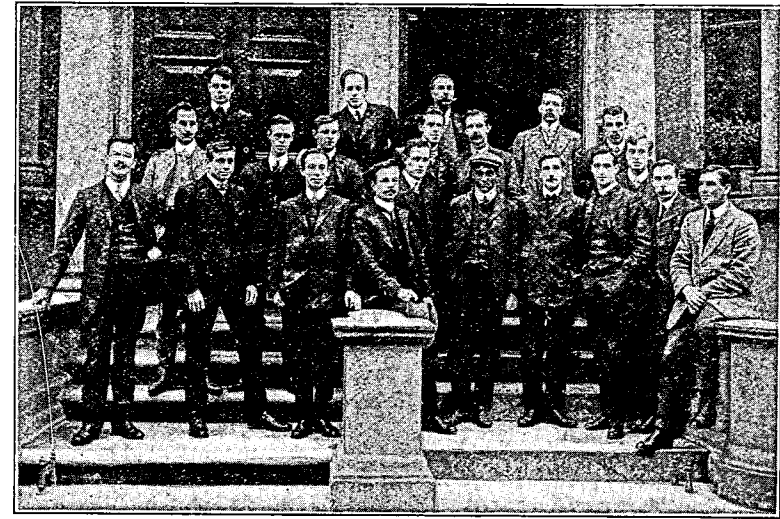
On the economic field the craft union places craft interests ahead of class interests and because of its form of organization can never become revolutionary, without first wiping out craft lines. Its attitude on the political field has already shown itself in demands that the political party which gains its support must adopt a craft-conscious platform, and not one which could by any stretch of imagination be called an expression of CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS.

The A. F. of L. has a voting strength of about 750,000 to 1,000,000. This cannot be controlled by one present big leader so as to give a solid vote for any party. Neither of the old parties would truckle to the A. F. of L. four years ago, beyond a pitiful reform promised by Bryan. Why? Because it takes at least 10,000,000 votes to elect a president. It is also very doubtful if the class-conscious workers could be induced to support a party whose platform was dictated by the A. F. of L. and an alliance of any political party with that organization would undoubtedly repel more votes than it would

attract. As a purely vote-catching scheme it must therefore be a failure. But the mission of the Socialist Party is not mere vote-catching. Its mission is the emancipation of the working class from wage-slavery. That end can be accomplished by united industrial and political class action. This end can be achieved only through education. We cannot cater to nor compromise for cliques or crafts, but must adopt a platform at the coming national convention which will make it plain to the whole working class that the Socialist Party is the party of the working class.

Some of the Socialist papers which are dominated by craft unionists have actually declared against industrial unionism or have said that the Socialist Party is only political. If this stand is taken by the party as a whole, it will cease to be a factor with the working class. No political party whose candidates were controlled by a militant organization which would compel those who were elected to do something for the benefit of the working class would ever be permitted to take the offices unless backed up, by an industrial organization which could paralyze every industry in the nation. This the craft unions cannot do. No two of their contracts expire on the same date.

Of course, if we only advocate reforms which are of more benefit to the capitalists than to ourselves our candidates will be welcomed to official positions. Some near-Socialist politicians seem to understand this and are therefore advocating capitalistic reforms; national, state and municipal ownership, old age pensions, homes (shacks) for workers, etc. These reforms look good to many craft unionists and will be supported by them. The leaders say these are conservative reforms. "Yes, reforms, that's the thing for us," say the safe and sane. And so it will continue as long as the craft unionists can get a little higher wages than the unorganized worker. It does not matter to him if he produces \$15 in value per day and only gets \$4 for his share. He believes in the 8-hour day and a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. He wants the whole world to distinctly understand that he believes in pack-train methods in this express-train age.



STUDENTS AT LABOUR COLLEGE.

A Workingmen's College

BY
GEORGE W. SIMS

SOME of your readers may recollect my previous article on "A Workingmen's College," which appeared in your columns in August, 1909. The further progress of the movement there outlined is of sufficient importance to our movement the world over to justify the publishing of this page of the history of the Working Class Movement in England. For the benefit of those who have become subscribers to the REVIEW since the former article appeared a brief summary of it may not be altogether superfluous.

In February, 1899, a college for the training of workingmen was founded in Oxford, England, by two Americans, Mr. Walter Vrooman and Dr. Charles Beard. Speaking of the purpose of the institution at the inaugural meeting Mr. Vrooman said: "We shall take men who have been merely condemning our social institutions and will teach them how, instead, to transform those institutions so that in place of talking against the world, to refashion it and to co-operate with the power behind evolution in making it the

joyous abode of, if not a perfected humanity, at least a humanity earnestly and rationally striving towards perfection." The place was practically owned by Mr. Vrooman, who chose the students, appointed the staff and nominated the council. Among the first appointments to the staff were Mr. Dennis Hird, M. A., and Mr. Alfred J. Hacking, M. A., of whom more will be heard in the course of this narrative. After the lapse of a couple of years Mr. Vrooman returned to America and no financial provision having been made for the carrying on of the institution, the question of funds for this purpose became of paramount importance. Private subscriptions were felt to be of too unreliable a character, so a more systematic attempt to obtain the support of the labor organizations in England was begun. The drawback to the success of such an appeal was obvious to some from the conditions laid down in the charter of incorporation of the college, which said that the control and teaching were to be of a non-partisan character. At this time and

up to 1910 the council of the college consisted of university men, with a few "safe" labor leaders, the latter never more than 5 out of a council of 20. So that the "impartial" nature of the control and teaching can easily be understood. In spite of all this the then vice-principal of the college wrote in 1900: "We shall be quite content if we have a Labor college, no more and no less."

On these lines of appeal to the trade unions, and with the powerful backing of the Parliamentary committee (the Executive) of the Trade Union Congress, many trade unions were won over to the support of the college, so that in time most of the students in residence were supported there by scholarships from their unions. It is not strange, therefore, that the advancing years brought with them to the college a more militant type of student. The University of Oxford, which in the early years had ignored the college, except when it condescended to sneer, gradually became interested. This interest was not in any way lessened with the rather sensational rise of the Labor party in the Parliamentary elections of 1906. The chancellor (Lord Curzon) and vice-chancellor paid official visits to the college. The students were sounded as to their views on grants of money from the university and offers of university careers. But the bait was refused by them. The college authorities, most of whom were university men, as has been shown, were not, unnaturally, sympathetic to the suggestions. Their positions served them in the matter, as they were a perma-

nent body, while the students were temporary residents in Oxford—mostly one year, at the most two-year scholarships—and having left the college had no means of keeping in touch with developments as a body. There was one stumbling block to any assistance from the university; this was that Ruskin college had no examinations or tests of any kind, a fatal barrier to the university designs. This was removed in 1908 by the institution of a test for students known as revision papers, since supplemented by conditions of study which permit of students resident in Ruskin college obtaining diplomas in economics and political science at the university—needless to add—from the capitalist standpoint.

In the meantime—1907—private classes were formed by some of the students for the study of Marxian economics. In that year, also, Mr. Hird took as his text-book in sociology for the second-year students Franklin's "Socialization of Humanity," published by Kerr & Co. This latter step becomes of immense importance to the participators in this movement we are sketching, since in 1908 started the students' connection with the publishers of this REVIEW as big purchasers of their publications, a connection which did much to clarify their (the students') views, and in no small measure contributed to that theoretical understanding of their class interests which led to the militant educational movement soon to be described. In 1908—under the able leadership of Noah Ablek, now a member of the Executive of the South Wales Miners' Federation—the classes in Marx-



GROUP OF TEACHERS AND STUDENTS.

ian economics grew in popularity, and before the year was out they had a larger membership than the official lecturers on any subjects except Mr. Hird's. The introduction of the revision papers, before mentioned, led to a big struggle between the students and the college executive—the students claiming that this was the first step towards Oxford university—but the students were defeated and the revision papers established.

Under these circumstances the students and ex-students in October, 1908, formed an organization called the "Plebs" league, with the following object, viz.: "To bring about a definite and more satisfactory connection between Ruskin college and the Labor Movement. Its methods are: The holding of an annual meet and the issue of a monthly magazine. All students, ex-students and sympathizers are eligible for membership. Mr. Hird was appointed editor of the magazine. He was immediately summoned before the Executive committee of Ruskin College and asked for an explanation, which not being considered satisfactory a sub-committee was appointed to inquire into the whole matter. This sub-committee, which reported to the Executive committee on November 17, 1908, and whose report was adopted, described the "Plebs" league as "capable of being an organization whose object would be to force the Executive to move in a direction in which it would not be desirable to go." Mr. Hird was ordered to sever his connection with the league and magazine. This report was signed by Mr. Richard Bell, M. P., Sir William Markby and Professor Lees Smith. The Executive committee, on receiving this report, considered that the question "should be dealt with as part of a wider issue." They appointed what is now known as the "Committee of Enquiry," whose report was followed by the dismissal of Mr. Hird in March, 1909. The strike was ostensibly caused by the dismissal of the principal, Mr. Dennis Hird, and naturally the personal factor loomed large in the controversy. But the dismissal of Mr. Hird was only an attack on the point of view of the students, which in this case was represented by him.

In taking this drastic action, the dismissal of Mr. Hird, the college executives were

no doubt relying on the personal influence of the labor leaders on the college council to save them from any loss of trade union support. They were soon to be undeceived. The strike of the students attracted immense notice by reason of the boom afforded it by the press—"copy" being scarce at this time—the trade unions were aroused by stalwart supporters of the students among the rank and file, and 12 unions withdrew their students. The strike was eventually broken, but the students authorized the writer to become their representative and organizer for the establishing of a new college, owned and controlled by labor organizations, and whose teaching in social science should be from the labor point of view. Some influential supporters came to our assistance with promises of finding the rent of premises for a year or two to enable us to have the time necessary to approach the trade unions for their support. Knowing the difficulty of securing premises in Oxford against the active opposition of the university we kept our financial prospects secret, and to allay suspicion we published in the July number of the *Plebs Magazine* a list of subscriptions for the new college movement, amounting to £4 2s 5d. While the supporters of Ruskin College were making merry over the smallness of this amount and asking our supporters when we were going to "divide up," suitable premises were secured and the Central Labor College became an established fact. The chagrin of our opponents can easily be understood when they discovered how they had been "sold." Petitions were got up against our remaining in the premises we had secured and presented to the ground landlords—St. John's College, Oxford—who sought an injunction against us in the High Courts of Justice for a breach of contract entered into by them with our direct landlords. Having no money we decided not to fight the case and consented to leave the premises by March quarter-day, 1910. We managed, however, to retain possession of the premises until March, 1911, and then only left to suit ourselves. The taking of premises, however, served our purposes of the movement—that of having a college to which we could appeal to trade unions, cooperative and Socialist societies to send students.

Active propaganda by our friends among

the South Wales Miners secured us one student to start with—Monmouth, Western Valley District—before the inaugural meeting for the official establishment of the Central Labor College, held in Oxford, August, 1909. Our very good friend, Professor Lester F. Ward, specially made the journey to England to be present. Three meetings were held on the Bank Holiday Monday, the last of the series being the most enthusiastic meeting it has ever been my lot to attend. A provisional committee, trustees and staff for the college was elected by the earlier meetings, and it was decided to open the college for students to take up residence early in September, 1909. This was done. We opened with 20 students, mainly on scholarships of six months offered by the college executive from funds subscribed.

In the meantime propaganda was fast and furious. A hornet's nest aroused around one's ears was child's torment to the forces we set in active opposition against us, to say nothing of the secret antagonism of labor leaders and drawing-room Socialists. We boldly based our propaganda on the class struggle; declared for Marxian economics as the *only* economics for Labor, and proclaimed that history was a record of the conflicting interests of classes based on the prevailing mode of production. Education was necessary for the workers, *but* it was not any and all education, it must be education of a particular kind, since it was needed for a particular object, viz., to achieve their emancipation. University education in social science was in the interests of the master class. The Central Labor College, recognizing the class character of education in this field, taught sociology, history and economics from the workers' point of view, and just as the university was controlled in the interests of the master class, so must education for the working class be controlled by the workers, hence the establishment of the Central Labor College. With labor leaders being "honored" by universities with degrees and other mystic symbols of capitalist "learning," such a propaganda as we were carrying on aroused little sympathy and much antagonism among labor officials. But our success among the rank and file has been phenomenal, having regard to the fact that our efforts have been curtailed by want of funds and has really been mainly confined to the voluntary efforts of our supporters

in various parts of the country. We started the college at a period, also, when the Labor party itself was more Liberal than Labor, more concerned about the success of Lloyd-George's budget (land-tax) than about Socialism, weak or strong. Against us was raised the cry of being an Industrial Union movement—because some of us were known to be Industrial Unionists—and this charge, it makes us smile to think of it now, was one which caused many to give us the cold shoulder; it certainly was our opponents' strongest weapon then. But times have changed since then and now Industrial Unionism is no longer possible as a weapon against us—it has almost become a respectable doctrine.

With all our success in propaganda, curtailed as it has been for reasons given above, we have had many anxious moments. More than once we have been actually short of cash for students' meals, rent day has caused us much heartburning, too, and at least three times we have had to seriously consider whether it would be possible to continue the college work. The last of these, in March, 1911, was the most serious crisis of all, but the students in residence rose to the occasion by signing a bond guaranteeing rent to the tune of £90. The difficulty then was to find sufficient cash to enable us to keep going over the remainder of the term, as with the new term additional Trade Union scholars practically guaranteed our future stability. At the same time, on the initiative of Mr. Hird, a rent fund was started among our supporters which has since realized over £200. At this time we left the original college premises to take a house at a smaller rental, but Oxford was once more roused against us and we were given notice to quit. After vainly endeavoring to get other premises in Oxford—most of the land is owned by the colleges of the university, who refused to allow their lessees to accept us as tenants—we were compelled to seek fresh fields and pastures new. The Executive of the college decided to remove to London, where, by the generosity of friends we have been enabled to purchase premises of a size which will permit of our growth.

There are at present 20 students in residence. The college has seven trade unions supporting it with students. Three of the unions are the college trustees. Now that we have secured permanent premises and

our financial support is of a more permanent character, we shall be able to carry on a more systematic and permanent propaganda, and this is all that is really needed to assure adequate support to the college by the trade unions and Socialist bodies. Fortunately the present feeling in the Labor organizations is favorable to militant propaganda and the movement grows by what it feeds on. Marx is good diet for the production of revolutionaries.

So far I have dealt almost entirely with the college itself, at home one might say, but this training of students in residence is not its only work—I am almost tempted to say not its most important work. Tuition is given in subjects taught at the college by correspondence, over which department Mr. A. J. Hacking, M. A., presides. The college also provides teachers for outside classes, we call them provincial classes, wherever the workers themselves are prepared to organize such classes. They must be self-supporting, including the salary of the teacher, there are about 8 such classes already in existence, and others are in process of formation. Our friend, W. W. Craik,

of the Railway Servants Society, an active participant in our movement since 1908, took the first of these classes in Rochdale in 1910. They have been a great success and I am of opinion these classes will in future be the most important part of the college work. Friend Craik is now a permanent lecturer at the college and has been acting secretary since last June; his presence there will insure an understanding at headquarters of the needs of this phase of the college work, especially valuable since he will take part in the raising of future outside lecturers.

Finally, apart from our own direct labors, we have been able to do something for the working class movement here in general by advice, etc., on literature. Kerr & Co. will soon be a household word in English Labor and Socialist homes. We help the sale of their literature and the sale of their literature helps us, and both help on the movement. This is at it should be. Greetings to the readers of the REVIEW, and more power to the elbows of the militant working class propagandists of America generally.

Plain Talk to Wage Workers

From

Social Democrat, Auckland, New Zealand

You, Mr. Worker, are a wage-slave by reason of the fact that you are reduced to the condition of a proletariat. In other words, you are divorced from the land and the instruments of production and distribution, and possess nothing but your power to labor. To enable wealth to be produced for your sustenance, it is necessary to have access to the land and the machinery of production and distribution worked upon the land; and it is at this juncture, Mr. Wage Worker, where you are brought face to face with a condition of affairs that reduces you to a form of slavery, namely, wage-slavery. The means whereby you must work to en-

able you to live are owned by private individuals, known as the Capitalist class, and it is due to the conditions and circumstances arising from such ownership that compels you to sell your only commodity—Labor power—to the class who monopolize the earth's resources, and are, therefore, owners of the jobs. It is in this particular process where you are exploited of the greater portion of the wealth which you, and you alone, produce, and is due to the before-mentioned private ownership. True, it is you are paid wages (when you are lucky enough to find a boss who will employ you), but those wages at best are only sufficient to

keep you at the bare subsistence level, and in a condition for the reproduction of your kind. The position you are more and more brought face to face, Mr. Worker, is whether you as a class are going to continue to allow the few to own the means whereby the necessities of life are produced, for the aggrandisement of the few and the impoverishment of the many, or, are you, as a class, going to stand erect in the majesty of your manhood and decree, by your united voice and action, that the system of private monopoly, with its manifold evils, shall be put an end to?

It is up to you, Mr. Wage Worker, to get the dust removed from your grey matter, and do a little—just a little—thinking.

Realize, if you will, that it is you, and you alone, who operate and control the entire mammoth machine of production, and that it is upon your energy and vitality that the complex mechanism of modern life depends, and that without you not one train could run, nor one ship plough the main. Is it not a most remarkable and wonderful spectacle that you, who constitute the greater proportion of the population, should continue to allow this exploitation, and go on toiling and moiling from the cradle to the grave like so many beasts of burden?

There is no reason why you should remain a wage-slave class any longer, Mr. Worker, if you would but realize your mighty power and exercise it. With but one blow of your intelligent and well-directed power you could set yourself for ever free.

Whilst you allow a few to own and monopolize, so long will you remain a subject class. Arbitration Courts will not save you. Advance to Workers' and Settlers' Acts will not save you. Insurance schemes and all other palliative legislation will not save you from the yoke of oppression and exploitation. Nothing

short of social ownership of the earth and the machinery of production will deliver you from the quagmire of Capitalism.

Industrial and political unity is the weapon you must forge and use to set yourselves free.

The all-important work which you are confronted with at the present time is to get together and become organized in the shops, offices, mines, fields and workshops; in short, in the places where you, as a class, are remorselessly robbed of the greater part of the wealth you produce.

Get together! and marshal your forces for the final struggle which must eventually be between you and your exploiters.

The exploiters are a useless, parasitical class and few in numbers; you are a useful and necessary class, and great in numbers. Get together! and organize your economic and political might for the specific purpose of revolutionizing the material basis of society; from private to collective or common ownership. Get busy organizing upon the same basis your boss organizes. Organize as a class upon the basis of the class struggle with one purpose and one aim in view, namely, to destroy the wage-slave system. Get together now and discuss the ONE BIG UNION proposition, which means, "One Union of all workers in an industry, all industries in one Union."

Get together! and engender the fighting spirit instead of crawling to the boss per medium of the Arbitration Court. It will also be more in keeping with true manhood.

Get together! and *demand* what is yours by virtue of your organized might! Get strong and sensible enough to *take and hold* what truly belongs to you. This accomplished, you will have performed your mission, and have abolished the wage-slave system, and with it your own servitude. Get busy, and do it now!

EDITORIAL

The Victory at Lawrence. The hungry, ill-clad laborers of Lawrence, led by a few veteran members of the Industrial Workers of the World, have won a notable victory, as related elsewhere in this issue of the Review. The outcome of this struggle is a splendid vindication of the tactics for which William D. Haywood and his associates on the Review have long been contending. The successful fight at Lawrence was a typical example of DIRECT ACTION, using the words in their proper sense, and not in the slanderous sense to which they have been perverted by the office-seekers who have tried to drive Haywood out of the Socialist party. These thousands of textile workers at Lawrence were nearly all disfranchised. At the polls the few of them who could vote were hopelessly outnumbered by the hangers-on and the dupes of the capitalists. All the powers of government were for the time being in the hands of their masters. Already on starvation wages, they were threatened with a further reduction. They resorted to DIRECT ACTION; in other words, they STRUCK, they stood together, and they won. Not only did they win what they asked for themselves, but other employers in the same industry took warning and raised wages to avert strikes. One most gratifying feature of this struggle is that in the presence of a common enemy, we Socialists forgot our factional fights. While the Industrial Workers of the World were in direct charge of the struggle at Lawrence, the Socialist party contributed the greater part of the funds needed to keep the workers from being starved into submission. Not only this, but the party press, especially the New York Call, turned the limelight on Lawrence so that the brutalities of the local authorities, which were designed to help the employers, had a contrary effect. And Congressman Berger worked hand in hand with Haywood and gave invaluable assistance in exposing to the American people through public hearings at Washington the hypo-

critical pretenses of the tariff-protected mill owners who had claimed to be paying high wages to American laborers in return for the tariff on imported cloth. The battle that has been won is only a beginning. Its importance lies in the fact that winning tactics have been discovered and have already received the virtual endorsement of the Socialist party of America. Industrial Unionism is no longer an untried theory. Henceforth its progress will be swift and sure.

The British Miners. In England Industrial Unionism is in the front of a far greater battle, and as we go to press a tremendous victory seems almost at hand. Eight hundred thousand miners hold England in a state of siege and are treating with the British government on equal terms. Some gain in wages is certain, but this is insignificant compared with the splendid awakening of the British working class, and the sense of conscious power which thrills through the lately inert mass of laborers. Not only in England, but on the continent of Europe the working class is growing into an organic power before which nothing can stand. And all signs indicate that America will not be far behind.

The Socialist Party of America. The monthly dues received at the national office of the Socialist party during February, 1912, indicate a membership of 123,034 members in good standing, as compared with 73,869 members in February, 1911, a gain of nearly 50,000 in a single year. This fact, taken in connection with the splendid response of the party to the appeal of the Lawrence strikers, is evidence that the Socialist party is easily the most important weapon of the working class in this country. This being the case, it becomes the duty of every clear-headed revolutionist to join the party if not already a member, and help shape its tactics. In the year 1904 a platform was adopted which to many revolutionists seemed unscientific and middle-class rather than proletarian in its spirit. Hundreds of the most active and ablest work-



ers left the party at that time in protest. Some of them have since returned; the others should come back at once; they are needed. Moreover, thousands of young men have during the last eight years become clear-headed revolutionists; taught by the all-compelling machine process and by the study of the great Socialist writers, yet have hesitated to join the party because perhaps the members whom they have happened to meet act more like office-seekers than like revolutionists. To these young men we urge the necessity of joining the party and joining it now. Inside your work of propaganda and education will be doubly effective. Never mind if here and there the party may seem to degenerate, as just now in California, into a political machine allied with reactionary and possibly corrupt labor officials. These mishaps are only incidents of growth. The party as a whole stands unreservedly for the revolution, for the overthrow of the entire capitalist system, and this underlying spirit will yet be reflected in the tactics of the party. No matter if a few middle-class reforms slip into our programs now and then; all such cheap thunder will be deftly stolen by the capitalist politicians, and the reforms, if not dangerous to capitalism, will be enacted by these same politicians. And still the Socialist party will be growing in numbers and growing in revolutionary spirit. We of the Left Wing, who want no offices, who aim only to voice the unerring instincts of the laborers in the great Machine Industry of the twentieth century—we are fighting a winning fight, because the resistless forces of evolution are with us. Come inside the party and help. The revolution is almost here and the Socialist party will be one decisive factor in hastening it. Join the local where you live, if you know where to find it; if not, ask the state secretary where you can find the nearest local. Here is a list of the state secretaries with their addresses:

Alabama, Emma F. Connolly, Box 55, Birmingham.
Arizona, W. S. Bradford, Room 3, Irving Bldg., Phoenix.

Arkansas, Ida Callery, Huntington.
California, F. B. Meriam, 715 San Fernando Bldg., Los Angeles.
Colorado, A. H. Floaten, 1430 Monroe St., Denver.
Connecticut, S. E. Beardsley, 102 Orange St., New Haven.
District of Columbia, Edwin F. Ludwig, 423 G St., N. W., Wash., D. C.
Florida, A. C. Sill, Ruskin.
Georgia, Max Wilk, General Delivery, Augusta.
Idaho, I. F. Stewart, Nampa.
Illinois, J. O. Bentall, 205 W. Washington St., Chicago.
Indiana, James Oneal, 309½ Ohio St., Terre Haute.
Iowa, J. J. Jacobson, 1127 11th St., Des Moines.
Kansas, S. M. Stallard, Box 268, Ft. Scott.
Kentucky, W. Lanfersiek, 506 Washington Ave., Newport.
Louisiana, W. F. Dietz, 924 Iris St., Lake Charles.
Maine, Norman W. Lermond, R. F. D. No. 1, Thomaston.
Maryland, A. B. Claxton, Hyattsville.
Massachusetts, James F. Carey, 14 Park Square, Room 7, Boston.
Michigan, J. Hoogerhyde, 22 Monroe St., Grand Rapids.
Minnesota, T. E. Latimer, 305 Lincoln Bldg., Minneapolis.
Mississippi, W. A. Knight, R. R. 2, Hattiesburg.
Missouri, William A. Ward, 10 Ohio Bldg., St. Louis.
Montana, Alma M. Kriger, P. O. Box 548, Butte.
Nebraska, Clyde J. Wright, 419 S. 11th St., Lincoln.
Nevada, J. E. Taylor, 301 Odd Fellow Bldg., Reno.
New Hampshire, Michael B. Roth, 452 Pine St., Manchester.
New Jersey, W. B. Killingbeck, 62 Williams St., Orange.
New Mexico, Mrs. Lurlyne Lane, Alto.
New York, U. Solomon, 239 E. 84th St., New York City.
North Carolina, Wm. T. Bradford, 720 Spruce St., Winston-Salem.
North Dakota, H. E. Thompson, Box 717, Minot.
Ohio, Joseph C. Schawe, 121½ E. Town St., Columbus.
Oklahoma, R. E. Dooley, Indiana Bldg., Oklahoma City.
Oregon, Chas. H. Otten, 506 Buchanan Block, Portland.
Pennsylvania, Robert B. Ringler, 628 Walnut St., Reading.
Rhode Island, Fred Hurst, 1596 Westminster St., Olneyville.
South Dakota, M. G. Opsahl, Sioux Falls.
Tennessee, J. E. Voss, 778 Eastern Ave., Jackson.
Texas, Ed. A. Green, Rockdale.
Utah, Peter J. Holt, Box 477, Salt Lake City.
Vermont, Mary R. Sanford, Bennington.
Virginia, I. L. Burgess, 3613 Huntington Ave., Newport News.
Washington, Frans Bostrom, Box 491, Everett.
West Virginia, H. W. Houston, Parkersburg.
Wisconsin, E. H. Thomas, Brisbane Hall, Milwaukee.
Wyoming, John Ramsay, 309 5th St., Rock Springs.

Lose no time in joining. The party platform when adopted by the May convention will be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership, section by section. There will be a hot contest in the convention between office-seekers and revolutionists for an opportunist or a proletarian platform. No matter which side wins in the convention, the membership will have the final decision. So if YOU have been standing outside criticising the Socialist party for being "bourgeois," now is the time to come inside and add your strength to that of the comrades who are trying to make it proletarian.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN



PIT BOYS IN ENGLAND ARE HAVING A STRIKE HOLIDAY.

Another Battle in England.—The working class of England may be a bit slow in learning Socialist theories; nobody can accuse it of being slow in learning to fight the good fight against the capitalists. When Keir Hardie addressed the recent congress of French Socialists he could speak with justifiable pride of the progress made by the English workers during the past year. And no doubt he spoke the exact truth when he said: "This progress is due to a combination of industrial and political action. The progress of the one does not exclude the other. We fight with two weapons, the strike and the vote."

But it is on the industrial field that the English workers are really at home. In Parliament their representation is feeble and wavering, but on the industrial field of battle they advance with a solidarity and determination which are irresistible. It is significant that at the moment when we see in Germany the most magnificent political victory ever gained by the working class England gives us the most awe-inspiring exhibition of the economic power of the workers. The classic land of the trade union is again assuming its old position of leadership. It must be record-

ed where all after-generations can read that the toilers of old England have been the first to bring a capitalist class to its knees. And while the Germans were striking terror with the ballot the English were striking greater terror by the simple and ancient method of quitting work.

The present great coal strike began at a moment of discouragement. The struggle of the cotton spinners had just ended in a compromise which was a virtual defeat. The cotton spinners had been locked out on December 27 because 300 of them in one little mill had refused to work with a pair of non-unionists. The lockout involved 250,000. The fight was for the closed shop. On January 19 an employer was able to say: "We've got the beggars back at last." They have gone back under an agreement which provides that the non-union agitation is not to interfere with the working of any mill for six months, and after that there is to be no strike without due notice given. That is, the employes have sworn away their right to insist upon union shops. They have not been defeated; they have given up the fight. Of course they had

been scolded and deceived by the capitalists' press, by the government arbitrators and, in part, by their own leaders. They are not to be blamed. But they did capitulate ingloriously.

That was on January 19. Less than ten days later the English coal miners voted, 4 to 1, to go on strike. In all industrially developed lands the coal industry is the one most absolutely essential to social life. It is basic in a peculiar sense. Without coal the factories cannot be worked and the trains cannot be run. Without coal our whole social structure falls to pieces. Coal is quite as necessary to our form of life as are water, air, and food. But to the people of England coal mining is even more vital than to any other nation. In 1909 the production amounted to 263,774,312 tons. This product had a value of more than half a billion dollars at the pit mouth. Something like 40,000,000 tons of it were exported. But what gives the production of coal its greatest importance is the fact that England is dependent upon water transportation for its food supply. Leave the ships without coal and the English starve.

There are employed in and about the English coal mines more than a million workers. Their greatest grievance is that many of them, working at the prevailing wage, have been unable to earn enough to live on. Coal miners are paid by the ton, and their return depends largely on the sort of vein they are working, the conditions under which they work and the method of weighing. Premier Asquith acknowledges officially that the men have proved to him that many of them have not been able at the present rates to make a living wage. What they want is a minimum wage of five shillings a day, surely not an extravagant demand.

The strike was brought about in the slow and orderly British way. The vote of the rank and file was taken toward the end of February. The strike was decided upon. Then a month's notice was given to the employers. On February 29, in due and proper season, the walk-out took place. By the following day fully a million miners were on strike. Immediately factories began to close down, railways cut down the number of their trains, vessels were left in harbors. With-

in a week it was estimated that 500,000 additional workers had been thrown out of employment. Food prices rose higher every day. The country had had a month in which to prepare for what happened, but a few days of the strike showed the nation helpless without its coal miners.

The support given by workers of other industries and other countries has been, for the most part, only a matter of promises. The transport workers of England have declared their willingness to strike rather than carry scab coal. The German miners are ready to strike to enforce demands of their own, so they are naturally ready enough to go out if German operators undertake to supply the English market. Here in America there have been statements given out by officials of the United Mine Workers which indicate that a supporting strike has at least been thought of. On the other hand, English factory employes who have been thrown out of work by the strike are not exhibiting the sort of class solidarity that wins. There is constant talk of their bringing pressure to bear upon the miners in order to induce them to compromise.

But the most significant effect of the strike has been on the government. Labor has had representatives in Parliament for many years. But no government has ever dreamed of granting them anything so radical as a minimum wage law. To be sure, a minimum wage law which bears no relation to the value of the product turned out or to the prevailing cost of living is not exactly revolutionary. But it is at least an acknowledgement of the worker's right to live so long as he is working. It is an attempt to set a limit to the extent of exploitation. Any attempt of this sort indicates a great advance in public thought with regard to the right of the working class to life. No doubt the long years of Socialist agitation in England have done much to popularize the principle of the minimum wage. But agitation has had little effect on Parliament. Within a day after the strike was begun Premier Asquith had secured the promise of more than 60 per cent of the coal operators to introduce a minimum wage providing all the operators could be brought into the agreement. The Scotch and South Wales operators

refused their consent. Within two days the Premier announced that the government was prepared to introduce a minimum wage law to apply to the coal mining industry. It was at this point that he received an illuminating surprise. He called in the committee of the men and asked them to call off the strike with the understanding that the government stood pledged to push a minimum wage law through Parliament as rapidly as possible. The men replied with great politeness that the strike had been called by the rank and file of the miners and it would go on until the minimum wage was a fact. Promises didn't go. The Premier asked them if they would submit their own wage proposition to a discussion at which operators, miners and government should be represented. Then the men used the phrase which has been consecrated by generations of employers, "Nothing to arbitrate." There is our proposition, said the committee in effect, it has been passed upon by the rank and file; this is all we have to say.

As the REVIEW goes to press the strike is still at its height, but there is a general feeling abroad that it will be settled soon. The fact that the striking miners have scared the government into supporting them and that 60 per cent of the operators have agreed to the principle of the minimum wage gives the workers of the world a sure hope for a victory. The capitalists, on the contrary, find it difficult to disguise their consternation and chagrin. "What has become of the spirit of real liberalism, we used to see in England?" cries the *Paris Temps*. "Never before has any government so utterly disregarded the claims of a body of business men, who are responsible to their shareholders for the conduct of their business."

To this Mr. Asquith can truthfully reply that he has been coerced. Nobody has ever accused him of doing anything for the working class if he wasn't forced to do it.

And the present state of affairs throws a ray of light through all the vexed problems of working-class tactics. When the toilers get ready to take anything the government is brimming over with eagerness to give it. There are more ways than one of bringing a government to terms.

Italy. The Movement Finding Itself.— Usually there is nothing more deplorable than the division of a working-class movement. Yet it is difficult to see how anything but good can come of the separation of groups which is now taking place in the Socialist party of Italy. Some account of this separation has been given in the February number of the REVIEW. The most recent reports indicate that it is steadily becoming more unmistakable.

The division, it will be remembered, is between the two groups of Reformists. One group, led by Bissolati, has steadily supported the ministry in spite of the war against Turkey. The other, led by Turati, has refused to follow Reformist principles to this extent. When it really came to a definite choice between the working class and the government this latter group proved to be revolutionary at heart.

The break in the parliamentary faction is now complete. On February 22 the Socialist deputies decided by a vote of 17 to 14 to rise from their seats along with other supporters of the government in honor of the Italian soldiers who have fallen in battle. Hereupon the minority of fourteen took matters in their own hands and remained away from the session at which this patriotic demonstration was to be made. As a consequence of this act of rebellion they were forced to form a separate group of their own. At the present moment there are, then, two distinct and antagonistic Socialist groups in the Italian house.

The executive committee is to meet and to take the matter up. The committee, however, has no power over the Socialist deputies. The matter can, therefore, not be definitely settled without a special congress of the party. Until such a congress takes action things will probably remain very much as they are at present. And at present, although there has been no official recognition of a split in the party, a division has actually taken place.

France. The Party and the Union.— The Socialist Party of France finds itself again face to face with the problem which is eternally forcing itself upon us. Though this problem was not down on the program of the party congress, which met at Lyons on February 18, it forced itself into the discussion and became the

overshadowing issue. On December 2 comrades Compere-Morel and Chesquiere addressed to the Chamber of Deputies, of which they are members, a severe criticism of the policies and tactics of the Confederation General du Travail. They declared sabotage the weapon of anarchists and expressed the conviction that the labor union as such has no part in the revolutionary movement of the working class. Its business is, according to their statement, to secure for the workers the best possible conditions within the capitalist system. The task of overthrowing this system is, they maintained, the work of the Socialist party acting on the political field.

The discussion was long and violent. All of the old war-horses of the movement took part. The comrades under attack, Compere-Morel and Chesquiere, defended themselves by maintaining that the policy of direct action keeps the French working class disorganized. Wherever this policy is adopted, they said, the Confederation General declines in numbers and power. The Socialist party must appeal to the whole working class, not only to the minority which can be brought together in an organization which stands for such a policy as this. Therefore they had considered it their duty to speak openly in criticism of the Confederation. Their position was defended by Comrade Guesde and others.

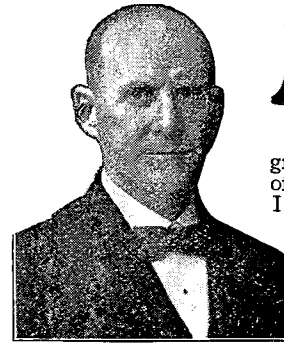
Comrade Vaillant led the attack. In the main he opposed the two Socialist deputies in question, not for saying what they did, so much as for making any public criticism of the Confederation. The party congress held at Limoges adopted

a resolution declaring that party and Confederation should respect each other's autonomy. An attempt to dictate to the union organization was, said Vaillant, a plain breach of the intent of this resolution. Dormoy replied more directly to attacks made upon the Confederation. It is not true, he said, that this organization is stagnant. During the year 1911 it grew from 320,000 to 365,000. At present it is progressing satisfactorily, according to his statement, and at any rate, criticism and attempts at dictation on the part of Socialists cannot be of any assistance to it.

Finally Compere-Morel introduced a resolution which is worth reproduction as a statement of the position of the pure-and-simple political Socialist on the question of unionism: "Union, or industrial, activity completes itself within the limits of the capitalist system and can, therefore, not be self-sufficient. In its very nature it is defensive or reformistic in character. Only political action, whether carried on through the ballot or by means of insurrection, can be in its essence revolutionary and thus adapted to carry on the work of expropriating the expropriators."

When this resolution was read Vaillant cried, "If we adopt this we shall be separating ourselves from the C. G. T.!" and Jaures echoed, "This would mean civil war within the working class!"

The delegates were evidently unwilling to take a stand on this proposition. It was referred to a resolutions committee and buried there. What was reported out and accepted was a non-committal reprimand of Compere-Morel and Chesquiere.



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The Labor Struggle

Economics and Politics. There is one point in connection with the Lawrence strike that seems to have been overlooked in the scuffle and we want to throw the spotlight on it now. The Socialist party as an organization hopes by means of votes to capture the legislative powers of government and then pass laws in the interest of the workers. The action that would be most appreciated by the workers would be a reduction by law of the hours of labor. Well, the Massachusetts legislature tried that. In response to pressure put on by the labor unions and upon assurance that "industrial peace" would be secured thereby, they passed a law reducing the hours of work for women and children from 56 to 54 hours a week. That is as good as a Socialist legislature could do for a start.

What happened? The capitalists of the textile mills duly reduced the hours—but—BUT—they reduced the pay of the workers at the same time. So the workers had to strike in order to secure to themselves the benefits of a law passed in their behalf. In other words, to enforce *political action* they had to employ *direct action*.

Suppose Socialist legislatures are elected in several states and they immediately pass desirable labor legislation. What is to prevent the capitalists from retaliating by immediately reducing wages? "But," our trustful parliamentary brother will say, "the capitalists could be prevented by law from reducing wages, too." If that is so, who is going to stand at the elbow of the boss and see that he puts the right amount into the pay envelope?

The truth is that political action not backed by the solid economic power of the workers, organized not by craft but by industry, is a pipe-dream, and the sooner we Socialists come out of our power-of-the-ballot-box trance the better.

How to Manufacture Scabs. "I would also favor the discussion and consideration of the question of compelling new members to serve apprenticeships and minimize the number of apprenticeships as much as possible, making the apprenticeship as long and difficult as possible, thus preventing an influx of new members, which would again bring about a repetition of the present condition of unemployment." This is not an utterance of Sam Gompers or other hide-bound unionist, but of a Socialist official of a trade union. Could any better method of creating scabs be thought of than that proposed here? In it is all the snobbishness and selfishness of the usual Gompers-Mitchell brand of unionism. The idea is to protect our own little jobs at all costs and keep out the rest of the working class. Of a truth, some of the worst reactionaries in the

labor movement are those trade unionists who call themselves Socialists. Their Socialism is good only on election day.

The Unthinking Telegraphers. Now here come the Commercial Telegraphers with a loud demand for "government ownership." Are they so anxious for the gag law under which all federal employes now suffer? Do they so crave the dose that has been handed out to the railway mail clerks? Don't they recall Taft's little hint to the effect that it is possible to consider a strike of federal employes treason against the government and that "offenders" can be "punished" as traitors? "Punished" in this case was the substitute for the word that Taft hesitated to use—"shot."

Pat a Convert? Well, it may be all right, but it looked mighty queer to read about Pat McCarthy, that rank old capitalist tool, patting the Socialists on the back and putting in a kind word for the party at the California Building Trades convention. After being kicked in the face by his old friends after they had no further use for him, is Pat now to become a "comrade"?

The Proletariat Is Stirring. If on reading the daily papers it seems to you that we are living in a turbulent and chaotic world just now, get out your old "Communist Manifesto" and read it over again. You will realize afresh just what is the matter. As we see how the revolt of the miserable wage slaves of Massachusetts, England and Germany is making government officials run around in circles and utter loud cries, how Congresses and parliaments are set by the ears, how lords and masters turn pale and utter low moans, we are reminded of those words of Marx: "The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air." These, indeed, be stirring times.

In Line with Progress. Local 72 of the International Union of Steam Engineers, at Los Angeles, has come right out for industrial unionism and passed a resolution calling on all unions of the A. F. of L. to do the same. In consequence, these progressive workingmen are meeting with the same sort of abuse from their officials that the early propagandists of the idea met with in the Socialist party. Let the stand-patters howl. Industrial unionism cannot be stopped any more than the assembling of the workers in big industries by the capitalists can be stopped. It must prevail.

NEWS AND VIEWS

From Branch Five, New York City, 440 Members in Good Standing. Whereas, In the course of the discussion in the Call, arising out of nominations for the N. E. C., Comrade Spargo has made allegations against the motives and policy of the Charles H. Kerr Company, and has charged Comrades Haywood and Bohn with propagating the policies of the Anarchists, which makes them ineligible for membership in the Socialist party, and

Whereas, The charges against the Kerr Company are, if untrue, grossly libelous, and those against Comrades Haywood and Bohn, if false, are either made in ignorance of the opposing policies of Socialism and Anarchism, or are inspired by malicious intent to slander, and

Whereas, Comrade Hunter has, so far as the Kerr Company is concerned, made public a statement to the same effect, be it

Resolved, That Branch Five (Local New York) calls upon Comrades Spargo and Hunter to publish forthwith proof in support of their statements and allegations; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the New York Call, the Chicago Daily Socialist, Milwaukee Leader and Social Democratic Herald, International Socialist Review, Pittsburgh Justice, New Castle Free Press and San Francisco Revolt.

(Signed) A. S. Boyd, Rec. Sec'y. Branch 5.

From Local Indianapolis, Ind. The following resolution as adopted by Local Marion County is not meant as a personal attack on the comrade mentioned, but rather as a general protest against the growing tendency of comrades high in the councils of the party demanding salaries far out of proportion to that received by the general membership. Local Marion County unanimously endorsed the following resolution, copy to be sent to the national office, Comrade Spargo and the party press:

Whereas, It has come to the notice of Local Marion County that one W. A. Stout, manager of the Central Lyceum Bureau, a private enterprise, is applying to the various locals of the Socialist party for speaking dates for Comrade Spargo at the flat rate of \$50 per lecture, and

Whereas, The wage is far above the average wage paid to even the most skilled mechanic holding membership in our organization who have the bills to pay and would have a tendency to react on the workingmen joining an organization paying such sums to advance the propaganda of the party doctrine; therefore, be it

Resolved, That Local Marion County in regular meeting assembled denounces the policy of influential members using their connection

with the party to bleed the membership for such enormous fees, and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon the national office and the party membership in general to discourage this tendency wherever the opportunity presents itself.

(Note—The literature used in connection with the offer does not bear the union label.)

WM. JACKMAN, Sec'y.

Good for New Zealand. Several days ago we received in the same mail an order from Comrade Bloodworth of Auckland, New Zealand, for \$70 worth of books and a bundle of 50 REVIEWS a month and the cordial greetings of a Red from over the water. Things are simply booming in New Zealand and the labor party seems to have drawn the lines more clearly between the revolutionists and the reformers than in many other countries.

Best Yet Seen. Enclosed find money order for one year's subscription to the REVIEW. I saw this paper with much pleasure, which for get-up and contents both is the best Socialist monthly I have yet seen.

P. DEYS, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Likes the Review. I notice the attacks made on the REVIEW and its staff by the narrow-minded Socialist politicians, which in my estimation is a disgrace. As a true exponent of revolutionary Socialism the REVIEW stands out as the foremost, and I won't trade the REVIEW for the whole bunch of Socialist periodicals published in the United States. Go right ahead with the good work. The working class wants bread and not political jobs. The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW is the right thing for me and my fellow slaves. Yours for the Revolution,
A. LAZIER, Detroit, Mich.

The Movement in Illinois. Illinois is not among the states where Socialism has had a spasmodic or mushroom growth. Neither is Socialism growing only in spots. The fact is that the sentiment is almost evenly distributed throughout the entire state and the sentiment is great.

Last spring we elected Socialists from the Wisconsin line on the north to the Missouri and Kentucky line on the south.

Up to 1908 the movement was stronger in Chicago than outside. But since that time the workers in the state at large have taken hold in a most splendid manner until today the membership is quite evenly distributed. There is now a paid-up membership of 6,000, with over 300 organizations doing active work. New locals are chartered at the rate of two and three every week.

There are five daily Socialist papers in the

state, over a dozen weekly and several monthly. The state paper issued by the party, the "Next Step," has a circulation of over one hundred thousand.

Illinois has had an average of about four organizers in the field during the last three or four years. Of course only one comrade, Comrade F. T. Maxwell, has been regularly engaged. The others have been routed several months at the time.

The present outlook is the brightest in the history of the party in the state.

The campaign is already on and a definite plan proposed by the state secretary has been adopted by the executive committee.

The plan provides for the usual speakers and organizers and the customary distribution of literature.

In addition thereto the plan has two distinctly new features.

1. The use of slides.

Three or four sets of slides will be used by good lecturers who can present the cause of the workers to both ear and eye.

(1) The Milwaukee slides, showing the salient features of the Socialist administration.

(2) The Panama Canal slides showing the possibility of huge undertakings by the people, also showing how the workers get free housing, free hospital service with full pay while sick, furniture, food and clothing at cost and in a definite way bring out the Socialist features of the Panama project as well as showing the unjust influences of capitalism.

(3) General Socialist Slides. These will deal with housing conditions of the workers, their shop conditions, their pay envelopes, strike scenes, contrast of hovels and mansions, accidents and other facts that show the horrors of capitalism and the need of Socialism.

2. The use of automobiles.

In order to reach the small towns all over the state at least three machines will be put to use. One is already at the disposal of the party. Serviceable machines can be bought for about \$300 each.

Two men will go with each car. One must be a first-class speaker.

It is planned to make county by county radiating from the best organized point to every village in the county. Five or six towns can be made in the daytime and a large town in the evening.

Two or three volunteers will be taken along from locals. Convenient and appropriate pieces of literature will be prepared. All except the driver will get out as they reach a town and leave a package of literature at every house. The driver finds a location for speaking and rigs up the machine with the signs. Then he drives around town and with a megaphone announces the meeting. In about fifteen minutes the speaking begins. After the speech is over a collection is taken, books sold and names of interested workers secured and sent to the state office. If conditions are ripe a local can be formed.

The next town is then made in a similar way and so on till every town in the county is covered. Then to the next county and the next till every county is covered.

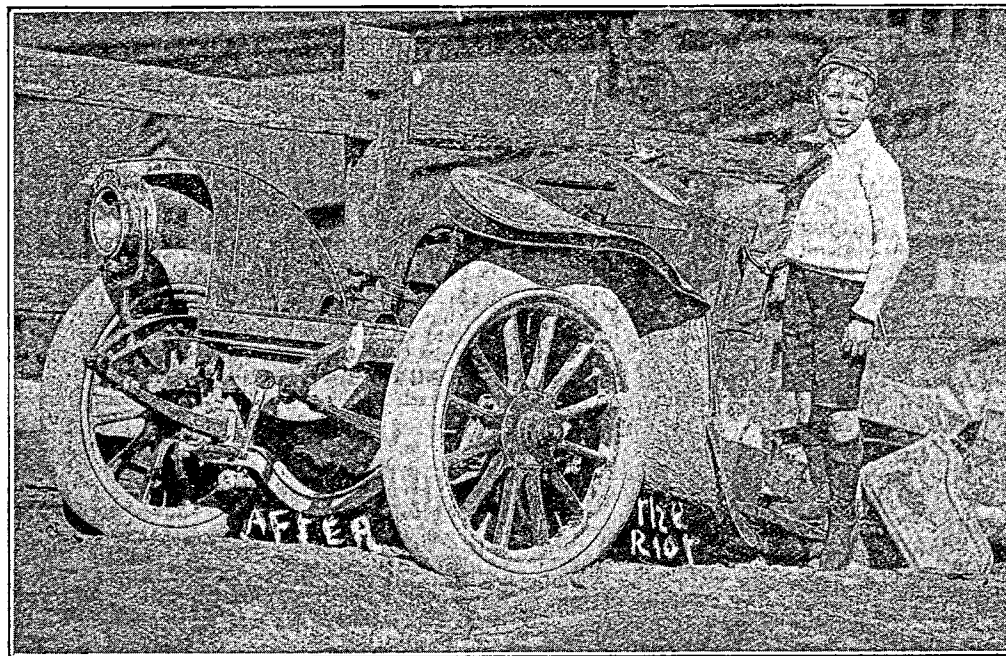
There are 102 counties in the state. By starting three automobiles the first of May averaging three days to the county, every county can be covered once and over half of them can be covered twice.

There are several senatorial districts where the Socialist candidates can be elected. Towards the windup of the campaign all the machines and all the speakers and stereopticon lecturers will go into those districts all together and take the whole territory by storm.

This in short is the plan. The comrades are taking hold fine and it looks now as if we may take the spin off the capitalists by the square yard.

In the meantime we are building up the organization for the solid work of education and class action on both the industrial and political field.

J. O. BENTALL, State Sec'y.



THIS AUTO WAS USED TO BRING IN SCABS.

A Strike in Australia. The Lithgow (New South Wales) ironworkers have been on strike twenty-three weeks, because their employer, Hoskins the union smasher, dismissed one of his employees. It has been for years the set purpose of this Australia ironmaster to make all he could in business out of the Federal Government and at the same time withhold from his workers as large a portion of the surplus value of the wealth they created as possible.

But early last year when industrial troubles began in Lithgow the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW showed up in its columns the scandalous treble bonus which Hoskins was extracting from the Government on every ton of pig iron, of manufactured iron and of steel which his firm produced. An expert commissioner, W. Paul, was brought out from England to inquire into the working Hoskins' contract with the Australian Federal Government, with the result that the contract has been canceled.

During the course of the present strike some of the men enraged by the jeers of the scabs (for whom Hoskins had provided a temporary "scab hotel" at the blast furnace) attacked the works with a shower of stones, burnt one of Hoskins' motor cars, which had brought scabs into the town under cover of the night, and threw the scabs' clothes and bedding into the "cooling lake." Three workers have been imprisoned by a "labor" government for this outbreak, while many more were heavily fined.

At Christmas time these fines had to be paid; and the women and children of Lithgow

must have had a merry Christmas, for besides the financial pressure of a prolonged strike, they were robbed by legal process, by a "labor" (?) Government their own class had put into power! But the workers of Australia are still full cry after "Step-at-a-Time Political Laborism," which puts into power shrewd politicians whose aim is through arbitration acts and wages boards to tie the workers' hands behind their backs, and thus destroy their greatest industrial weapon—the strike.

DORA B. MONTEFIORE.

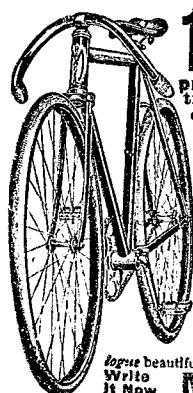
Lasted Only a Few Hours. Enclosed find another order for REVIEWS. I found the right boy and he sells the right magazine. The first 20 lasted only a few hours, and many asked for them after they were all gone. I only wish every worker could read the March number. I hope to increase sales till we have to use the freight cars instead of the mail.

COMRADE HARPER, Indiana.

They Didn't Last Long. I started my boy out with the bundle of REVIEWS you sent and they didn't last till he got down town. Send me forty more copies.

COMRADE RICHARDSON, California.

Using the News Stands. Comrade Huebner of Minneapolis orders 100 copies of the REVIEW and remarks that he is "going to put some in every news stand in the Fifth ward. I intend to take all unsold copies off their hands as soon as the next copy is issued. I hope the comrades in the other wards will do likewise, as all the news stands will take them on those terms." Indeed they will. Some-



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thing is urgently needed to counteract the poison of the capitalist magazines with which the news stands are loaded. Why not the REVIEW?

All Sold Out. Please find check enclosed for 20 more copies. The first ones are all sold out. COMRADE ANDELMAN, Boston.

From Utah. The average membership of the Socialist Party in Utah during the year 1910 was 263; during 1911 it was 611. The banner month for receipt of dues money during 1911 was September, when 861 due stamps were sold. That record was exceeded in the month of February this year, when 977 due stamps were sold.

We now have one organizer in the field, and have had organizers—sometimes one and sometimes two—steadily employed since January 29, 1910. It is safe to say that we have had an average of one meeting under state auspices every day. The sound revolutionary literature sold can not even be estimated. Add to this that the locals have employed speakers in addition and sold literature and with the literature the revolutionary labor unions have sold, there are figures to stagger the capitalistic philistines.

There is now published one Socialist paper at Helper, Utah, and the name is the People's Press. There is a movement on for starting a chain of papers under some central management.

The general condition of the party in the state is excellent. We look for an increase of membership to two thousand this year and hope to be able to keep two or three organizers in the field all the time.

As to how many votes we will get, that is immaterial. What we want is organization and education. Nor do we expect to have a perfect organization composed of angels, but rather to spread the propaganda to every nook and corner in the state and let the internal development of intelligent membership follow. To that end we will discourage all possibilities of factionalities and sometimes brush technicalities to one side for the sake of unity.

When the votes are counted next November there will be some ten or twenty thousand and many members of state legislature of our party will be elected.

P. J. Holt, State Sec'y., Utah.

Growing in Tennessee. In 1906 this state was organized and the present state secretary was elected in 1909. There were only four locals at that time and three members at large. In February, 1912, we organized four new locals, making a total of forty in the state. We have forty-four members at large. Our vote has grown from 1,354 in 1904 to 4,571 in 1910. In the Tenth congressional district in 1911 we polled 2,000 votes. Grundy county expects to carry that district for Socialism. We hope to poll 40,000 votes at the next election. We are laboring under financial difficulties, but we are growing all the time.

Jos. E. Voss, State Secretary.

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The Socialist Outlook in West Virginia. It is impossible to write of the political situation in this state without enthusiasm. The apathy of recent years has given place to a marvelous awakening among all classes of voters. The seed sown by the early agitators has taken deep root in our soil and is bearing abundant fruit. The dues paying membership of the Socialist party is about one thousand. Our party press is a development of the last two years, and we now have the following papers: The Labor Argus, Charleston, edited by C. H. Boswell; the Clarksburg Socialist, Clarksburg, edited by E. H. Kintzer; the Wheeling Majority and the West Virginia Socialist, both of Wheeling and edited by Walter B. Hilton; the Plain-Dealer, Cameron, edited by William E. Lang. A movement is now on to start several other papers during the coming campaign.

Several towns in the state have elected Socialist mayors and other officials. Star City, Hendricks, Adamston, Miama and other towns have been swept into the Socialist ranks. All indications point to our carrying at least five counties in the coming election. Our state government is located at Charleston, Kanawha county, and the political piracy that always characterizes the doings of the politicians that infest the seat of government has polluted that community beyond description. The voters there are in revolt. The generals of the old parties find themselves without an army. The Socialists have set themselves the task of electing the entire ticket in that county, especially the legislative ticket. Our enemies freely admit that we have a splendid fighting chance. At Clarksburg, Harrison county, the situation is intensely interesting. It has attracted the attention of all of the lyceum lecturers. The industrial workers of that section are intelligent and progressive, and during the last two years they have been coming into the Socialist movement in battalions. This is another county that is almost certain to land a full Socialist ticket.

At Wheeling there is the same widespread response to the call of Socialism. The voters are organizing the entire county, and there is little doubt but that we will secure at least a portion of the ticket in that county. One of the most gratifying things about the West Virginia movement is the utter absence of factional strifes and disruptive tactics. Some slight differences do indeed exist as to minor matters, but there is no bitter or serious breaches in the organization. On the whole complete harmony reigns. The personnel of the movement is exceptionally high, and the movement is revolutionary to the core.

This is a war-born state, and it has a population that illy wears the collar of industrial servitude. When it seceded from Old Virginia it placed upon its coat of arms the motto: "Montani Semper Liberi" (Mountaineers are always free), and the sweep of the Socialist

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movement over the mountains and valleys indicates that we are going to translate those words into a reality. We send greetings to our comrades of other states, and we say to them that the coming election will show that we have been in the thick of the battle.

HAROLD W. HOUSTON, State Sec'y.

Education in Pottsville. Pottsville and vicinity are carrying on a spirited campaign and Comrade Con Foley predicts a big surprise when next the votes are cast. A new Socialist paper—The Hope of Socialism—has been started. The Pottsville friends call their campaign the Educational Method. They would rather win one real permanent Socialist than get forty fluke votes. They are placing Socialist literature in the hands of the working class. Two thousand eight hundred names have been put on the Appeal mailing list and 250 names on the subscription list of the REVIEW. Every barber shop, dentist's and doctor's waiting room and every other public place where men and women pick up something to read, is furnished with sound Socialist literature. The Pottsville comrades say all they want to do is to let people know what Socialism is and the whole working class will be with them. Good for Pottsville. That is the kind of work that sticks. The educated workingman and woman who becomes Socialists will stay Socialists till we win out. The next time another local has an idea as good as Pottsville's, please spring it on us so that we can put our readers next to the new way.

Education in New Hampshire. Unless all signs fail, the approaching election will witness a decided increase in the number of votes for Socialism in the state of New Hampshire. Years of hard propaganda work are beginning to tell and slowly but surely the truths of Socialism are breaking through the wall of conservatism that surrounds the people of the old Granite State.

A good indication of the changing sentiment is the fact that five cities, namely: Manchester, Dover, Keene, Concord and Berlin, were able to accept and make a success of the National Socialist Lyceum course of lectures.

The party membership is growing. We now have over five hundred members and will undoubtedly enter the campaign with about seven hundred.

The state convention will be held in Manchester, April 18, and among the actions taken will probably be the placing of a man in the field to devote all of his time to Socialist work until after the national election.

There is also some talk of issuing a weekly state paper at least for a few months prior to the election. The chances of electing any officials are slim, but in several representative districts we will make the old party candidates extend themselves. The movement in New Hampshire is small but united. There are no dissensions. Our interest centers in the growth of Socialism, and we propose to contribute materially to that growth on election day.

MICHAEL B. ROTH, State Secretary.

Invest Where Fortunes Are Being Made Houston—Coming City of the South

Houston has grown from 45,000 to 105,000 in seven years. Conservative men predict that the city will go to a half million population within 10 years. During the past two years there has been more money invested in new building in Houston than any other city of its size in the United States. Seventeen railroad trunk lines center here and interurban lines have been completed and projected, that will make this the interurban center of the southwest. The government is spending \$2,500,000.00 on the ship channel here, which will make Houston the greatest southern port. Millions upon millions are going into new skyscrapers, magnificent hotels, steel mills, and the city has 300 factories now, with more coming. A new Union Stock Yards are to be built at once and millions to be spent on the great railway and ship terminals around the port. The Rice University, with an endowment of over \$9,000,000.00, opens this year.

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Harry Sibble Beats all Records in the Sale of Socialist Literature. During the year 1911 he sold in British Columbia and some of the cities between the province and Seattle the grand total of 9,475 pieces of Socialist literature, and in addition gave away or sold at a nickel apiece about 10,000 copies of Victor Berger's speech on the wood tariff. All in all, he landed about 20,000 good hits for Socialism in that neck of the woods, which is going some, and is a record not equaled by even some of the biggest lights in the revolutionary firmament. "How do you do it, Harry?" I asked. "Oh, I don't know; I just keep moving around and shoving the books into the hands of people wherever I see a crowd." If a convention is to be held Harry is on the spot with a bunch of books that he thinks will do the most good. Methodist conferences, revival meetings, political conventions, trades union assemblies, Quaker meetings, spiritualistic seances, it is all the same to Harry. At one of the latter he was sitting patiently at the back of the hall waiting his chance of doing business, when the medium hailed him, "You, with the bundle of books, there is a man called Marx, Karl Marx, who wants to say to you that you are doing good work and that the movement is getting along all right." At a Quaker meeting he once visited, the spirit moved no one to speak for an hour and a half, but before he went away Harry had five dollars in coin in his pocket in exchange for books. The Saturday crowds are a bonanza. Armed with 150 copies of Cotton's Weekly or 100 REVIEWS, he will mingle with the crowd and sell out. He sold 100 copies of the February REVIEW in two days. He considers he ought to sell at least 200 papers or magazines between 1 p. m. and 8 p. m. on a Saturday afternoon in a town of 30,000 people. Being a wanderer, it might seem hard for him to get the books and magazines for sale, but he has working arrangements with locals, news dealers and news agents whereby he clears out for them all Socialist books and papers that linger on the shelves. Last summer he picked up cheaply a thousand copies of "Merrie England" that was being held at the customs for duty. He sold them all in a few weeks in Vancouver. He will wander along the streets with his bundle in one hand, a package of books in the other, and his pocket bulging with more. He is well known so soon as someone wants to know what he has got. Then the sales begin, hands and pockets are emptied and the bundle is drawn upon. The outlook for 1912 is rosy. Up to the end of February he has about a thousand more sales to his credit than at the corresponding date last year. Then we are probably on the eve of an election, so during the excitement Harry anticipates an extra demand which will boost his record still higher. F. DUNDAS TODD.

In a Hurry. Enclosed find money order, for which please send me an additional ten copies of the REVIEW. Sold my regular number of 20 in a hurry this time.
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Boycotting a Socialist. Comrade Ed Weinstein, manager of a successful Socialist news stand on the northwest corner of Sixth and Market streets, St. Louis, Mo., where all the best Socialist publications were displayed and sold, is being made the victim of capitalism in a somewhat new way. Comrade Weinstein, who is afflicted with partial blindness, has felt the need of carrying in his stock the daily capitalist papers and has found that he could thus often reach a new customer with Socialist literature. But one of the capitalist papers has refused to sell him papers, hoping in this way to drive him from his corner. Socialists of St. Louis, call around at Sixth and Market to buy some Socialist papers or the REVIEW and show the enemy how workers stand together when one of their number is attacked. Don't stop because you have one copy of the REVIEW. Buy another and leave it with your barber and at the same time help to boost a Socialist institution.

Illustrated Lectures on Socialism.—Comrades Robert B. and Thomas Knight of Longmont, Colorado, have prepared two most

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interesting lectures, one entitled "Evolution of the Machine" and the other "Socialists at Work," which have been welcomed and enjoyed by the Socialists at many towns in Colorado. The Knight brothers have the hearty endorsement of Local Longmont of the Socialist Party, Local No. 995 of the United Mine Workers of America, to which they belong, the state secretary of Colorado and Eugene V. Debs. Comrade Williamson of Longmont, Colo., writes: "Local Longmont owes its organization and, in my opinion, its present existence and virility to them. They are thoroughly class-conscious and purely proletarian; are well based philosophically, and possess, in a high degree, that aggressive and uncompromising character which begets enthusiasm and class-condence and awakens the impulse to organize. Virile class-conscious organization will result from their able, forceful, quickening propaganda wherever they go. Such as they bring the revolution on apace. I most heartily recommend them to those having charge of either official or unofficial propaganda."

These comrades will be prepared in the near future to make dates for locals in other states through the state secretaries and we are confident that their lectures will be stimulating and helpful to any locals who make dates for them. For information, write Robert B. Knight, 228 Pratt street, Longmont, Colorado. No local is too small to have the Knight boys. Their terms are within the reach of everybody.

Broadening the Bigots. Comrade Thomson of Kansas City, in ordering a bundle of REVIEWS for his educational club, writes: "We are having the most effective meetings I have ever known. Our policy of barring all party talks allows us to get the benefit of co-operation with the S. L. P., I. W. W., S. P., and our own members. We announce the meetings of all the action organizations and allow them to pass out whatever free literature they wish. The particular point our form of organization calls attention to is that no one party is the movement, that the movement is all of them and includes whatever other persons there are at the work of arousing class consciousness. This has a wonderfully broadening effect on the minds of the bigots in each organization."

A New Paper. The Shermerville Socialist, a new paper published in Shermerville, Ill., has met with such enthusiastic support that the comrades have decided to make it a permanent periodical. We have seen a copy of this paper and wish to congratulate the comrades upon the ginger they have got into the new journal in so short a time.

Going Fast. Enclosed find check for which send 20 copies more. First 20 are going fast and will be sold before this order is more than started. If this is what comes from attack, let us have some more attack from the comrades who view the class struggle from the mountain top. Some of us might attack

some other Socialist publishing house—one of those that feature books by non-Socialist graft hunters and near-insurgent political dope. But that would not help the cause of the proletarian class who have to fight the real class struggle. Here's success to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

COMRADE GARRETT, Washington.

Eye Openers. Send me 50 copies for March. This and the February number are great. They are certainly eye openers.

COMRADE SLATER, Michigan.

Two Hustling Review Boys. Victor and Otto Endres, of Utica, N. Y., were the first two Review boys to earn a premium under our new credit plan. Victor and Otto started with ten copies and sold out so quickly that they immediately ordered forty more, thereby securing the premium which the REVIEW gives to its boys who sell forty copies in one month's time. Other boys who would like to know of the plan by which these two bright young Socialists worked may find out by writing to the REVIEW.

SOCIALIST SPEAKERS WANTED Next year the Socialist Party will need fifty times as many speakers as are now available. YOU may have the making of a speaker in you, but it will take work to bring it out. To learn how to go about it, read The Art of Lecturing, by Arthur M. Lewis. Price 50c, postpaid, and if you mention this advt. we will include a 8-months' subscription to the International Socialist Review. Charles H. Kerr & Co., 118 W. Kinzie St., Chicago.

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THE NEW ZEALAND ELECTION.

We had eight candidates in all opposing capitalism and not politicians. Five of this number were nominated by their respective branches of the N. Z. S. P., the others by the N. Z. F. L. Personally I am opposed to an industrial organization entering the political arena, but I am just a unit, not the federation.

Our campaign was an educational and not a vote-catching one, fought from beginning to end on uncompromising clear cut revolutionary lines. This will probably account very largely at any rate for the seemingly low vote given to one or two of our sturdy comrades. For instance, you will notice, in returns I enclose and which are officially given, that Munro at Dunedin West received only seven hundred and fifty-six votes, whereas, at last election when he stood as labor, so-called, that is to say before he became a Socialist, he received well over two thousand votes.

This is not at all discouraging, but just as it should be. We now know the exact number in that electorate who really want Socialism and know how to get it. Seven hundred clear heads realize that labor rule means nothing for them, only the perpetuation of a life robbed of all pleasure and everything else worth while.

For Christchurch South, the same way be said. J. Thorn at last election stood as Socialist Labor, not meaning by this the same as is understood of a party by that name in America and elsewhere. Thorn was simply a restless sort of individual groping in the dark if you will. He claimed to be an Evolutionist. He often went out of his way to tell us he was not a Revolutionist. A step at a time was his message. Thorn too, I understand, has since then seen the light and moved forward in the right direction.

Webb, our comrade at Grey, the Federation nominee who scored three thousand votes, appears to have startled the complacent do-nothings. They simply do not know what has gone wrong with their dear people, or so they say, but doubtless they will find out at next election when Sir A. R. Guinness the Speaker of the House, will lose his seat. Comrade Hickey gripped the master the second time at Ohinemuri. This is really making working class history. Such a thing was thought impossible by the masters.

Savage of Auckland Central, "Industrial Joe" many fondly call him, because of his untiring advocacy for all workers of one industry joining in one union and linking up with other workers of all industries, thereby forming one big union of all industrial workers, got in with all the big money boys of this city, Prohibition boys, brewery boys and boys of all sorts, yet he threw them all off in a masterly manner excepting one who at last election topped the poll for New Zealand. This surely is going some, considering also his unmistakable attitude adhered to throughout the campaign. "We are after the world wealth for the world workers, or in other words Industrial Socialism; if you don't want that, don't vote for me,"

was his straight out message clearly given at every meeting held. So we can truly say this is going some, and considering also that three years ago instead of having eighteen hundred solids behind him as now, he could not possibly have had many over eighteen.

Robertson the Federation candidate for Otaki, fought remarkably well, but no better than the others. Each did his best. Robertson managed, with the assistance of every Socialist in New Zealand, to throw two of his opponents in the first struggle and repeated the dose on the others in the second round in a most convincing style, which entitled him to go to the Wellington Talking shop and talk to the old fossils sleeping or walking, not only in the name of Ataki electros, but also in the name of the N. Z. F. L., and the N. Z. S. P. His duty is clear, to shun all items of interest to the master class and bring forward every measure possible, consistent with the interest of the Great Working Class. This our candidates must do or the rank and file will show the world that their cause, and not men comes first.

What Is a Man?

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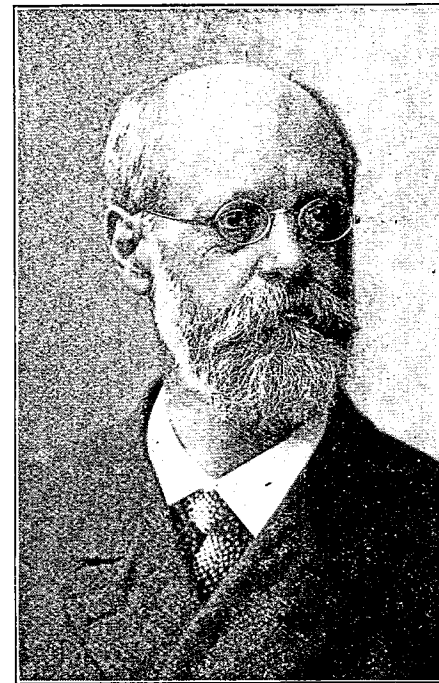
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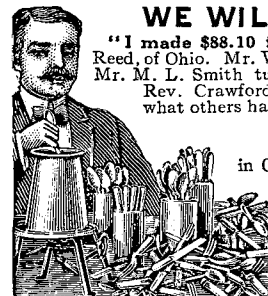
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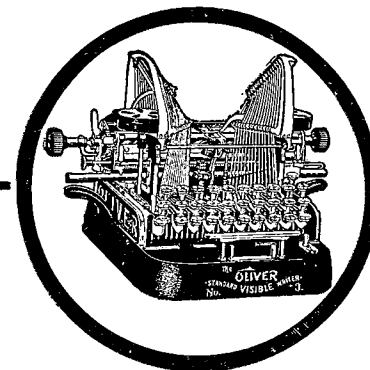
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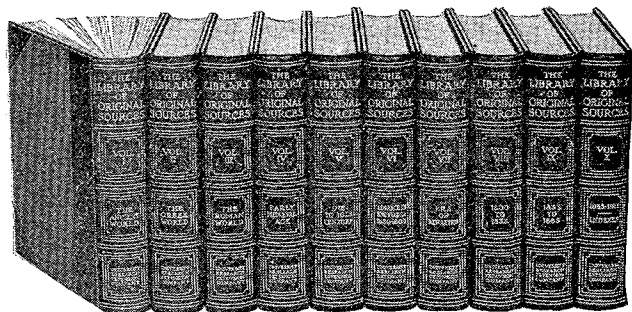
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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XII

MAY, 1912

No. 11

THE UPRISING OF THE BRITISH MINERS

BY

TOM MANN

(Photos by Paul Thompson)



TOM MANN.

IN writing briefly upon the coal miners' strike of Britain, I shall endeavor to show the extent to which the old time orthodox ideas have prevailed, and the extent to which the principle of Industrial Solidarity has been resorted to.

It has been the almost universal practice in coal mining in Britain for the men to be paid tonnage rates, i. e., to be paid according to the amount of coal produced and sent out of the mine, but as in all coal fields, the seams of coal vary in thickness and hardness, causing, in some cases much other work to be done by the miner besides simply heaving the coal, the amount of coal produced varies accordingly and unless reasonable allowance is made for the conditions under which the miner has to work, it means that a miner though working diligently, may not receive more than a half the amount of wages that men in other seams will get,

working no harder than the miner in the difficult seam. Therefore from time immemorial, it has been the practice to make necessary allowances for men working in "abnormal places," or difficult seams, and probably no one working day has passed over in the British coal fields, for generations without such mutual decisions being arrived at to enable work to proceed.

Recently, partly owing to more perfect combination on both sides, the difficulties of arriving at settlements have been greater than formerly, but a chief reason of such difficulties is the decision given in law courts against the claims of the men when they have endeavored to secure rates in accordance with past custom.

To illustrate, the case of the South Wales colliers may be given. Until recently, the colliers working upon the



DISCUSSING THE SITUATION OVER A LITTLE 'ALF AND 'ALF.

normal price list or tonnage rate, but being in a difficult or abnormal place, would be allowed by the manager, such extra rate as would bring his wages up to the average amount; and usually on cases being brought to court by miners, the court awarded in their favor to secure for them the average wage, but a few years ago a certain Judge Bryn Roberts, decided, that all such extra allowances made by owners were in "the nature of a gratuity or charity," and that the miner could claim nothing beyond what the price list declared, and such decisions played into the hands of the owners in such fashion that the number of instances where miners could not get anything approaching an average wage increased greatly and consequently dissatisfaction grew and showed itself in various ways.

This was the cause of the Cambrian combine miners' strike a year ago, and of fifty or more disputes in the various coal fields.

The wages of the collieries have varied from five shillings a day to thirteen shillings, with an average of about seven shillings and six pence a day, but that some received less than five shillings is quite

certain, and so numerous were the complaints of those already affected that at the conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, held at Newcastle in October, 1909, the following resolution was carried:

"That the Annual Conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain believes that the time has come when a special effort should be made to extend and raise the present minimum to at least eight shillings a day, and remits to the executive committee to devise the best means of raising the present minimum to that extent."

It was something to get this resolution so far, and the miners who were in earnest found it was an exceedingly difficult matter to get the miners officials to take definite action to put the resolution into practice, but the eleven months strike of the twelve thousand men of the Cambrian Combine forced matters to a head.

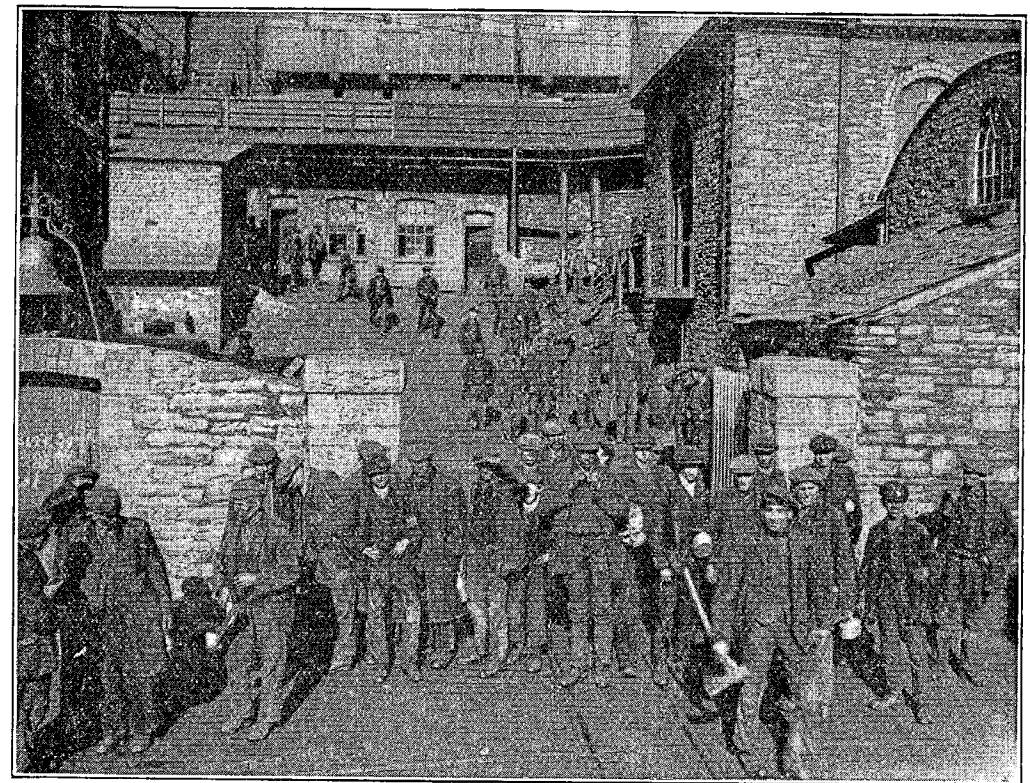
And now it is necessary to deal with the mentality and environment of the miners' "leaders" and of the rank and file. In the first place fully seventy per cent of the one million men in and about

the mines were organized; and practically all of them believers in political and parliamentary action, having returned a number of their "leaders" to the House of Commons. These "leaders" are part of the political labor party; and orthodox believers in the state as the all powerful institution, and therefore favoring the nationalization of the mines, but the miners themselves, and the "leaders," to their credit, have never been favorable to state arbitration in matters of wages or working conditions, and when at length it was decided to try and get a minimum wage through, it was on industrial organization and direct negotiation that they relied to achieve the end in view. But neither leaders nor rank and file (apart from a small but virile minority), had any real grasp of the true principles of industrial solidarity and of the right method of conducting such a fight against such a well organized and wealthy body of opponents as the organized mine owners.

It is true the various miners' associa-

tions were connected with the Miners' Federation, and that they unitedly agreed upon common action, and to this extent they were able to resort to solidarity, in the mining industry, but they made no effort at all to obtain the backing of other industries on the basis of solidarity. Not only did they not ask for the help of others, but when the National Executive of the Transport Workers' Federation carried a resolution of sympathy and informed them of their readiness to help, even to making of common cause if need be, the miners' leaders simply replied that "so far they did not feel the necessity for help."

The miners had intimated to the world for some four months before action was taken by them, that they intended taking such action, and so the capitalists throughout the county obtained stocks of coals, and then, when the notices of the miners expired on the 29th of February, they met in conference for a fortnight, but made absolutely no progress at all. Then



FILING OUT AFTER BEING PAID OFF.

instead of asking for the backing of the Transport Workers, they left the matter in the hands of the government with Prime Minister Asquith, meeting first the owners and then the men, but never getting anything done or causing the stubborn section of owners to alter their position in the least, and the third week of the strike passed over and by this time a million of other workers were thrown out of work as a consequence of the strike.

Then the government declared they would introduce a minimum wage bill unless owners and miners settled their differences. These did not settle their dif-

and the capitalist class far more in three days than the miners alone have done in more than four weeks. The miners have fought on lines and by methods that do not seriously hurt the opponents, and fights that don't hurt are not real fights at all.

I must make it clear that a growing section of the rank and file are possessed of precisely the right spirit, and are quite clear headed as to how to proceed; but the general body do not as yet appreciate the right methods and the present day leaders (80 per cent of them), are of the "rest the thankful order," and whilst en-



THE PIT BOYS RATHER LIKED THE PROSPECT OF A HOLIDAY.

ferences and a minimum wage bill declaring in favor of the principle of a minimum wage, but not fixing a minimum was passed, and the end of the fourth week of the strike is reached, and at the time of writing, Monday, April 1st, we are in the fifth week, but no settlement has yet been reached. The reason is that the miners' leaders are obsessed with the bourgeois notion of constitutional action, and are devoid of the real fighting spirit that would enable them to understand how to bring pressure in the right quarters against those who resisted them. The backing of the miners by the Transport workers would have hit the owners

gaged in a serious class struggle, are amenable to the conventional notions, of "regard for public convenience" and high notions of "citizenship."

But these are passing comparatively quickly too, and this fight was necessary to enable the light to enter.

It has been a remarkable struggle in several respects:

First, It is the first time in British history when real solidarity characterized the whole of the workers in the industry.

Second, Although the leaders have been woefully lacking in the mental conception of centering their forces where the enemy would have been found vulnerable by the



WELSH MINERS WAITING AT PIT TO GO ON LAST SHIFT.

addition to their forces of that solidarity that might have been obtained from other industries, still the leaders have at least exhibited a doggedly unyielding attitude and nothing in the nature of panic has characterized any of them.

Third, They have lost nothing, and have gained something, the declaration by Parliament that a minimum wage must be paid, and that district boards must be set up to fix the minimum for the districts, is no great gain, but at least they have lost nothing, and those younger men, are in the ascendancy who have already made their influence felt and who are assiduously carrying on a systematic educational campaign. These young men, themselves working as miners, have recently issued a pamphlet entitled, "The Miners' Next Step," an exceedingly well written and well thought out product it is, but so far it has received little but contemptuous references by the older and the official school. The pamphlet effectively criticises the Miners' Federation, and in excellent temper and style sets forth other proposals, calculated ere long to be in the main accepted by the general body. For immediate steps it is proposed, "That a minimum wage of eight shillings a day, for all workmen employed in or about the mines, constitute a demand to be striven for nationally at once.

"That subject to the foregoing having been obtained, we demand and use our power to obtain a seven-hour day."

By today's cables, we learn that nine hundred thousand coal miners of the United States are on strike, in the name of those for whom I can speak I send hearty greetings and encouragements. Each successive fight enables us to learn how to fight better and the time is not far off when we shall be able to exhibit solidarity—not in one industry only nor in one country only, but in all industries in all countries. So may it be.

This week the votes of the British miners are being taken on the subject of whether they shall return to work and await the award of the district boards to fix the minimum for each district, which decision is to be made retrospective from the time of the passing of the minimum wage act, and some of the counties have given decided majorities against returning till they know exactly what the wages are to be; but the strike is virtually over and 20,000 men are now at work, but this is not by any means an indication of demoralization, as one-half of these men are in Warwickshire, where they had secured a satisfactory minimum before the strike commenced, but all of whom made common cause for the sake of solidarity and stood quite firm until the Federation officials declared in favor of work being resumed.

It is noteworthy that some of these officials are already declaring in favor of different tactics, thus Wm. Staker, one

of the foremost amongst miners' officials in Northumberland, states that, "if ever again the miners contemplated a national stoppage, they would strike swiftly and suddenly." This lesson ought to have been learned long ago, but better late than never.

All this coupled with the persistent advocacy of "Syndicalism" is rapidly focusing attention on the need for perfected industrial organization. In two months' time, we may expect the demands of the British Railway men to be up for consideration, and if their case be handled discreetly it is likely that very substantial

improvements in the matter of working hours and conditions will be obtained.

For myself, I am now under arrest, but am out on bail to appear at the Manchester Assizes on May 6th, charged with "inciting the military to mutiny," etc.

The cause is moving rapidly, the old time lethargy is giving place to a gloriously healthy activity, at last it is really the fact that the crusade for the abolition of poverty by securing industrial emancipation is inspiring millions; not all by any means, clear minded, but instinctively correct, and exhibiting a superb courage that forebodes complete success.

When the Kiddies Came Home

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

After two months' vacation in their temporary homes in New York, Philadelphia, Barre, Vt., and Manchester, N. H., the children of the Lawrence strikers, who had been involved for ten weeks in an industrial war with the master class of the woollen and cotton industries, returned to receive the greatest reception ever held at Lawrence. Most of the children were too young to appreciate what the wonderful demonstration of solidarity meant or the reason of their departure and their return under such changed circumstances. There were among their number, however, some who were strikers themselves and knew their home-leaving was to lessen the burden of their parents. The strikers understood it was not a matter of sentiment, but that this rigorous action was adopted as a war measure.

It was for the purpose of calling the attention of the world to the conditions existing at Lawrence, to the conditions of the thousands of children in the textile industry of the New England states that were slowly starving to death because their parents were unable to make a living wage, likewise for the purpose of relieving the Strike Committee of the burden incident to caring for so many little ones and to remove their emaciated and wan faces from

the vision of their parents who were on strike.

Although this measure had never been adopted before in America, its significance was soon realized and the spirit of class consciousness became aroused in the working class everywhere. The children found excellent homes and the letters they wrote back to their parents were a comfort and an inspiration. At the same time it enabled those who cared for the children to take an active part in the struggle that was on at Lawrence. Ordinarily they would have contributed their quota to the strike fund, but in caring for the little ones of the striking textile workers, they not only gave many times what their contributions would have amounted to, but they took a big part in the real battle.

The strikers of Lawrence hold a feeling of deepest appreciation for those who have cared for their children. They know that their little ones were treated better than they could have been at home. From all reports, they were received as little guests, and when the time came for them to leave their "Strike Parents" there was many a tug at their little heartstrings. They had learned to love their new homes. They left Lawrence physically destitute, often ill-clad and

without underclothes and wearing garments made of shoddy.

These were the children of parents who weave the cotton, linen and woollen fabric that helps to clothe the world.

They went to other cities to be clothed and returned to their homes well dressed, with roses in their cheeks and laden with toys and other gifts.

Their arrival was made the occasion of a great demonstration in celebration of the millworkers' notable industrial victory. More than 40,000 people thronged the streets, over half of them taking part in the monster parade.

While the mass of workers were waiting for the arrival of the train, the Syrians, headed by their drum corps, marched around the county jail playing their inspiring Oriental music and carrying to the cells of Ettore and Giovannitti the glad tidings of the coming children.

Long before the special train with the children arrived from Boston, the region in the vicinity was black with people, while along the side streets leading into Broadway, the different divisions of the Industrial Workers of the World were drawn up in line according to nationality, there being fourteen divisions in all. The Italians and Syrians were accorded the place of honor. The heads of their divisions were made prominent by the beautiful floral decorations, the Italians carrying a massive piece on a litter held up by four men. It was these two nationalities that furnished the martyrs for the strike, Anna Lapizzio, the Italian woman who was killed in a fusillade of bullets fired by policemen, and John Rami, the sixteen-year-old Syrian boy who was stabbed in the back with a bayonet in the hands of a militiaman. His lung was pierced and he died shortly after being taken to the hospital. The floral pieces were in remembrance of the dead.

At the railroad station the jam was terrific and when the train rolled into the station at 5 o'clock there was such a rush to see the little ones that the arrangements of the reception committee were somewhat disjointed, and instead of passing through the parallel lines of the Strike Committee of the I. W. W. on through the station, the

children were swept around the upper end of the depot, where they were put aboard seven big picnic wagons. The sides of the barges were covered with appropriate inscriptions, among the most significant being:

"Open the jail doors or we'll close the mill gates."

"Though you are in prison, our hearts are with you."

"We will remember our exile."

"Stone walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage."

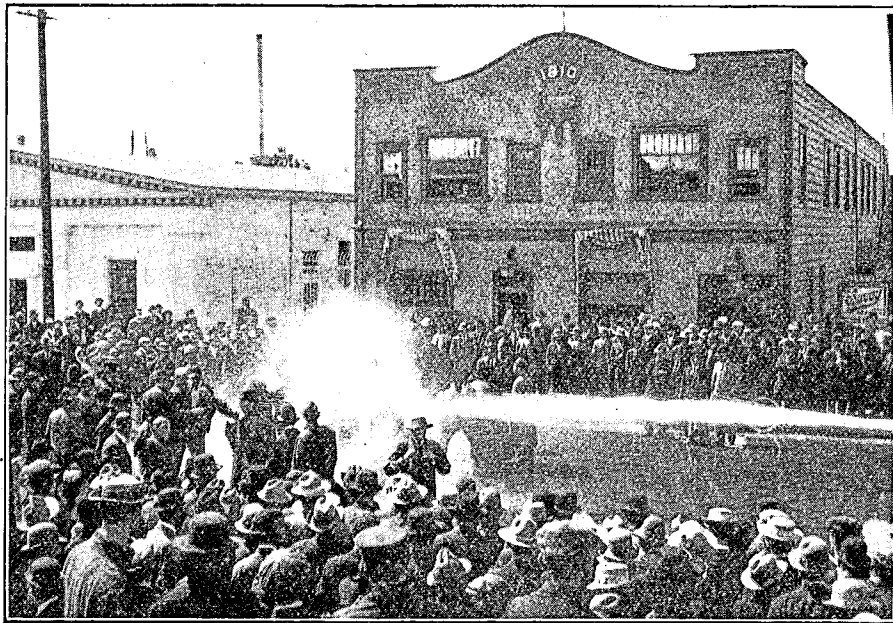
The parents of the returning youngsters were at the station, but had little opportunity to greet their children in the crowd there. But they were soon driven over the route of the parade, shouting and laughing and enjoying the universal jubilation.

The tumultuous cheering that greeted them along the line of march was taken up and carried along for miles of the parade. Up Broadway and along Park street, down Hampshire to the jail, where Joseph J. Ettore and Artruro Giovannitti are confined, the marchers wended their way, keeping step to the music furnished by six bands and drum corps. At the jail every voice rang out with the "Marseillaise" and the "Internationale," which was the battle song of the workers all during the strike. In the jail vicinity every head was uncovered as they sang the last verse of the "Red Flag":

With heads uncovered swear we all
To bear it onward till we fall;
Come dungeon dark or gallows grim,
This song shall be our parting hymn.

Then raise the scarlet standard high!
Within its shade we'll live and die.
Tho' cowards flinch and traitors sneer,
We'll keep the red flag flying here.

On we marched around the Common, down to Essex street, the principal thoroughfare, and thence to Franco-Belgian Hall, where the children were received in the loving embraces of their parents.



DROWNING FREE SPEECH BY HITTING A WOMAN WITH A STREAM FROM A FIRE NOZZLE.

The Shame of San Diego

BY

HARTWELL S. SHIPPY

SPAT upon, cursed, reviled; the victims of lying calumny and vile vituperation; the recipients of farcical indignities on the part of the legal lackeys of an organized oligarchy; beaten, kicked, clubbed, starved by brass-bound blue-coated Cossacks and vigilantes, the scorned and despised members of the I. W. W. hold San Diego-on-the-bay in their grasp.

Laughing, only passively resistant, singing their songs of solidarity, these homeless, propertyless, countryless "hoboes," incarcerated in the iron-bound bastiles of smiling San Diego, are clamoring not for physical comforts or luxuries, but for mental food, the works of Marx, Spencer, Renan, Rousseau and Dietzgen.

Even without definite knowledge of the rhythmic tread of the thousands marching to their rescue, these modern Crusaders, buoyed up by their indomitable idealism, secure in the virtue of their

cause, have that great faith in the loyalty of their kind to feel, if they cannot know, that theirs will be the victory.

Rivaling the Coeur d'Alene and Colorado, the San Diego fight for free speech and free press will enter the pages of revolutionary history as a stupendous example of red-blooded men heroically enduring every conceivable form of "Man's fect self-control in the face of fiendishly inhumanity to man" and preserving per-brutal persecution.

San Diego may congratulate herself on being the instrument by which two socially valuable bits of education have been given to the world. First the world has come to know the extremes to which an overbearing despotism will go in its efforts to crush labor; and second, it is being demonstrated that, under certain conditions, revolutionary and conservative branches of the labor movement will line up together solidly and unitedly.

For, know ye, the battle is not primarily one fought for a short hundred yards of city street, nor yet for free speech and press alone. It is, at bottom, a struggle on the part of labor for the privilege of organizing and educating its kind to the end that the products of labor shall be rendered unto labor, and that better living conditions for the toilers shall make of this modern miasma of human misery a more fit state for human beings to occupy.

What precipitated this struggle in the non-commercial city nestling on the hills above a beautiful bay with the blue mountains rising in the distance?

California will, barring intervening preventatives, hold two great fairs in 1915, one at San Francisco and one at San Diego. A great amount of labor will be employed in instituting and conducting these fairs. Organized labor, as represented by the A. F. of L., insists on having a voice in determining the rate of wages it will receive and the conditions under which it will work. Organized capital, dominated by the M. and M., declares that IT shall be the sole arbiter in reference to these questions. Organized capital insists that the open shop shall prevail in California; while organized labor realizes that the closed shop is its life-principle. Knowing that it cannot prevail against the unions when there are no idle men to take their places, the M. and M., controlling the press of the country as it does, has systematically published misinformation throughout the country to the effect that jobs are plentiful in California—to the end that jobless men may flood the labor market of the coast and imperil the power of the unions.

The chief function of the Industrial workers of the World on the coast has been, and is, an education of the unemployed to an understanding of the interests of labor that prevents the out-of-works from acting in the selfish and cowardly role of strike-breaker or scab. The M. and M. recognizes this menace to their plans and strikes at the vitals of this education by an attempted suppression of free speech and press, these forms of freedom being imperative to the educators of the floating population.

Not only as preventers of scabbery is the I. W. W. feared, but as a fore-runner of that grim spectre that haunts Europe—revolutionary industrial unionism. An editorial in the San Diego Sun warns the natives that the Syndicalism of France and the industrialism that now holds England in its powerful clutch is rapidly taking form in America.

There are, among the most powerful of the local capitalists, some who state positively that the present rule of the vigilantes is a deliberate and direct result of a meeting of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association held in the U. S. Grant Hotel of this city, presided over by the infamously notorious Harrison Grey Otis. The action taken at this meeting was the beginning of a campaign against labor on the coast and particularly against the I. W. W. as the greatest menace against obtaining a scab-hearted army of unemployed.

That this program is not alone a local affair is proven by the systematic cooperation of the official lackeys of the M. and M. throughout the state. The police of Los Angeles and others points are exerting their power to prevent the marching men from arriving at San Diego. And that it is an attack on ALL forms of labor is evidenced by the arresting, beating and deporting of trades-unionists, Socialists and sympathizers, as well as members of the I. W. W.

The labor movement has good cause to be grateful to the M. and M. and local officialdom. They have accomplished that which the labor movement itself seemed unable to effect—namely a welding together into a solid, working unit, the heretofore widely different factions of labor; and the educating of all isms and osophies to an understanding that "an injury to one is an injury to all," and that all must unite to fight the common enemy.

Following close upon that memorable conference in the Grant Hotel, the city council, acting upon a petition of eighty-five members of the M. and M., and in opposition to a counter-petition of three hundred other citizens and tax-payers, passed an ordinance creating a "restricted district," and forbidding street speaking



Left to Right—Ewald Balz, one of the newsboys, Hartwill S. Shippey, and Stanley Gue, member Socialist Party and I. W. W.

therein. The enforcement of this ordinance excluded the street speakers from that part of the city where they could get and hold an audience of workingmen and men out of work.

The evening of February 8, the ordinance went into effect and forty-three members of the I. W. W., Socialists, trades-unionists and sympathizers were pulled from the historic soap-box—the first speaker being a member of the A. F. of L. Two women, Mrs. Laura Emerson, wife of a jeweler and a forceful speaker for the I. W. W.; Miss Juanita McKamey, 18 years of age and a very enthusiastic member of that organization; Kasper Bauer, Wood Hubbard, prominent and red-blooded members of the socialist party; Charles Grant, a veteran of every free speech fight on the coast, and other members of the I. W. W. and Socialist party composed the party which spent this first night in the city bastille. Forty were locked in the “drunk” cell with no blankets to make the concrete floor more comfortable.

For the following few days several men and women were arrested nightly until 216 were free speech prisoners, each demanding separate jury trials. In the last six weeks, three cases have been tried, and two convicted and sentenced to thirty

days, over 100 veniremen being examined in each of these cases.

From the first the press, including the Scripps sheet, the Sun, supposedly the “friend” of labor, have printed everything but the truth; and fake dynamite scares were only relieved in their monotony by incitation to violence.

The local jails being crowded to capacity and the official physician fearing an epidemic, seventy prisoners were deported to other county jails, where they are at the present writing.

During this time, J. Edward Morgan, one of the most powerful speakers in the revolutionary movement, was filling the halls to overflowing and speaking for the free speech league outside the restricted district. The collections on these occasions furnished ample funds to carry on the fight, so a “move on” ordinance was passed, the same serving as an anti-picketing ordinance in Los Angeles and elsewhere. To this ordinance the trades unionists are bitterly opposed, as it will undoubtedly be used against them when on strike.

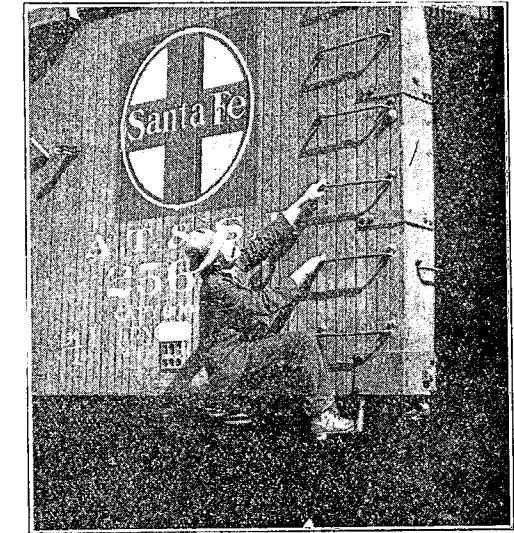
Up to and preceding March 14, the fight was the conventional free speech fight; but on that date (Sunday) the police took the initiative and ceased booking their prisoners, though the original captives who are charged with criminal conspiracy and jail breaking are still reposing behind the bars. (The “jail breaking” consisted of supposed smashing of jail windows by prisoners who were denied food and water and were compelled to drink from the toilet.) At a meeting held in front of the city jail, outside of the proscribed district, the fire department was called upon and three fire engines played powerful streams of water upon the speakers, knocking down Mrs. Emerson, Miss McKamey, Mrs. Wightman, a religious speaker, but a courageous and high-minded woman, Miss Ruth Wightman, 44 years of age, and overturning a baby carriage, the baby being swept into the gutter by the heavy stream of water.

Mrs. Ray Holden, an innocent bystander, was clubbed over the abdomen by a guardian of the “peace,” being unconscious for two hours following. When her husband called at the police station to investigate, he was locked up and a

charge of sending in false fire-alarms was preferred against him.

Egged on by the violent and incendiary press, the local real estate dealers and other capitalists and members of the M. and M. formed themselves into vigilance committees and mob law was instituted. With the connivance and open aid of the police, bands of semi-disguised ruffians, appeared nightly at the police station, from whence, at the dead of night automobile loads of prisoners, industrial unionists, trades unionists in good standing, Socialists, and some with no affiliation, were carried from twenty to thirty miles into the hills and there beaten, clubbed, kicked while helpless on the ground and left with bloody heads and bruised bodies and with threats of death should they return. But return they did, to make affidavits of their persecutions.

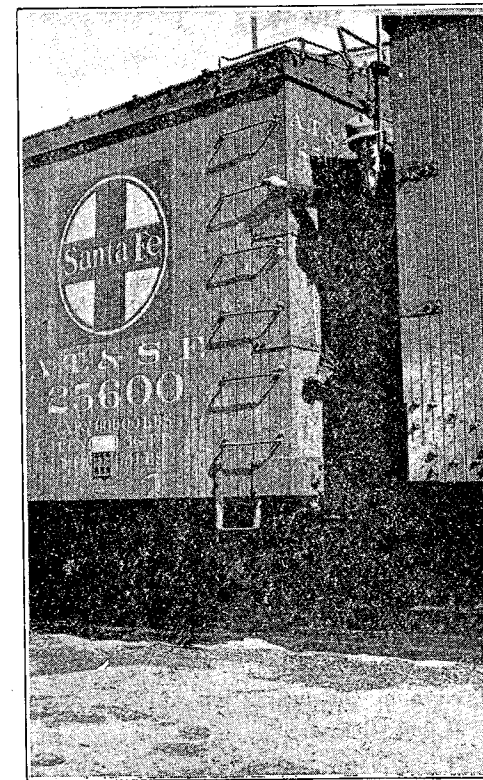
March 28 died Michael Hoey, the first martyr of the San Diego battle. An old man, was Michael, but in perfect health, having walked 140 miles to the seat of war from Imperial Valley in the space



“Sulpher Smoke,” veteran of industrial wars, “grabbing a rattler” for San Diego.

of 5½ days. Kicked in the stomach and groin by a policeman, Hoey complained continually of pain in the swelling on his side but was laughed at by the official physician, Dr. Magee, until Hoey was removed from the jail and taken to Agnew Hospital by the Free Speech League, remaining there until his death. He was cared for by Dr. Leon De Ville, a Socialist, and a devoted soldier of the revolution.

The following Saturday, March 29, sorrowing fellow-battlers of Michael Hoey's gathered on a vacant lot where, under the pitying smile of sunny California's blue sky, they paid their last respects to the fallen hero of labor's struggle. Waving sadly over his bier was the red flag, the emblem of brotherhood for which Michael Hoey had offered up his life. Not an insignia of violence and hatred, as conceived in the maggot-eaten brains of hired murderers and prostituted “journalists,” but a token of peace and love. And then—ah, well is this article entitled “The Shame of San Diego”—then Harvey Sheppard, a minion of armed and brutal violence, invaded the sanctity of their victim's funeral and wrested the banner of brotherhood from the hands of the unresisting workingman who bore it, and placed the bearer under arrest! As I write all this I am seized with a feeling



“Sulpher Smoke” ready for the start.

that the readers will deem that my story is an exaggeration. But the official organ of the trades-unionists, the Labor Leader, and the Weekly Herald, an independent, profit-making sheet, will fully verify my tale.

Vincent St. John, secretary-treasurer of the I. W. W., has published a reward of five thousand dollars for the conviction of those who were the cause of Hoey's death.

While writing this article in Fred Moore's office, at 10:30 p. m., came a voice over the telephone:

"For God's sake come to 1222 A street! Come at once!"

We recognized the voice of Bert Laffin, erstwhile lieutenant under General Mosby of the Mexican insurrecto army, and at present employed by the San Diego Herald.

Attorney Moore, Wood Hubbard, who happened to be in the office, and the writer started down the seven flights of

stairs and on the run for the address. As we approached the house, we were halted by a policeman who held us up, searched us, and escorted us to the police station, where we learned that the vigilantes had kidnapped A. R. Sauer, editor of the *Herald*, and had carried him from his home out into the night, a pistol shot being fired as he was forced into the automobile. The *Herald*, though in no sense a revolutionary organ, being an admirer of Roosevelt and Madero, has yet stood staunchly against the fiendish brutality of the police and has lauded the struggles of the free speech army. Sauer is a fine type of courageous manhood, who, though he lost nearly every line of his advertising, stood forth clear and clean for Man against the M. and M. He is sixty-five years old, and his loyal and loving wife and daughters are weeping in their home for the horrible fate that may be the portion of their husband and father. There is positive identifica-

MOTION BY COMRADE HAYWOOD

The following motion has been submitted by William D. Haywood to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, of which he is a member. The Committee is voting on it as the May Review goes to press: "For several months the workers of San Diego, Cal., have been carrying on a fight to re-establish the right of free speech which has been denied by the authorities of that city. The situation has become so desperate, it is time that all people who love liberty should take part in helping the workers of San Diego who are fighting and suffering for our cause. In this struggle the members of the Socialist Party, the Industrial Workers of the World, and the American Federation of Labor, are involved. Several hundred people, both men and women, have been arrested, and at the present time four county jails are filled to overflowing with those who have been willing to sacrifice all to maintain our inalienable rights. Hundreds have been deported, some have been cruelly clubbed, and even murders have been committed by the so-called authorities and prominent citizens of San Diego. The story is graphically told in a letter that I append, written by one who was there.

"In view of the conditions existing at San Diego, I submit the following motion: That the Socialist Party of America render all possible aid, morally and financially, and that such necessary steps be taken as will bring about a Congressional investigation of the usurpation of the constitutional rights of the working people of San Diego."

tion, however, of the automobile and its owner and driver, and Sheriff Jennings, who is decidedly favorable to our side, is out in the night with a posse, determined to bring to punishment the perpetrators of this dastardly deed.

The Building Trades Council and Federated Trades and Labor Council (A. F. of L.) of San Diego, Los Angeles and Oakland, and the Building Trades Council of San Francisco, have officially put themselves on record as endorsing the battle being fought at San Diego. Today, speaking to a special correspondent of the San Francisco *Bulletin*, sent here to report the struggle, a prominent official of the A. F. of L. said:

"It looks as though a general strike is the only remedy."

Olaf A. Tveitmoe denounced the outrages perpetrated upon union men, and proposed a resolution demanding that Governor Johnson take steps toward preventing the vigilantes from further sacrificing human life, which was adopted by

the meeting. For months, Tveitmoe has planned to parade a monster army of fifty thousand Frisco unemployed for the sake of eastern publicity, and to prove that jobs are NOT plentiful in California. This army is now being recruited and will be marched to San Diego, unless martial law is instituted, in which case the fight is won.

Meanwhile the workers are shaking the sleep of San Diego, while, in all probability, aided and encouraged by the National officers of the I. W. W. and the trades unions of the coast, at least 25,000 men are now wending their way to southern California and to San Diego. From an apparently insignificant attempt of a small city of 50,000 inhabitants to strangle free speech the struggle is becoming wider in its scope. Tramping thousands are on their way to San Diego and to a victory that shall give a new lesson to the coast of the undying loyalty and the ever-growing solidarity of labor.

A Few Don'ts BY GUY McCLUNG

DON'T jump into the Socialist movement merely because you have read somewhere that "the ethics of Christianity and Socialism are identical." Socialism has nothing to do with either Christianity or ethics. It is an economic movement and rests on a material basis.

Don't jump into the Socialist movement merely because you have a dream of the "Brotherhood of Man." Advocates of Socialism often quarrel as to how they are going to get it. They unite into an organization because they must stick together in order to win anything, not because they love each other.

Don't jump into the Socialist movement merely because you have seen suffering and misery about you and you want to help relieve it. Socialism is not humanitarianism. Instead of weeping over a poor workingman you sometimes get better results by telling him he's a bonehead.

Don't jump into the Socialist movement merely because you are appalled by the ignorance and sordidness of the world. Socialism is not an "uplift" affair

and to teach a man how to love flowers doesn't fill his belly.

Don't jump into the Socialist movement merely because you are disgusted with craft and corruption. Socialism is not a political reform. The sweetest-smelling government in the world would never raise wages nor reduce hours a particle.

Don't jump into the Socialist movement merely because you are tired of everything and want novelty. Socialism is not a side-show.

Don't jump into the Socialist movement merely because you want to help lead the working class into the promised land. What we need is less leadership and more service.

Don't jump into the Socialist movement merely because you've got some theories to air. We've got enough already.

Don't jump into the Socialist movement at all unless you mean business and are willing to fight. Socialism is for those who have nothing to lose but their chains. If you've got something to lose and are kind of doubtful about the proposition, here is our advice: STAY OUT.

The Red Sweater

BY

EDMOND McKENNA

JOE MALONE keeps a barber shop in a basement in Hellen street, near the East River. Joe has an ample and fluent nature, a club foot, the grace of God, a fattish wife and five children, and a fine pitch of bravura abandon. He is a good barber, possessing the right touch, technique, expression, accent, interpretation and temperament. For the enlightenment of those who walk in darkness and who are apt to deem barbering a menial occupation like writing for the papers, perhaps it would be well to explain the terms.

By touch is meant the art of eliciting tone from the face. It is popularly supposed to be inborn, but this is true only of emotional touch. A fine touch, like any other artistic essential, is gained only by years of application. Joe's wonderful touch came through blood and tears.

Technique implies a faultless mastery of the mechanical difficulties of the razor, strop and brush with the least perceptible difficulty, and of the intimate relation between them and the jaw-bone of the shaver, so as to display a sympathetic revelation of the shaver's soul. It enables one to apply the appropriate degree of strength and gradations of strength.

Accent is a special emphasis placed on a particular face. It is the backbone of the shaving art and might be defined as the ability to cut the right face to the right depth at the right time with the right touch.

Expression is literally the expression of the emotional feelings. With the right power, ravishing effects are produced by it. Its possibilities are only beginning to be understood.

Interpretation is the unspoken revelation of the shaver's thought. It is subjective or objective, depending upon whether the barber's emotions or intelligence is the stronger. When emotion holds sway, the interpretation is subjective. Joe was emotional and in great moments, he could treat a face as if he

himself had just made it and could easily make another if he happened to spoil it.

Temperament is that subtle, evanescent something that emanates from a barber. Joe was possessed by it.

Reginald O'Carroll O'Roarke was one of Joe's once-a-week customers for shaving only. Reginald's hair was scenery. It had black mountain peaks in it and gloomy forests and rippled down his shoulders in jetty cascades. On Saturday his face was a little black lawn. He was over six feet tall, had a scholastic droop, bombastic eyes and a monastic mouth. He was educated to carry his three-story name. His principal studies were the poets and the lower classes, between which bodies of humanity, guided by his erudition, he was able to discern a subtle distinction.

Besides these qualities and accomplishments, there was inlaid in the culture of Reginald, rather than in his nature, a fine mosaic of kindness like that acquired by ancient epitaph writers whose profession did not permit them the use of a harsh word.

Shortly after Joe's place opened for business Saturday morning, Reginald let himself down the five steps that led to the basement, and crumpling himself at the knees and waist that he might reach the knob easily, opened the door and stooped through it.

The barber, who was his own janitor, had already swept the shop, arranged the two chairs and fed the canary hanging in its wicker cage in a window near the ceiling. The stove, nicely polished, was warming up with its first fire of the day. The two brass spittoons in their circles of sawdust were as yet unprofaned. A red sweater was hanging conspicuously on a hook by the door. Pinned to the sweater was a card with the legend:

"Gents sweater to be raffled for the benefit of a Lady. 10 cents a chance. Take one and try your luck."

When Joe saw his customer enter the

shop, he laid aside the morning paper, frowned, for the wind had been blowing off the river for two days and temperament was upon him rampant, its paw upon his breast. He rubbed his round foot on the floor and arose from his seat. After a blithe and gruff good-morning were exchanged between the two, Joe hobbled over to his place beside the chair, and, shoving up his shirt-sleeves, prepared to practice the technique of his art. Reginald, taking off his collar with classic leisureliness, was meanwhile reading the sign on the red sweater.

"Notice the sweater?" said Joe, for Joe had conquered that uncouth connivance to hide shame that others of the metropolis have called indifference.

"I notice," said the other severely, "that I am invited to try my luck for the benefit of a lady. Benefit of a lady, eh?" and he laughed a big, confident, explosive laugh that he had learned from a man who gives away shoes at election time.

"Great piece of work, that," said Joe, limping over and taking the sweater down from the hook and holding it up admiringly between him and the light. "Great piece of work, that. The man as gets that article gets a bargain. Won't feel no cold this winter, he won't!"

Reginald declined to comment on the greatness of the work or its use as a protection against cold, but went and sat down in the chair and tilted back his head and closed his eyes as if the subject wearied him.

"When you know some of the history of that sweater," said Joe, a little temperamentally, as he poised a brush full of soap above Reginald's severe monastic mouth, "It'll be different with you—you'll be interested."

The man in the chair sighed and when the barber had worked around to his ear and he could open his mouth with safety, he quoted slowly: "These words are like razors to my wounded heart."

"What? Bless me soul, I haven't touched a razor yet."

"I am quoting from Shakespeare," said the scholar. "He must have encountered such a man as you for he forswore shaving in his early youth and his classic features are disfigured by a beard."

"Never been in here, sir, néver! And, besides, I treats my customers all alike."

There was a period of silence in which the barber examined his razor edge as a virtuoso might examine the E string.

He flourished the blade grandiosely and laid it on the man's cheek, taking a swift stroke from the ear to the chin. When he assured himself that his touch and accent were unimpaired, he volunteered "Sweaters is great for the chest," but the assertion drew no observation from Reginald.

"Ever hear, sir, of a sweater as was knit by feel?" he persisted.

"No, I have never heard of such an achievement."

"Well, that sweater was knit by feel, and what I can't understand is how it was knit by feel and not a hole in it, and a good shape, too—it gets by me!"

"The lady who performed the work must have had an exquisite touch," ventured Reginald, thinking of Joe's wonderful acquirement and permitting himself to be interested by the opportunity to indulge in a little humor at the barber's expense.

"Sometimes such artistic requisites persist in families. Is the lady related to you?"

"No," said Joe, unaffected by the sally. "The wife took her in after the last child was born. Delicate little thing—it is lots of trouble—must have someone to mind it all the time. So the wife hears about the lady who had been a faithful worker for so long, and what ain't much good any more, except, maybe, for minding kids, and the like, and takes her in. Queer sort, she is, but no harm in her. Used to sit all day and talk to herself and the kid what couldn't know what she was a-sayin' about education an' the like. Then one day, as the cold is coming on, she tells the wife she's goin' to knit a sweater, and the wife, more to please her than anything, gets the things for her and falls to, and with the kid in her lap, knits away. But how she does it by feel an' not a hole in it gets by me. Wouldn't a' believed if I hadn't seen her with my own eyes."

"Rather an unusual case of industry," said Reginald, and added somewhat drowsily, for Joe was developing expression at every stroke, "Industry is the sal-

vation of the poor. Unusual person, I should aver. What did she have to say about education?"

"Never rightly could understand, sir—just talked about it to herself an' the kid. Couldn't have much of it herself, she being a cook in one family for goin on forty years. An' then she ups and knits a sweater by feel, mind you. How she did it and not a hole in it is more'n I can understand."

"For forty years," mused the other. "Most remarkable case of fidelity, and should not go unrewarded. Where is the family for whom she worked so long?"

"Don't know, sir. Youngsters grew up and married, an' moved away. The old house was built over into a tenement for lodgers. Pretty rough, I call it, after forty year's service. Pretty well broke down she is, and when she finishes the sweater, I sees a chance to get her a little money by raffling it off among my customers. Besides, I take a pride in it myself, it being the only sweater ever I heard of that was knit by feel."

"I deprecate the idea of lottery or gambling," said Reginald, rising from the chair when the barber had done shaving him. "It is an insidious and evil practice, especially when carried on among the poor, whose example from the more affluent should be that of thrift and industry. However, as this is such a remarkable and worthy case, I shall purchase two tickets."

"Thank you, sir," said Joe, putting the two dimes in a tin box through a hole in the end of it, "And I have no doubt but what the lady would like to thank you herself. Most remarkable woman, sir, although she's all broke down now. You would like to see her, sir? What—yes?"

"Ho, Mary," he called to his wife, up the stairs that led from the shop to the kitchen. "Mary, a gentleman has bought two tickets for the sweater. Send the old lady down—the gentleman would like to see her."

There was a commotion in the room overhead and a shuffling of feet along the floor that made Joe a little impatient.

"You may have to wait a minute, sir,"

he said apologetically, "You see, the old lady's lame—bad knee and a sore on the leg—all done up like an old horse—worked forty years in one family and then she ups and knits a sweater by feel. How she did it gets by me."

After the lapse of a few minutes, the old woman appeared on the stairway guided by a little white-faced boy of seven or eight. When she had reached the last step, Joe limped over and helped her to the floor. Making a trumpet of his hands, he yelled into the old woman's ear "Gentleman just bought two tickets—wants to see you!" Turning to Reginald, who was standing in the corner near the stove, he said, "Deaf as a post, sir—done up proper."

The woman shuffled into the middle of the shop and stood staring with vacant eyes at the column of sunshine that leaned from the small window near the ceiling to the floor.

Her face was wrinkled and leathery and her cheeks blistered by many fires. Her sightless eyeballs looked like cloudy pearls stuck on chamois with crimson adhesive that showed around the edges.

The barber, whose impatience was getting the better of his pride in the woman's achievement, plucked her by the withered hand and shouted, "Not there, woman, not in the light—look, the gentleman's standing over here in the corner!" "Oh, but she's blind."

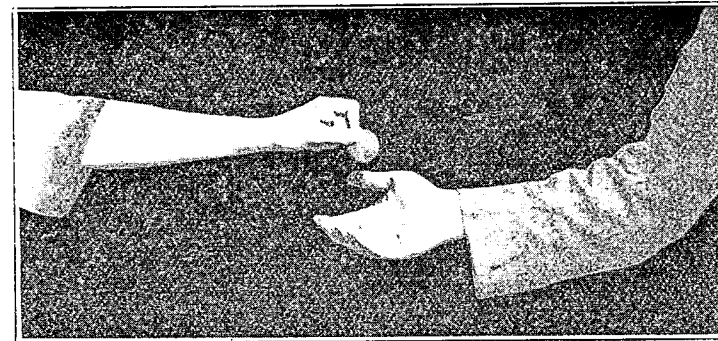
Reginald, with terrified look, gazed at the woman to whom he had gone in his college days for his tuition and spending money. As he looked he seemed to hear her oft-repeated injunction at parting.

"Good-by, me darlin'—an' whatever ye do, get the iddication. Your poor Aunt never got none of it. These old hands have always had to work hard—Thank God, ye'll never have to do it. Good-by, and come again at the end of the month."

Casting about for a suitable classic expression, the big man roared out in the agony of one who feels the knife dart between his ribs.

"It's Aunt O'Roarke! Well, I'll be damned!"

Women For Sale



BY

PHILLIPS RUSSELL

A SPEAKER was standing on a platform before a crowded house a few years ago. He was calling on all good citizens to come to the aid of their fair city which struggled in the clutches of a vicious and depraved gang of politicians. After working his audience up to a proper pitch, he suddenly held aloft a small brass check and cried:

"This is the price of a woman's virtue!"

This dramatic climax never failed to have the desired effect. Strong men sobbed and women became hysterical. Hoarse outcries, mingled with excited screams, drowned the orator's voice as he paced the platform and waved the brass check high in air.

The speaker was District Attorney Jerome of New York. He made his campaign against Tammany Hall in 1905 on the issue of that brass check and got into office on it. In vivid words he described scenes in the houses of prostitution belonging to Tammany districts and told how the inmates gave each customer a brass check which was duly paid for at the cashier's desk on the way out.

"Put me on the job," said Jerome, "and I will put a stop to such practices." And so he did. But he merely changed the method of bookkeeping, that was all. The business went on just the same. And then the system got Jerome and before he left office he was the joke of the metropolis.

But Jerome's exposure of the brass check business was most telling—for political purposes. It turned New York upside down. It wasn't the existence of prostitution, however, that shocked New York. It was the cold, businesslike basis on which it was conducted. That was what made the bourgeois mind recoil in horror. The bawdy house gang had done nothing worse than to conduct the business of prostitution according to modern, up-to-date business methods and put it on an organized, efficient and money-making basis, but New York's middle class wouldn't stand for the same methods in prostitution that in the grocery or restaurant business have their high approval. That was too orful, so the respectable citizens elected Jerome as a sign to the red-light crew that they must keep tab some other way than by ringing up the price of a woman on a cash register.

But that same brass check system flourishes today in Chicago's red light district and nobody makes a croak. That signifies either that Chicago is not squeamish or that it is a businesslike town, as you prefer to look at it.

In Chicago you can buy a woman just as you do a horse, or in the same fashion that masters bought their slaves years ago.

Picture to yourself a squat building whose stained glass entrance is illumi-

nated by brilliant arc lights and from which comes the bang, tinkle and screech of an automatic music machine. A man enters and finds himself in a circle of women, young and old, and dressed in all the colors of the rainbow. All smile mechanically and stand up for his inspection.

When the customer has made his selection he is led to a staircase, at the foot of which sits an enormous negro woman, so fat she can move only with difficulty. She receives "the price" from the man and hands the woman a brass check. Each woman's accumulation of checks is later counted and a "settlement" made.

In the "better class" houses the proprietor allows each inmate to keep half her earnings. In the cheaper places the women are paid a "straight salary" of, say, \$12 a week. The proprietor keeps all their earnings. In addition, the women are forced to buy all their clothing and other necessities from certain dealers at exorbitant prices, reminding us of the "company store" kept by big corporations.

In short, the business of prostitution has become thoroughly capitalized. The victims are exploited down to the last penny that can be wrung from them. But the bawdy house proprietor merely does what any respectable employer of labor does. He appropriates all the "earnings" of his women slaves and hands them back just enough to live on and maintain a good appearance, just as the respectable capitalist appropriates all the value produced by his men slaves and hands them back the fraction called wages which they must have in order to live and to keep in good health in order to heap up more profit.

Prostitution is not a creation of capitalism. It is much older than the capitalist system. The prostitute existed two thousand years ago and more. But the prostitute of those days had a great advantage over her modern sister. She at least could keep all she made from the sale of her body. She was like the old-time craftsman who owned his own tools and therefore could not be exploited.

But it has remained for modern capitalism to assemble women into large herds

where they may be exploited in the mass and a profit skimmed off their combined labor of shame. Our modern capitalists have made a commodity out of a woman's virtue just as they have made a commodity out of a man's talent, his power to labor, and everything else that can possibly be bought and sold. The capitalist of the bawdy house is no more vicious or hateful than the capitalist of the glue factory, of the flour mill, or the machine shop. Both belong to the same class, and the preacher, the teacher, the editor, the lawyer, who upholds and supports the business of the modern employer of labor also necessarily upholds the business of the keeper of the house of ill fame.

Modern prostitution has lagged behind other industries because of the bourgeois hypocrisy that obtains in all matters pertaining to sex.

But there are signs that the business is soon to be "developed" according to approved capitalist methods. Recent exposures of the white slave traffic show that there is a tendency to put it on an organized and international basis. Ere long a J. P. Morgan or a John D. Rockefeller of the underworld will spring up. A history of his life will show that he began life as a humble pimp or cadet and began his business career with only one woman to exploit. Then he got another, added a third, and so on, until he got a dozen with whom he founded a regular house. A picture of this small place will be printed in his autobiography, looking dingy and piffing in comparison with the great palaces he owns today.

His first brothel, conducted with close economy and attention to business, brought him a profit with which he was able to obtain another herd of women and start a second house. A third house followed, a fourth, a fifth, and soon he had quite a chain. He soon outgrew his competitors and bought them out. If they refused to sell he opened a house next to them and cut rates, or brought political pressure to bear that soon forced the other houses to the wall. Rivals that copied his methods then became dangerous. Ruinous competition followed. He saw the folly of that and went out to kill off his weaker competitors. Those who

couldn't be killed off were invited to a conference and there a merger was formed, embracing three hundred different bawdy houses in a score of different cities.

He now had a well-organized monopoly of prostitution in the United States. He employed an army of cadets to bring in fresh girl recruits. No woman who once got into a house of his ever got out. Conditions became so bad that the inmates finally tried to form a union. But the King smashed this attempt by force in some places; and in others by paying some of his women higher wages and by treating them better he induced them to spy on their fellow workers and thus kept them divided by quarrels.

Having become all-powerful in America, he next reached out to other countries, but there came in conflict with strong foreign interests. After fighting a while, they all came together and formed a World-wide Trust in Prostitution, with its stocks and bonds listed on the stock exchanges and bourses, and all the other capitalist trimmings.

This may sound like a pipe-dream, but Business is Business.

And finally, let us not be horrified at the cadet or the prostitute-herder. He has perhaps a dozen women "keeping" him. The "highly-respected" department store proprietor has a thousand.

The Price of Labor

BY

SAMUEL W. BALL

FOR more than an hour a group of men had been forming. They were gesticulating and talking loudly, but an expectant hush came over them as a man, walking rapidly, came from among the buildings that lined either side of the drive-way. He had a hard and unsympathetic face and he glanced searchingly over the group of three hundred applicants for a job. The eye of the seeker was practiced and determined and it was evident that he would not be influenced through sentiment to select any but the particular type of man he wanted.

Any morning at the gate of the Hammond Packing Company, Chicago, one may observe the above proceedings. One having authority, and exhibiting a consciousness of it, comes from the main building, walks rapidly to the "time-keepers" shanty, picks out a man from among five or six hundred, has the time-keeper give him a number and hurriedly leads the man away.

All sorts and conditions of men congregate at the packing house gate every week-day morning looking for that elusive job. They come from all parts of Europe and they speak a varied language. Among

them are Russians, Poles, Bohemians, English, French, Germans, Italians and Greeks; large men, small men, fat men, lean men and all ages from sixteen to sixty. At some time during a month every trade, craft or profession is represented by some one who has come here during a term of hard luck seeking a dollar at menial labor.

Here only the large and strong and healthy are ever selected. The weak, the small, the deformed and the anemic are rejected. There is no bickering about wages. The applicant asks no questions; when pay-day comes he accepts the wage that is given him. He may consider it small, but if he has worked here before he says nothing.

Perhaps he senses, while not fully understanding, that his labor is a commodity; that the power of his arm and the skill of his hand are bought and sold on the market like pig-iron, chewing gum or edibles. A publisher of bibles, when making a price on his product, considers the cost of paper, printing, binding and distribution. The cost of mining and smelting determines the price of pig-iron and the chewing gum manufacturer estimates

the cost of the raw material in determining the price of a penny stick of chewing gum.

With labor the process is the same. The raw material out of which labor-power is produced is food, clothing and shelter. In order for the workingman to renew his energy from day to day he must have these three things. Dead men do no work and therefore do not produce profits; so it follows that one who employs the worker must supply him with wages sufficient to buy food, clothing and shelter.

Labor, being a commodity, sells on the market for about what it costs to produce it. What a horse or a mule gets in the way of food is not determined by the amount of work he does, but by the necessity of keeping him alive.

In Oriental countries a workingman can live on a bowl of rice, eat with a stick and sleep in a knot-hole. His wages average perhaps twelve cents a day.

In England the average wage is about six dollars a week and we find that it costs approximately six dollars a week for a workingman to live in England.

If bread, meat and potatoes were to drop in price, wages would go down in consequence. Were clothing cheaper, wages would be lower. When house rent is reduced to ten cents a month, the wages of the workers will fall to a point where they will still not be able to save anything.

Where the cost of living is low, wages are low because wages are determined by what it costs to live. If a workingman happens to be getting two dollars a day when it only costs \$1.75 to live it will not be long until some fellow in greater need or with a lower standard of living will offer to do the same work for \$1.75 and will get the job.

In the western portion of the United States the cost of living is about twenty-five per cent higher than in the east and it is also true that in the west wages are about twenty-five per cent higher.

If for any reason the price of bread should soar to a dollar a loaf or house rent be increased to a thousand dollars a minute, wages would have to be raised to cover the increased cost of living, to keep the workers alive. With workers dead or

incapacitated, the owners would have no source of profit so they increase wages when compelled by necessity.

We see, therefore, that whether wages are high or low has nothing to do with which political party is in power or whether we have high tariffs or free trade. So long as there are men out of work, labor will be bought and sold on the market in the same way as tea-kettles, candy, or carpets. When a man buys any commodity he pays no more for it than he is compelled, whether he is buying labor at the Hammond Packing Company or buying the Hammond Packing Company's ham and leaf lard.

The principle is not altered because of the fact that skilled labor receives higher wages than unskilled. Skilled labor requires training and education and these form a part of the cost of living. In the case of the skilled laborer the employer must pay for as much education as is required for efficiency. Where the cost of living is two dollars a day, these laborers receive from three to ten dollars a day in accordance with the cost of their training or apprenticeship.

Under the wages system the worker is not regarded as a man. He is a commodity and his emotions, aspiration or feelings are not considered. The thing of prime importance is how much does it cost to live. If the day should ever come when the working people would learn to live on grass, their wages will be reduced accordingly, by the competition of workers for jobs.

The man that employs the worker is not concerned about your nationality, religion or politics. He cares nothing about your need, your aspirations, your hopes or your ideals. He wants his work done so that it will bring a profit to him. If a mule or a monkey or a machine would do it as well and as cheaply he would as readily employ them. Whether you are a human being or not is of small consequence. The buyer of labor at the gate of the Hammond Packing Company wants to know only one thing and that is, "Does the man appear large and strong enough to do a prodigious amount of work without growing tired?" If the man that happens to be fortunate enough to be selected, raises

any objection or complaints about the wages he is to receive the boss wastes no time in argument. He looks over the crowd of applicants again and selects one who is willing to work and ask no questions.

As long as the wages system maintains, just that long will men be bought and sold; just that long will man be a com-

modity; a chattel; a thing; subject to the fluctuations of the labor market. As long as the wages system continues, that long will the worker be without any chance of taking his place as an equal member of the human family.

The only hope for the working-class lies in the abolition of the wages system. This is the aim of Socialism.

Working Class Morality

BY

JESSE FALES

"THE history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class."—*Communist Manifesto*.

The proletarian is confronted from time to time with startling evidences of the immoral lawlessness of his class. Agents of the bourgeoisie eternally on the lookout for isolated instances of the violation of religious, civil, educational, or sentimental customs, on the part of the proletariat, such as: Disregard for the rights of property; disrespect for national emblems; lack of racial discrimination; hostile attitude toward the churches' influence over affairs nuptial; irreligion; anti-militarism; and a general disinclination for a host of other bourgeoisie ideas. These perversities are repeatedly denounced by the press and pulpit of the bourgeoisie who vituperate against them as indications of the elements in the proletariat, that are working for the destruction of the social fabric.

To the really class-conscious proletarian these bitter attacks appear in their true light; as modest efforts of the bourgeoisie to maintain its tyrannical position by instilling its tyrannical ideas. Proletarians of this type are in the struggle; have most likely absorbed Marxian ideas to some extent, and have as a result, possess a larger comprehension of existing social institutions. But to a great mass of workingmen, attacks of this kind coming from both press and pulpit are received with

credulity, and the instances upon which they are founded acknowledged with a blush of shame.

Such instances of "immoral lawlessness" will be found, however, in most cases to be nothing more than the initial efforts of the rising proletariat to cast off the class rule of the bourgeoisie, and along with it the class ideas by means of which it perpetuates its rule. This is nothing more than the class-struggle. A little over 50 years ago the bourgeoisie accomplished the same thing in its struggle with feudalism. With a violence that shocked the entire world, the modern ruling class broke the control of the feudal lords, and rose like a bellowing giant from out of the universal chaos. But did this new ruling class still retain the idea of the nobility? Did it continue to conform with the ideas of the old ruling class; the feudal notions of marriage, religion, and jurisprudence? Certainly not! It at once became "immorally lawless"—as far as the nobility was concerned. It established new standards of ethics, enforced new laws of conjugation, and permitted a broader toleration of religious beliefs.

Withal, however, and notwithstanding their unquestioned superiority over the feudal ideas which preceded them, the new ideas arriving with the bourgeoisie were without the slightest advantage to the proletariat which remained in a state of slavery. These ideas were purely bourgeois and useful only in maintaining bourgeois rule.

But the day is now at hand when the

proletariat will rise out of its slavery. It will overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie just as the bourgeoisie overthrew the rule of the nobility; and what is even more important, it will cast aside the prevailing customs and ideas established by the bourgeoisie just as the bourgeoisie cast aside the custom and idea of the age preceding it.

The alarm of the worker at the instances of "immoral lawlessness" is therefore entirely unwarranted, and is born chiefly from a lack of intelligence concerning the class-struggle. All that is necessary to explain the origin of these isolated instances, and neutralize their effect is to make clear to the worker the basic principles of the omni-present class-struggle—the rotation of class rule—and the final ascension of the slave class, the proletariat, whose administration will erase all class distinctions, and put an end to all class-struggles.

Now this is by no means a call for class hatred, although in that terrible struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie which is now going on, the very weapons of the latter, and the cruelty of its measure, is more than likely to engender class hatred to some extent in the breast of the former. The bourgeoisie held little love for the nobility, as the gruesome incidents of the Paris commune seem to evince. But it is a call for class contempt. The proletariat must cast aside the idea of the bourgeoisie. It must hold in contempt all those precious "By grace of God" ideas of the ruling class, and mould in their stead new ideas more to the advantage of the approaching rule of its own class. It must learn to analyze and dissect—to separate the chaff from the wheat in all civic, religious, sentimental, and educational ideas of the bourgeoisie for it is as much by the changing of these ideas that it will thrive or perish, as it is by their constant influence that the present ruling class is enabled to maintain its power.

With these few points cleared up, all those instances of "immoral lawlessness" on the part of the proletarian lose their lawless character. The workers' contempt for the "Sacred rights of private property" becomes an element in the class war. Private property is the bulwark of the

bourgeoisie. Its structure is founded on private ownership. By making capital private property, the bourgeoisie is enabled to exploit and enslave the proletariat. The principal victory, therefore, of the proletariat, at that time when it shall emancipate itself, will be the destruction of all rights to private property, howsoever irrational this may at present appear. But it must first condemn the idea before it can destroy the fact.

While private property is the central idea of the bourgeois class rule, it is not conclusive in itself. There happens to be a great many other ideas no less vicious than that of private property, which lend support to it without being a part thereof, and it is the inculcating of these ideas that maintains class rule without constant and open violence which would undoubtedly be necessary did they not exist. It therefore becomes the duty of the proletarian to single them out; hold them in contempt, and finally mark them for destruction.

One of the most important things in the casting aside of these ideas is to prevent our children from absorbing them. Ideas are but the natural substance of ideals. Most ideals are educational in effect. That is to say: They are not forced upon us, but placed in such favorable positions during those studious periods of our lives that their absorption is both natural and convenient.

The constant impressing on the minds of our young men and women of any one point leads them to accept that point as self-evident. Yet careful analysis of it may reveal a most pernicious fallacy contained within. But careful analysis of universally accepted doctrine is a species of "lawlessness" in itself—the ruling class.

When respect for the army and navy is impressed on our youth—and the army and navy are but support for the idea of private property;—when the glories of savage battle and bloodshed are held aloof for the innocent gaze of our children, it is quite natural for them to respond with enthusiasm for these things and with respect for the filthy business for which they are retained. Yet neither the army nor the navy is a proletarian ideal. They

are truly the great institutions that have defiled the proletariat. Heroes of wars recalled from ancient memory to the present day, towering over the years with their blood-shot eyes and fingers reeking with gore—chiefly from the butchered bodies of the proletariat—are not working class heroes! Hired by the ruling class, they belong to it body and soul.

But the working class, the proletariat, has heroes enough. There is absolutely no reason for it worshipping bourgeois heroes. From Karl Marx and Robert Owen to Francisco Ferrer, there is a long list of truly working class heroes; deserving of working class respect, and worthy of loving commemoration from the sons and daughters of the proletariat.

The working class can have no use for patriotism of any national sort. What it needs, and must eventually find is not patriotism, but loyalty and adherence to the world-wide proletarian movement, in view of the fact that it has but one enemy—the bourgeoisie.

Coming under this category for purposes of criticism, are ideas touching almost every phase of the life of the proletarian under bourgeoisie class rule. The sex problem is one of them. The marriage question is another.

The position of woman under bourgeoisie rule is intolerable, yet it has been established through the institution of bourgeoisie ideas.

During the early part of the bourgeoisie

rule, the marriage function was separated from the church and taken over by the state to which it was vital. But the church still retains a certain grip upon the institution; an authority over the ceremony, that gives it the privilege of saying which unions shall be valid, and which shall not be valid. It is this grip that the proletariat must break. The church and state must be separated definitely.

The fact then, of a few scheduled, and altogether too much insulated cases of proletarian irregularity should not be amazing to any workingman. They are but the first visible signs of the awakening of his class social consciousness, and social significance. Were they not so, he may rest assured the bourgeoisie would spare no time vituperating against them. Since these ideas will be taught to his children in the future, it becomes almost a prerequisite that he understand them first, and in order to understand them he must give considerable attention to the class-struggle from which they are sprung.

He is not, however, to judge them by comparison with the decadent ideas of the bourgeoisie, but only by their importance to the working class of which he is a member. And this he should remember above all things: that in the new morality of the working class the greatest virtue of all virtues is class-consciousness and loyalty to the interests of the working-class.

Pity for poverty, enthusiasm for equality and freedom, recognition of social injustice and a desire to remove it, is not Socialism. Condemnation of wealth and respect for poverty, such as we find in Christianity and other religions, is not Socialism . . . Modern Socialism is the child of capitalist society and its class antagonisms. Without these it could not be. **SOCIALISM AND ETHICS ARE TWO SEPARATE THINGS.** This fact must be kept in mind.—Wilhelm Liebknecht in "No Compromise."

The Grabbing of California Lands

A Statement of Facts for the Tenant Farmers In California

BY GUSTAVUS MYERS

Author of the "History of the Supreme Court of the United States," "History of the Great American Fortunes," etc.

THIS article is especially addressed to you tenant farmers of California, although the information it contains is of value to the whole of the working class of which you are a part. You, like the industrial workers of the towns and cities, have been dispossessed from the land, which is to say you have to pay heavy tribute for the privilege of occupying it. True, you till the soil and make it yield the harvests, but the bulk of your labor and produce goes to the proprietors. This, however, is not a strange condition, for under the existing capitalist system those who do the work of the world get nothing but a precarious existence, while they who hold the paper titles to railroads, industries, utilities and land reap the extravagant rewards and profits. The one class becomes paupers, the other millionaires and billionaires.

Have no illusions as to what the ownership of the capitalists is based upon. It is not founded upon labor or service. You ought to know that fact. It is not based upon any principle of equity or justice. It is based purely and wholly upon certain paper titles which the Law, the great institution of Law, recognizes as valid. How these paper titles were obtained—whether by perjury, forgery, fraud, force or theft—is of no concern in the majestic eye of Law. The sufficient thing is that they are *legal titles*. Over and over again, the Supreme Court of the United States has declared this in plain language. In a noted decision, the late Justice Brewer declared that it was immaterial how an owner got his property. "He may have made his fortune by dealing in slaves, as a lobbyist, or in any other way obnoxious to public condemnation, but if he has acquired the legal title to his property, he is protected in its possession, and cannot be

disturbed until the receipt of the actual cash value."

The frankness of this declaration was refreshing. There was no pretence that any ethical considerations were a mission of Law, or a part of Law. The laws were arranged to protect fraud and force—when committed in the name of property. Naturally. All capitalist property is the product of fraud and force, and obviously the courts, which represent capitalist institutions, must weave their decisions and precedents to justify those thefts.

So it is that paper titles to property are your shackles. Back of the courts are police, sheriff's deputies, militia and army all in readiness to use clubs, bayonets and machine guns to execute the court's decrees. It is this array of massed force that gives the paper titles the power that they have; otherwise they would be no more than waste paper. Holding these paper titles in the form of stocks, bonds and deeds, even suckling infantile heirs of capitalists can and do own vast possessions, and have armies of profit producers working for them. This is no jest but a stern reality. In gilded nurseries today there squat multimillionaire infants for whose benefit tens of thousands of men, women and children are drudging and killing themselves in factories and mines and on farms and railroads.

How did those who own the land you cultivate get *their* paper titles? You will learn some of the original and hitherto unrelated facts in this article. All of the facts related here are taken from the official and court records, and in the author's forthcoming "History of the Supreme Court of the United States," are described in great detail, with abundant references to documentary records.

When California was about to pass from Mexican rule to the authority of the United States, the business of forg-

ing land-grant deeds was carried on more briskly than ever before. Literally, it was a business. As United States Attorney-General Black reported to Congress in 1860: "The archives thus collected furnished irresistible proof that there has been an organized system of fabricating land titles carried on for a long time by Mexican officials; that forgery and perjury had been reduced to a regular occupation, that the making of false grants, with the subornation of false witnesses to prove them had become a trade and a business." The grants in most of these fraudulent cases, Attorney-General Black reported further, "were very skillfully got up, and were supported by the positive oaths, not merely of obscure men whose characters were presumed to be fair, but also by the testimony of distinguished men who had occupied high social and political places under the former governors."

Mexican authority in California was overthrown on July 7, 1846. But, as Justices Davis, Clifford and Swaine, of the Supreme Court of the United States, said in a dissenting opinion in 1869, "the history of the times made it clear to every intelligent man for a considerable period before this date that the country would pass to the jurisdiction of the United States." It was during this time that a large number of great grants of land were made by the acting Mexican Governor, Pio Pico, and other alleged grants were forged and antedated as having been given by previous Mexican governors.

By the year 1850 there was a fine assemblage of alleged land grants submitted to the United States Board of Land Commissioners. They were impressively drawn up, carried official signatures and seals and looked proper enough. One thing only they lacked, and that was final confirmation by the United States authorities. They were not modest grants. Altogether, they purported to give away millions of acres of the finest lands on the coast. Some of the pushers of these grants did not care about agriculture and had no such end in view. Gold had been discovered in California, and the great aim was to get as much land as possible upon the supposition that gold was everywhere. Other

claimants wanted big areas for grazing purposes.

Familiar with the fraudulent origin of most of these alleged grants, the United States Boards of Land Commissioners and the United States District Courts in California refused to confirm many of them. Indeed, it looked as though nearly all of them would be thrown out as spurious. But the real holders of many of the bogus grants were some of the most powerful politicians in the country. General John C. Fremont turned up with a claim for a "floating grant" for ten square leagues (44,386.33 acres). Fremont claimed that the Mexican Governor Micheltorena had made this grant in 1844 to Juan B. Alvarado, from whom he (Fremont) claimed to have bought it. By "floating grant" was meant one with boundaries not described, but with power to locate anywhere.

The Government contested Fremont's claim, asserting it to be invalid. But the Supreme Court of the United States, in 1854, confirmed it, accepting Fremont's fraudulent excuse that "Indian hostilities" had prevented the settlement called for by Mexican laws. When Fremont bought this claim he was—in 1850-51—a United States Senator from California. Two years after winning the case he became, in 1856, the candidate of the Republican party for the presidency.

This grant, as we have seen, was alleged to have been given by Governor Micheltorena. In the hearings in 1858, on the great fraudulent Limantour claims six of the eight of which professed to cover 924 square miles, and which claims Judge Hoffman at San Francisco threw out of court on the ground of proved forgery, certain remarkable facts were brought out. It was shown that a great number of blank grants with the names of Governors Micheltorena and Bocanegra attached, or purporting to be attached, on genuine Mexican government stamped paper of the years 1842 and 1843 had been extensively in circulation in California for years. These blanks had been used for the purpose of fabricating grants to land.

Doubtless Fremont's claim was filled out on one of these blanks. But it had been validated by the Supreme Court of

the United States in 1854, and that case served as the leading precedent which the land commissioners and courts in California were compelled to follow. Under the "principles" established by the Supreme Court of the Fremont case, the courts in California were forced immediately to validate a number of other great land grant claims.

Among these confirmed grants were Charles D. Semple's to eleven leagues of land on the Sacramento River; George C. Yount's to ten square leagues in Colusa County; Hiram Grimes' claim to eight leagues of land in San Joaquin County; Juan Pachecho's claim to eleven leagues in Mariposa County; Andreas Pico's claim (one of a number of his claims) to eleven leagues in Calaveras County; Thomas O. Larkin's claim to eleven square leagues on the west bank of the Sacramento River; the Chambolla claim to eight leagues in San Joaquin County, and Antonio Maria Pico's claim to eight leagues in the same county; James Noe's claim to five leagues in Yolo County, and many other claims of the same character.

In all, these particular claims comprised more than 550,000 acres of the richest and most accessible lands in California. In confirming them Judge Hoffman made severe comments upon their origin, and more than hinted that if he did not have to follow the ruling of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Fremont case, he would have rejected most of them as fraudulent. Indeed, after Judge Hoffman had confirmed Andreas Pico's claim, United States Attorney-General Stanton later presented evidence to the Supreme Court of the United States showing that Governor Pio Pico had never made any such grant to his brother, Andreas Pico. "It is a forgery," Stanton declared in Court. "The proof of this is powerful and overwhelming." In the face of this proof the Supreme Court could not avoid invalidating this particular claim. But most of the other claims were never voided.

A few notorious claims were kicked out of court, but not until their promoters had exhausted every possible resource and had persistently fought the Government from court to court. The secretary of the Acting Mexican Governor Pio Pico

had been one Moreno. "Gomez, Abrego and Moreno," reported the House (Congressional) Committee on Claims, in 1869, "are equally notorious for the forgeries and perjuries in which they have been concerned. Gomez and Abrego were the chief instruments in the false swearing in the great Limantour swindle.

Abrego had been a witness to support thirty-two, and Gomez, twelve, claims, most of which were ascertained to be frauds or forgeries."

The Luco claim to 270,000 acres was thrown out of court. So was Cambuston's claim to eleven square leagues on the upper waters of the Sacramento River. Likewise was Boulton's claim to 10,000 acres of land in the vicinity of San Francisco. These claims were proved to be forgeries. So, too, was Rafael Garcia's claim to nine leagues of land; Garcia swore that the grant emanated from Governor Micheltorena, but it was a forgery. The heirs of Augustin DeYturbide claimed four hundred square leagues. This claim was rejected by the Supreme Court of the United States, but only upon the technical ground that the claimants had not filed their appeal in the prescribed time.

These were some examples of rejected claims. In many cases they were contested not so much because of their obvious fraudulent character, but because they conflicted with the aims of powerful politicians, individual capitalists or corporations. The reason that the Limantour claims were fought so hard and finally exposed and voided was because they conflicted with claims and property of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and other large land holders.

Now and then, in the case of some too glaring fraud, the Supreme Court of the United States dared not sanction the claim. In 1853, Vincent Gomez applied for a confirmation of an alleged claim of four leagues of land. Who was his attorney? None other than Pacificus Ord, the United States District Attorney at San Francisco. In 1859, Attorney-General Black proved to the Supreme Court of the United States that Gomez had conveyed one-half of the tract to Ord, when the latter was district attorney. The claim was then thrown out.

In fact, there were few Government officials, including judges, who were not interested, like Ord, in the great looting in process. The records show this. The scandal became so great that Congress subsequently passed a special act forbidding judges to sit in land cases in which they were interested. It may be said that Judge Hoffman was one of the very few honest judges.

Year after year the Supreme Court of the United States went on confirming private land claims alleged to have been granted by Mexican governors. Juan Jose Gonzales claimed a tract of one league in length, and three-quarters of a league in breadth; he had only *one witness* to prove the genuineness of his claim, but his title was confirmed. Pearson B. Reading came forward with a claim for six square leagues on the Sacramento River. This claim was alleged to have been signed by Micheltorena. Reading professed to have been a Mexican citizen, yet he had served in the war against Mexico. The principal pusher of the Reading claim was Lewis Cass. This was the same Cass, who as Governor of Michigan Territory, had been bribed by John Jacob Astor, in 1817, and who was in the United States Senate in 1845-1848. He was the Democratic candidate for president in 1848. The majority of the Supreme Court of the United States, in 1855, confirmed the Reading claim.

At the same time the same court validated other similar claims. The Arguelto claim to twelve square leagues bordering on the Bay of San Francisco, and extending back to the mountains, was validated, despite the fact that the Mexican laws had expressly prohibited the granting of sea-coast territory. The Vaca and Pena claim to a large tract on the Sacramento river, and the Larkin-Misroon claim to a tract eleven leagues long and a league wide on the same river, were validated by the Supreme Court.

Then came the validation of the large and rich Peralta claim of five leagues, running south from the Bay of San Francisco over the town of Oakland, and east to the mountains. This was an alleged Micheltorena grant. The Pedrorena claim to eleven leagues in San Diego County was also confirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States; this

claim was based upon an alleged grant made by Pio Pico, in 1845. The Castillero claim was next validated. It covered a large tract near Santa Clara, and included the rich New Alamaden quick-silver mine then producing a total of \$1,000,000 a year.

Nearly nine million acres of the very best and richest lands in California were appropriated by a few looters who got them wholly on grants alleged to have been made by Mexican governors. The methods are described in full in the "History of the Supreme Court of the United States," but a few more examples will be to the point here.

During and after the Civil War the Supreme Court kept on validating California land claims. The Supreme Court allowed John A. Sutter to get away with eleven square leagues in Sacramento County and Marysville, although all that Sutter could produce in support of his claim was an order alleged to have been made by the Mexican Governor Alvarado, in 1841, extended by Governor Micheltorena, in 1845. The great Throckmorton claim came before the Supreme Court of the United States in 1878. The original pusher of this claim had been W. A. Richardson who had been officially exposed as a notorious perjurer. This claim purported to be a grant from Micheltorena; the Government charged that the papers were forged. But the Supreme Court validated the claim.

So 8,850,143.56 acres of California lands went. It is possible that a few of the private land claims purported to have been given by Mexican governors were genuine, but it is certain that the great majority of them were forgeries. A total of 588 claims were confirmed. We shall here recall Justice Brewer's declaration given in the opening part of this article. The significance of that declaration will be more fully seen when it is explained that Brewer was the nephew of Justice Field who had been pushed for the Supreme Court Bench by Leland Stanford of the Central and the Southern Pacific railroads. Field was known as the "protector of the land interests."

In addition to the nearly 9,000,000 acres described above, the railroads obtained a total of about 13,218,895 acres in California. The methods by which they

secured this enormous area, and their successive briberies of Congress and the California Legislature, are related in detail in the author's "History of the Great American Fortunes."

More millions of acres of the very choicest lands were corruptly obtained by capitalists on the representation that they were "swamp lands." The "Swamp Land Investigating Committee" of the California Legislature reported in detail, in 1873, how by means of fraudulent surveying and other official connivance, vast areas of the very best lands were practically given away under the pretence that they were "swamp lands." Often, the committee reported, "they would postpone all investigations until the height of the floods, during the rainy season, when surveyors, in interest with themselves, would be sent to make out reports as to the 'swamp' character of the

land. . . . The simple presence of the water is all that is necessary to show to the speculators that the land is 'swamp' and it therefore presents an inviting opportunity for this grasping cupidity."

These are merely a few of a great mass of facts of how the land in California was stolen. It is a strong word—is stolen—but considering the facts, it is the exact word. The land robbers got the land, and you have to pay their successors for the mere privilege of cultivating or living on a small part of it. This is the way the capitalist system works. Those who steal in petty ways outside the law go to prison, but pirates who take care to annex the law become the respectable of society, and command the labor and produce of tens of millions like you. How much longer will you uphold this system? Is it not time that it was smashed—it and all of its institutions?



—From Milwaukee Leader.
THE BLACK FLAG OF CAPITALISM.



A CHARGE OF ZAPATISTAS.

What Mexico's Struggle Means

BY

WM. C. OWEN, Editor English Section, "Regeneracion," Official Organ of the Mexican Liberal Party

"WHAT the Zapatista knows is that there are privileged beings in society who have too much while he goes hungry."

Or, again: "The whole burden of their song is this: 'For four hundred years we have borne contumely, hunger and deprivation of our rights. Every time that revolutionists needed us to overthrow some bad government they called on us and then forgot their promises. We now want back the lands that have been taken from us, and we intend to have them, by fair means or foul.'" These two quotations—the first from the "Revista de Revistas," of Mexico City, and the second from "Collier's"—gives us, as it seems to me, the heart of the Mexican Revolution from the standpoint of the proletariat. It is

trying to get back by force what has been taken from it by force, or fraud backed by force.

For the capitalists it may be said that there are probably nearly \$2,000,000,000 of foreign money invested in Mexico, which has been looking for large returns and expecting additional opportunities for lucrative investment. For the present all that has gone by the board, and naturally capital will fight with every weapon in its armory to retrieve the situation. Moreover, and this I judge to be even more important, it cannot safely allow so gigantic an act of confiscation to pass unchallenged. The easiest and safest way to retrieve the situation is obviously to hoodwink the masses and, by seductive promises, induce them to abandon action. The



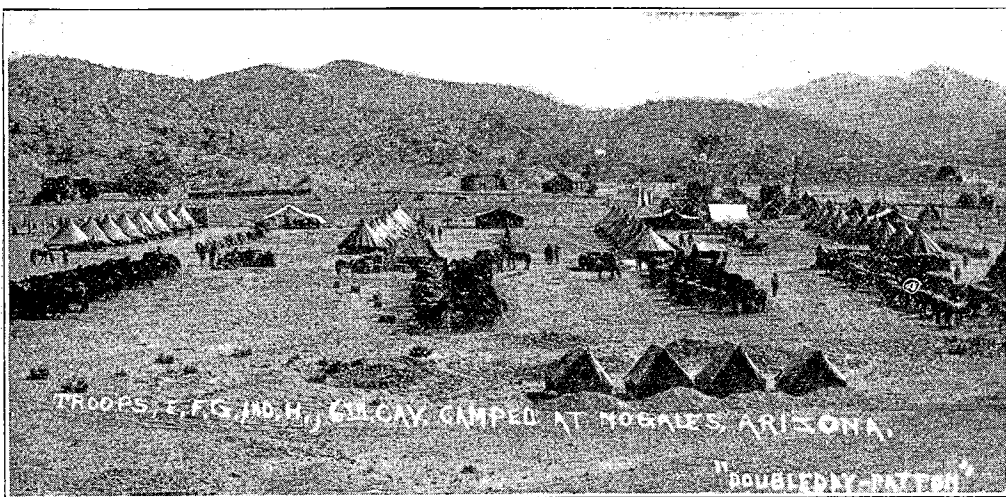
REBELS WAITING IN AMBUSH.

most expensive and dangerous way is intervention by force of arms.

Recently one of my friends interviewed some eighteen Mexican prisoners confined in a county jail, most of them on vagrancy charges. He reported that they appeared to be ignorant on the social question as a whole, but that every one of them said the Mexicans wanted back their lands. My own experience is that if you attempt to discuss politics with the Mexican proletarian he shows no interest, but that the

moment you mention the word "land" he becomes alert. From the land, owned communally, his ancestors wrung, for ages, a living that suited well their tastes and habits. Without the land he himself is an outcast, slaving for masters he detests. Why should he not want the land?

Apparently the Mexican proletariat knows exactly what it wants and means, if possible, to get it; and apparently it has convinced its former masters of that important fact. The signing by Madero of



READY TO RUSH INTO MEXICO.

the San Luis Potosi plan; the manifestoes issued by Zapata, by Gomez and by all aspirants for office; the long discussions on the agrarian question with which leading Mexican publications abound; the talk of delegations that visit Mexico City; the commissions appointed by the central and state governments; and, above all, the answers given to officials sent to pacify the people, tell one and all, the same story. Many of the leading citizens engaged in such activities undoubtedly would dodge the land question if they could, but it bobs up always and everywhere, for it is the backbone of the revolution.

It is obvious, furthermore, that however much the Mexican masses may want the land they cannot get it if legal titles are to be respected, for a small handful of monopolists has cornered the land supply of Mexico, largely by grants acquired under the long regime of Diaz. On the good ship in which the Mexican nation sails its way across the sea of life all accommodations have been pre-empted, and the masses can either stand around on sufferance or jump overboard. In the past many took the latter course and swam to the United States. The expedient has not proved satisfactory and the growing disposition is to stand their ground and fight.

What else is there to do? To run Diaz out and put Madero in seemed one way of getting at the trouble, but the economic problem remains unsolved and it is evident that Madero has neither the wish nor the capacity to solve it. Even in his last pronunciamiento, dated March 3, 1912, wherein he urges the masses to support his government and join his army, he repeats his previous sermon on industry and frugality as the sovereign cure. Nevertheless he acknowledges in that same document that "unfortunately Gen. Diaz' government alienated in an immoderate manner nearly all the national lands"; whereupon, having admitted the great central fact, he grapples with it thus:

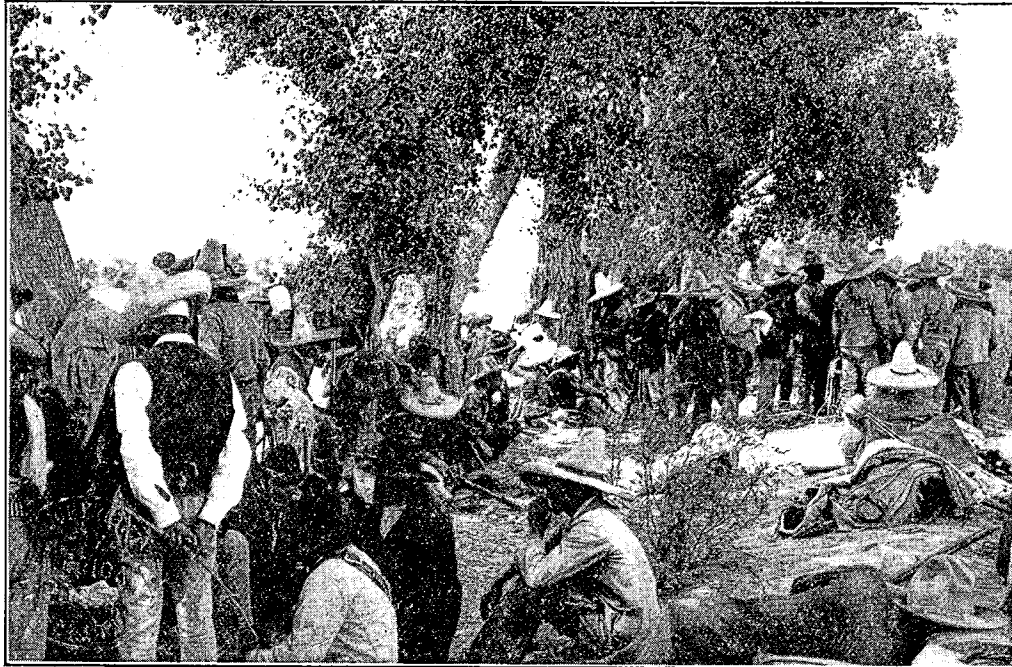
"For this reason the government has considered the reorganization of the loan bank; an institution that, in accordance with the methods practiced in certain European countries, will acquire great properties and divide them among small proprietors, giving them facilities for pay-

ment. Only by these two methods is it possible to solve the agrarian question within the limits of the constitution."

Madero's panacea, therefore, is the scheme so dear to our own real estate boomers, who corner land that they may unload it on the public, giving long time and making enormous profits. It will be noticed also that, even in this hour of peril, he cannot see beyond "the limits of the constitution," and Vasquez Gomez and the other "constitutional" gentlemen are all in the same boat. They also want the many to have the land, but they insist that the legal titles of the few must be respected. The peasant's answer is to burn the public records, seize the lands and fight. He has to fight because when he takes and tries to cultivate the land the authorities send their troops to oust him.

Here I have no space for details and can only assure readers that the reports, culled from papers of all descriptions and covering all Mexico, show the Mexican masses as in the full tide of revolution, taking the law into their own individual hands. They are doing what the French peasantry did more than a century ago, and what the Russian peasantry started to do ten years ago. Surely we should not be surprised. The age-long traditions of the people—continued in practice until quite recent times—are those of the self-governing commune, which owned its own lands, gave its members free access thereto and ran its affairs on the co-operative plan. It may have been a simple life; it may have lacked refinements and artificial pleasures on which we set great store, but it was care-free and secure. Certainly it was a long way ahead of working for strangers, especially under such conditions as those described, for example, in "Barbarous Mexico." Certainly it was a long way ahead of having to expatriate oneself, without a cent, and scramble in the unskilled-labor market of the United States.

The Chinese and Japanese have proved themselves anything but the helpless people we imagined, and I submit that we misjudged the Mexican, seeing him only as a stranger in a strange country, with all the odds against him. He has magnificent traditions which embody the great principles of mutual aid and the labor



A NOON-DAY REST.

solidarity, and these have become instinctive with him owing to his communal past. As for his fighting capacity, there is now a good deal of evidence before the public, and it should be considered that he inherits from his Indian ancestors those qualities of tenacity, patience and forti-

tude which, when weapons are at all equal, decide all wars. His agitators have made a splendidly heroic record and it seems to me to have foreshadowed accurately the subsequent action of the masses.

Revolutions cannot possibly move by



ZAPATISTA SHARPSHOOTERS.

set rules, for they are essentially periods of abnormally active development, and always the leader of today fails to meet tomorrow's larger needs. Madero will fall because he has not kept pace with the development, and, in my view, Gomez and Orozco are equally behind the times. The revolution will use them while it can; when they become obstructive it will toss them aside. For, this is an upheaval of the masses, who know that they go hungry while others are surfeited. They know it, not by books or discussion but by experience, and such knowledge translates itself into action and endures.

The Mexican Revolution never presented itself to my mind as a subject on which the various camps of the international revolutionary movement should take sides, and never have I myself felt called on to indorse the particular economic creed of the Magons or other Mexican agitators. From the first I have regarded it as a struggle by many millions of the disinherited to win back their heritage; as a battle for the right to live. In the hope of assisting that battle, if only to an infinitesimal extent, I have written this article.

The Lake Seamen

BY

W. F. CATTELL, Member of Lake Seamen's Union

AFTER three years of hard fighting the Lake Seamen, Firemen, and Cooks have gone down to disastrous defeat, having voted to go back to work. The strike started in May, 1909, previous to which, for twelve months they have been locked out by the Lake Carriers' Association, a gigantic employment agency. They own no ships but control the shipping of practically all the men on the lakes and the Steel Trust controls the Lake Carriers' Association.

The strike was caused by the association making every man have a record discharge book which was really a passport with which they intended to blacklist all union men. This is the same sort of thing which the English seamen had to fight till they went on strike last year and abolished it. When the trouble started in April, 1908, every boat on the lakes was unionized and there were about twelve thousand men in the three unions, and over two hundred thousand dollars in their treasuries. Now there is not one thousand men left, and the Treasurers of the Firemen and Cooks are gone and they are being supported by the International Seamen's Union. The sailors still have a little money, but will no doubt be broke in the near future, as the men will refuse to pay high dues for the privilege of getting buried, as far better

results can be gotten from a Fraternal organization.

The strikers were led to a crushing defeat by V. A. Olander, secretary of the Lake Seamen's Union. He is what is called an honest labor leader of the Gompers type, or as has been stated in the capitalist press, "a leader of the heroic type, hearty, frank, and with a ready smile." But he is a man far more dangerous to the working class than all the crooks in Christendom, for a crook is soon found out and dumped, but an honest craft union leader is the greatest asset of the capitalist class, for if the lake strikers had been led by a Pinkerton, they could not have been worse off than they are today.

A great deal of violence has occurred in which the strikers came off second best, about a dozen being killed by thugs of the shipowners, and hundreds imprisoned, and there are many yet in the jail serving long sentences. A craft strike cannot be won without violence, and anybody that was ever involved in one knows it. Of course, the labor-faker will deny it. Of course, he does none of the slugging. He lets the poor devils on the picket line do that. He takes no chances. The longshoremen and tugmen offered to assist the seamen, but "no," say our wise leader, "we can win this alone, and

if we have too much fire under the pot it will boil over," but as it turned out there was no fire and the pot did not boil at all.

Of course, the firemen and cooks both had leaders, but they did not cut much figure, and when the unions were broke and had no more money they quit, and so will the seamen's leaders quit, like all wise men, when the treasury is gone. The strikers also had the advice of one of the greatest fakery in the world, Andrew Furseth, president of the International Seamen's Union of America, a right-hand man of that Cockney Jew, Sammy Gompers.

You can easily imagine yourself back in the days of the vikings when he talks. He has been hanging around Washington kowtowing to Congress for the last twenty years to try and get some legislation passed so as he could control the seamen better, as according to the law a seaman is still a slave. The same law applies in England, but a little direct action last year fixed that and they dare not enforce the law any more. But this old viking don't like strikes, as the union's treasury is liable to go broke and he would have to go to work, so he hangs around the marble halls waiting for a Moses to appear. He has been called and proven a liar and strikebreaker on the floor of the A. F. of L., and he cannot deny it, for whenever the lumber handlers on the Pacific coast go on strike, he sends sailors to take their places, and tells them that is maritime law. In consequence of this he has built up a strong craft union of sailors on the Pacific coast at the expense of other organizations.

On the lakes, Olander is trying to do the same thing, but failed, but has practically destroyed the grain shovellers union in Chicago. Many union boats now make their crews shovel and trim the grain and if the men refuse to scab on the grain shovellers, they are fired and the captain goes up to the union hall and ships more union men, who are willing to scab.

This is what some of the seamen's leaders said last December in reporting on the strike at the annual convention: "The struggle had to be laid on lines of endurance to have any chance against the steel

trust. The condition of the seamen made this the wisest plan." Now can you find anything to beat that? Here is a bunch of so-called labor leaders, supposedly in their right minds, who should go down in history as the only freaks Barnum never corralled, telling the sailors the only way to beat the steel trust is by endurance, and the condition of the seamen makes this the wisest plan. Now the seamen who stayed with the union are nearly all on the bum, and according to these labor skates the more on the bum the better chance we have. Here is another gem by the main squeeze, V. A. Olander: "In my judgment had business conditions on the lakes been normal, which would have required the services of the entire fleet, we would in all probability have been compelled to call off the strike on account of the rush of men to the lakes." In other words, we have this labor leader telling us that if there had been no business for the ships and they had all been tied up for want of freight, the seamen would have won their fight. This has got anything I ever heard beat a block. Now you can understand what the seamen were up against. Is it any wonder that they were beaten? They are still full of revolt and all they need is men to show them in what direction to fight. Lots of the men recognized at the start that we were going into a losing fight if the other marine organizations stayed at work. In spite of that we could have won if we had fought right. All a craft union leader wants to do and all they know, is to call the men out on strike and keep them on strike, beat up all scabs and cause lots of trouble, and then they think maybe the boss will repent and maybe he won't. About three-quarters of a million dollars has been the cost to the unions, and they have had the moral assistance of the A. F. of L., whatever that is. So long, however, as we are mentioned in the official records of the A. F. of L. for four conventions, it must be all right.

So the sailors stood on the dock at \$4.50 per week and watched the scabs taking the boats out. Now I believe that when you cannot prevent a scab from taking your job, it is time to get back again yourself. If the union men had gone

aboard those boats and called a strike when the boat got in the Soo Locks and the union would have sent them back to lower lake ports to repeat this and several other tricks, we could have licked the shipowners to a standstill, for they would never have known what was going to happen. But "Oh, no," said the leaders, "that would be against the law and we are law-abiding citizens and we do not want to serve the shipowners a dirty trick."

At the past two conventions of the A. F. of L., resolutions have been introduced by the International Longshoremen calling on the A. F. of L. to form a transportation department, but Furseth has fought this move right along, as he knows he will not be the guiding star in it. The sailors on the Atlantic endorse it and have already formed the American transport workers' federation, similar to the European federations, but that old viking is trying to disrupt them, for when his man Friday, the secretary of the Atlantic Union, got defeated for reelection by over 500 majority, he with the assistance of Olander, kept him in office, and when the

men on the coast and some on the lakes demanded that this secretary be ousted, they were threatened with expulsion. He has now absconded with nearly all of the international and most of the Atlantic Coast Union's funds. Now, of course, they are trying to square themselves, and at a recent election of officers of the Lake Union, certain officials put up the fight of their lives for re-election, but it will be the last for them, as one of their group, a would-be politician in Cleveland, is about to quit and the remainder will do the same as soon as the funds run out.

If the seamen had used their brains in this strike instead of their muscles they would not now be carrying a scab book in one pocket and a union book in the other, and the sooner they realize that industrial unionism is based on the class struggle and not the fake departments of the A. F. of L., that an injury to one is an injury to all, and that an honest and ignorant labor leader is a far greater enemy to them than the steel trust, the sooner will the "hellfare" plan be wiped off the map.

SOCIALISM AND THE INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

A Lesson from the French Revolution

BY

ROLAND D. SAWYER

SOCIALISM was born amid the throes of the French Revolution; that great social upheaval shows us the birth-pains of modern working-class Socialism.

Before it, we had an intellectual renaissance, a religious reformation and various political revolutions, most notably, Holland, 1565-1569; England, 1642-1660; America, 1775-1783. But the French Revolution was of a different color, it was a movement to REORGANIZE SOCIETY, it was a social, not a merely poli-

tical, revolution. That great movement thrusts in dramatic form upon the world, that great body of ideas, which under the great mind of Marx are framed into a system, and issued in 1848 as the program for international working-class action. The careful student of the Revolution will find there many things to help his thinking in these days. And I want here to bring out the lesson it has for us in our present-day issue of the attitude of political socialism toward industrial unionism. From May, 1789, to the Fete of

Reason (November, 1793), the Revolution is one steadily ascending force; then it breaks, the reaction conquers, and the revolution is partly defeated; now why?

This was the reason (at least as I see it.) As the slowly gathering power of the people asserted itself, we find it forming into two groups of action; the Commune of Paris, composed of the rabble, if you choose, and urged on largely by unknown agitators, was one group; the "Mountain," the convention parliamentary leaders of the people, make the other group. Just so long as these two groups co-operated, supplemented, each other, the Revolution grows; when they fall apart, the Revolution is lost. The followers of the Commune, the men and women who had no special philosophy worked out, but who believed in their own power, that is *Class Direct Action* they were the people who time and again rallied at the call of Marat and his unknown lieutenants, and who forced the convention to legislate, or abandon legislation, and who eventually elevated the "Mountain" to power. The "Mountain" (parliamentary group) were powerless without the aid of this MASS-ACTION group; on the other hand, this MASS-ACTION group would get nowhere without the direction and assistance of the parliamentarians.

Working together they were an invincible team. Unfortunately, there was no organized movement large enough and strong enough to say to the two groups, you *must* work together. Their union depended upon the over-powering personality of a single man, Marat. Marat had the tremendous genius and intellectual power to compel the parliamentarians to listen to him, and his sacrifices and years in the cellars, made him the idol of the mobs. When Marat was assassinated, this tremendous power was removed; the parliamentarians played politics to satisfy personal ambition, they lost the confidence of the mobs (masses in the streets), divided they fell. The political group de-

stroyed itself, and the people were beaten down in their own blood.

Today we face a much similar condition in the world-wide revolutionary working-class movement. We have our Industrialists and our Parliamentarians. If the Socialist organization shall be large enough to rise and say, you **MUST** work together, you **MUST** supplement each other, then rapid advance is ahead of us. Now I have no fears of eventual defeat of working-class emancipation, whatever shall be the attitude of the Socialist organization; economic, industrial and political conditions will frame our tactics. Berger may have sympathies for the A. F. L., but as a representative of the class-struggle political party, he strikes hands with Haywood and works with sleeves up when the conflict comes. Haywood may make light of the ballot, but he strikes hands with Berger in the days of conflict. As Austin Lewis so well says: "The Socialist Party by its position on the class-struggle will become the champion and refuge of the Industrial Unionist; and the Industrial Unionists will force political Socialism to revolutionary action; without industrial action political socialism will deteriorate, without political action, economic freedom will be set back."

So then our theories can not shape what tactics we will adopt, industrial conditions will force us to work together. But our theories may retard or advance the emancipation, and most of us who are in the fight want to hasten things as fast as we can. Should the Socialist organization be small enough to allow its membership to follow off into two factions, it means a loss of twenty or thirty years, and much suffering, perhaps many lives. If the organization shall say as Marat said to the "Streets" and the "Mountains," "you fellows must work together," it means escape from that loss of time and labor. Which shall it be?

Some Definitions

By

FRANK BOHN

THE degree of looseness indulged in by Socialist speakers and writers as regards the use, or misuse, of very common words and phrases has never been so painfully apparent as during the discussion lately conducted in the party. Words the meaning of which should have been long ago known to the most casual reader of Socialist literature have been so misused that the discussion finally became fruitless. We shall here make an effort to bring some degree of order out of the chaos.

Socialist.—A Socialist is one who favors the common ownership or social ownership and the democratic administration of the socially used means of production. The means of production include land and all natural resources—factories, railroads and the plants for the storage and distribution of the products. A determining characteristic of the Socialist is that he recognizes the necessity of an administration of general affairs, which administration, he holds, should be democratic in character. Anyone who favors the common ownership and organized democratic control of the industries is a Socialist and not by any means an anarchist, even though he may not sanction political action by the workers. The goal and not the means is the determining feature. Syndicalists or members of the I. W. W. who oppose political action are not anarchists but Socialists, and this in practice if not in theory. A real anarchist would never submit to the discipline of a union which aims to control and administer the affair of industrial society.

Anarchist.—An anarchist may be either an individualist or a communist. In either case he opposes any essential governing social organization.

He opposes all government. Both individualist and communist anarchists

shrink from any large or complex social organization, or the control of individuals or of smaller groups by larger groups in their relation to industry. In a word, while the Socialist believes in government, the anarchist does not.

Political Action.—By political action is meant any effort of whatever kind to gain control of the powers of the political state through the machinery provided by that political state. For instance, a campaign to win the suffrage for people who are now denied that right is not political action. Political action involves use of the election machinery and the holding of political offices. In general Socialists advocate the use of political action while all anarchists oppose it. But this is not at all a distinguishing feature. The fundamental distinction is, to repeat, not a matter of the means but of the goal in view.

Direct Action.—Of all the terms made use of in our discussions during the past six months this has been the most abused. By direct action is meant any action taken by the workers directly at the point of production with a view to bettering their conditions. The organization of any labor union whatever is direct action. A strike is direct action. Sending the shop committee to demand of the boss a change of shop rules is direct action. To oppose direct action is to oppose labor unionism as a whole with all its activities. In this sense the term has been used by those who made use of it down to the time of the late controversy. It was the misuse of this expression by those comrades who oppose class-labor unionism which has caused so much uneasiness in the Socialist party. When we come to the question as to what direct action shall be taken and when and how—that is for the organization on the job to determine. For the Socialist party to try to lay down

rules for the conduct of the unions or one union in this matter would be as ridiculous as for the Socialist party to seek to determine what the workers shall eat for breakfast. It is the business of the Socialist party to organize and conduct political education and activity. This does not imply, however, that in a lecture dealing with unionism conducted by the Socialist party these matters shall not be discussed. On the contrary it is of the highest importance that the Socialist party shall keep its membership informed through its press and its lecture courses of the latest developments in the field of organized labor.

Sabotage.—Sabotage means "strike and stay in the shop." The striking workers thus are enabled to draw pay and keep out scabs while fighting the capitalists. Sabotage does not necessarily mean the destruction of machinery or other property although that method has always been indulged in and always will continue to be used so long as there is a class struggle. More often it is used to advantage in a much quieter way. Excessive limitation of output is sabotage. So is any obstruction of the regular conduct of the industry. The ancient Hebrews in Egypt practiced sabotage when they spoiled the bricks. The slaves in the South practiced it regularly by putting stones and dirt in their bags of cotton to make them weigh heavier. An old cotton mill weaver in Massachusetts once told me that when base ball was first played the boys in his mill stuck a bobbin in the running gear of the water wheel and so tied up the shop on Saturday afternoon that they could go and see the ball game. No workers ever heard that practices of this nature were "naughty" or "bad" until some "Socialists" told them so within the past few months. Above all, let it be remembered that what the Socialist party thinks or does not think in this matter has absolutely no significance. When the workers face a specific situation they will very likely continue to do as their interests and intelligence dictate.

Revolutionists, Opportunists and Impossibilists.—As the term is at present used, a social revolutionist is one who believes that the change to Socialism, when it comes, will take place during a relative

short period of time. The revolutionary period, whether it continue during days, months or years it matters not, will occur when the working class takes possession of the means of power and make themselves masters of the socialized industries. An opportunist, on the other hand, thinks that the change to Socialism will come about or is coming about during a long period of time in which the force of social control will pass gradually from the capitalist class to the working class. The Socialist opportunist is therefore, in practice, a social reformer. To him Socialism is but the sum of reforms proposed by all shades and varieties of reformers. The outright advocate of opportunism or of Socialism through reforms is almost always a member of the middle class or professional class and hence tends to ignore the mass action of labor. He therefore over-emphasizes the value of political action. To him the big vote is the criterion of Socialist success. This leads or misleads the opportunist into the characteristic feature of opportunism—political trading or compromise with capitalist parties. Accompanying this is office seeking and office holding as a profession. Political wire pulling and professional politics is the natural fruit of this "playing the game." The history of the movement in every country, however, indicates that opportunism is not as dangerous as a novice in the Socialist movement might think. The gigantic appetites of the office hungry always defeat their public policies as well as their private purposes. The danger, then, is that the tactics of the movement may swing to the other extreme.

Impossibilism is a term of reproach hurled by the office seekers upon the heads of those who claim that Socialist education is the most important feature of the movement. However, the word impossibilist has a legitimate use. Too often in the Socialist movement we find those who do nothing but attack politicianism and sometimes this degenerates into making a trade of criticism and bitter invective. A real impossibilist is, therefore, one who does nothing but criticise the words and works of others, one whose activities are entirely negative in character.

Industrial Unionism—Revolutionary Unionism—Syndicalism.—An industrial union is a union of those who work in the same industry. It binds together everyone engaged in making the same product. For instance, an industrial union of clothing workers includes everyone from the cutters to the pressers. Some of the workers in this industry use tools and others machines, but an industrial union unites them all into the same organization. A craft union, on the other hand, is a union of those who use the same tool or machine, thus all stationary engineers are supposed to belong to the same craft union of engineers. Industrial unionism would place those working in breweries in the brewery workers' union and those who work in mines in the miners' union, etc. Generally, craft unionism represents the stage of tool production, while industrialism follows the more recent growth of machine industry.

A Revolutionary Unionist is one who aims to use the union, or the class union and the Socialist political organization to overthrow the existing order of society and to establish an industrial democracy. A philosophical anarchist cannot consistently advocate revolutionary unionism, because revolutionary unionism implies government, order, discipline—in a word, administration, and this is just what the anarchist most stren-

uously opposes. To be a political Socialist and a unionist does not imply that one is a revolutionary unionist. A revolutionary unionist holds that the union is, or should become, the fundamental revolutionary or Socialist organization. It appears to him to be the growing form of industrial democracy. If the revolutionary unionist advocates political action, as most of them do, it is chiefly for the purpose of preventing the destruction of the union by the capitalist political power.

Syndicalism was originally merely the French word for unionism. It is now everywhere taken to imply revolutionary unionism.

A Parliamentarian is one who over-emphasizes the value of political legislation and particularly of parliamentary discussion.

A Pure and Simple Labor Unionist opposes Socialism, opposes all political action by the working class and usually opposes class action entirely. On the contrary, he favors peace and harmony with the capitalists.

A Pure and Simple Political Socialist looks upon all unionism as ineffectual. To this type a pure and simple political Socialist party alone is required to advance the interests of the workers and establish Socialism.





GEORGE SPEED ADDRESSING STRIKERS.

The War of Gray's Harbor

BY

BRUCE ROGERS

A LITTLE while ago the boosters of Aberdeen held indignant meetings protesting against the employment of cheap foreign labor in the great lumber mills on Gray's Harbor in Western Washington, saying "We want Americans with families who will build homes among us that our city may be built up and prosper." But the mill owners held sway and answered them saying, "We are the chief industries here. Is it not enough that we prosper? The American citizen is no good as a worker. He tends to form his fellows into troublesome unions and wants high wages. He kicks against the bunk-houses which we have provided. These Greeks and Slavonians and Finns and Croatians are all right. We can pay them as we choose and work them twelve hours. In their pride of na-

tive race we can speed them against each other."

And it was so. Came the foreign worker from the three hundred and sixty marks on the compass dial. By night they drank and fought in the saloons of the evil smells, each bellowing his patriot folk song. By day as the barons so wished they worked to excel, in the fool pride of race.

But came a pay day when Ole asked Pierre and Zwobrowski and Garibaldi to have a drink with him down at "The Greek's." The night brawls ceased. Arms upon shoulders in a new emotion and that their rough voices might better chord they tried singing the Marseillaise together and found the hymn of revolt sounded even better. Home going theater parties heard a new song on the night air, the next morning showed fewer

twisted names on the big blotter at the police station, and in the mills, on the big carriages hurtling giant logs toward steel fanged saws the like of which is not elsewhere known, every human unit of dirty grease and grime, and rank and smell of sweat and toil "wuz pals, ain't it, Pedro?"

Over the Chehalis came one big union! It spoke in harsh un pitying tones in every tongue, in Aberdeen. It massed, it solidified and the international was born. Began the strike which is more than a strike and it can't be settled. It is a mutiny in industry. One may not look at it and think of less than rebellion. The mill barons now turned to the innocent calf-eyed citizenry and said, "Behold, our foreign slaves have revolted against the good American conditions. Let us have the American workingman with his family. He will scab the undesirable foreigner out of "our fair city." The good citizen feebly replied: "Deal with your workers alone, but we are with you for law and order!" Likewise spake the craft unions and the barons again held sway.

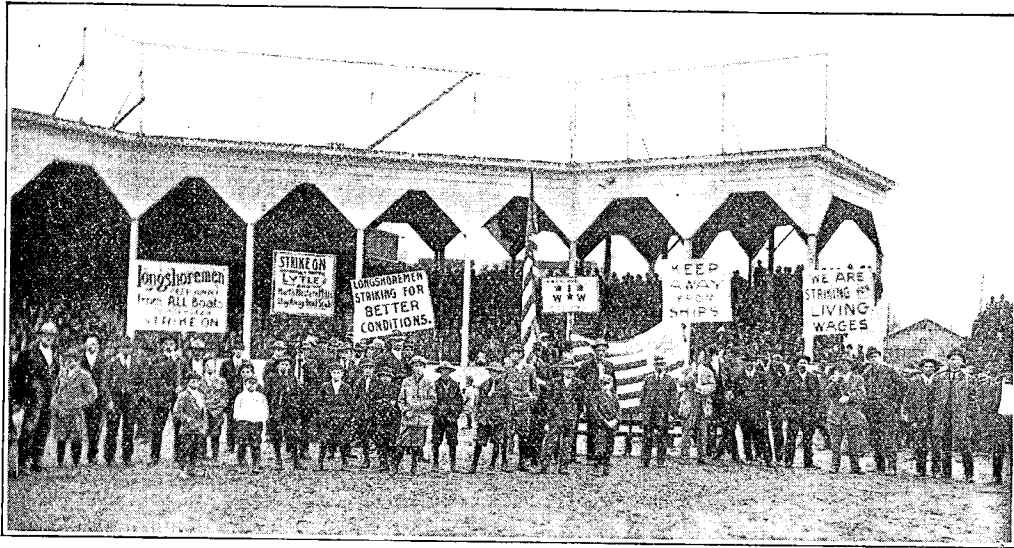
It would surfeit the reader as it sickens the heart of the observer to recount the innumerable abuses. There are those who will know, when I say it is Cripple Creek over again, and growing worse. Veterans of scores of industrial conflicts like George Speed, say there are new features to tyranny here.

All guaranteed rights under the constitution are suspended and all the conditions of martial law obtain, but applied by thugs and gun-men without responsibility to the state, such as the militia would be under, thus permitting the free rule of the brute, the gun and the billie. The city government is a mockery. The machinery of justice is a farce beneath contempt. Even the trained police regulars are out of the real handling.

April 1 the program was to jail all "leaders." George Speed, Joseph Biscay, W. A. Thorne and fifty-six others were taken and held incommunicado for thirty-five hours. At the same time the mayor issued a remarkable proclamation, suspending everything, forbidding assemblage, processions and public speakings, closing all halls by nailing them up with



MOVING THEIR HOUSES OFF COMPANY LAND.

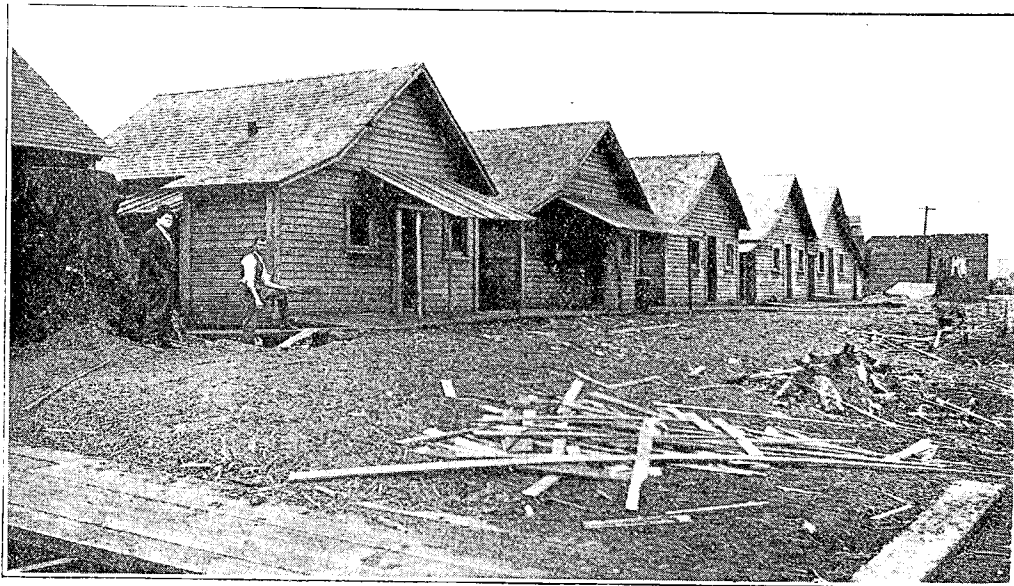


BANNERS CARRIED IN BIG PARADE.

strong timbers. Notwithstanding the "leaders" were in jail and their offices closed, the strikers got out their best issue of the Strike Bulletin and the I. W. W. within two hours had out a proclamation, patterned after the mayor's, calling upon the citizens to aid them in "ridding the city of gun-men, and the dangerous and criminal element, imported by the mill-owners."

It was beyond their ken that things went on with the leaders inside, and it was seen that jailing wouldn't work.

April 2 was election day and quiet. The Socialists elected two aldermen and it was supposed that this display of political strength would end the reign of terror, but not so. April 3 was the blackest of all outrageous days in Aberdeen. The game was not to arrest, but to beat and



HOMES DESERTED BY WORKERS.

kick and abuse, and if resistance was offered, to kill.

The Socialists are entirely with the strikers, and the display of unity does good to the heart of a revolutionist. They are not now allowed to hold meetings, but at their last meeting the Empire Theater was crowded to the utmost. They were addressed by Joe Jervis, a state organizer of the Socialist party and an unquestioned "red." He aroused them to action in one of the most remarkable speeches ever delivered in the world. The meeting unanimously endorsed the strike and authorized by resolution a universal appeal for financial aid.

The Longshoremen, the Shingle Weavers, and the Industrial Workers of the World, composing all the other laborers of whatever kind are out. Only the strikers know how it will end. When it will end is in wisdom unrevealed. Just one thing about that can be said, and that is this: Arms, ammunition, and "deputies" are costing the taxpayers of a little town one thousand dollars a day.



"MOTHER" CARRIE WALKER.
Jailed because she stood up for "the boys."

A Union Man?

BY

ANTON RUDOWSKY

IN 1910 Jacob Ross was a barkeeper in a saloon on the corner of Archer avenue and Halsted street, Chicago, Ill. Jack is the son of a mine worker. When 17 years of age he started in the mines to help support the family. He joined the Mine Workers' Union of Illinois, paying \$5 initiation fee. That was in 1905. Since that time he has paid 50 cents dues into that organization every month, because he knows that if he can find no other work he can always go back to the coal mines again.

Work was slack in 1906, so Jack went to Chicago to hunt a job. He got work as an excavator and tunnel digger, but they required union men. Jack showed his miners' union card. "No good here," said the walking delegate. So Jack paid \$25 initiation fee to get into the Tunnel

Miners' Union. The job was completed in six weeks and there was no more tunnel digging in Chicago. But Jack had learned to be an all-round man. He was promised a job on a skyscraper construction job if he could show a card from the Hodcarriers and Building Laborers' Union. By this time Jack had two paid-up union cards in his pocket, but when he went to the officers of the Hodcarriers' Union No. 1 of Chicago he was questioned. He showed his cards under the noses of the business agents.

"No go here," was the blunt decision. So Jack had to dig up another \$25 as initiation fees to the hodcarriers' union. This time he had to pay for his card on the installment plan, besides 50 cents a month dues. It took two months to pay up for his card, and two weeks later work on the building was completed.

But the contractor liked Jack, so he gave him a job as cement mixer and helper. On the second day Jack was again approached by a walking delegate representing the Cement Finishers and Helpers' Union. He showed his three cards. Again he was required to pay \$25 initiation fee to join the union. But as he could not afford to pay dues in four unions he took out a withdrawal card from the hodcarriers' union, paying \$2 for it, to be renewed every year.

The cement mixing job was soon ended and Jack being sturdy and industrious and only 19 years of age, secured a job as tile layer's helper, but he had to go into his pockets for \$25 initiation fee again.

"God!" said Jack. "They are making it a crime to be a union man. Purchasing redemption is more expensive than buying forgiveness for our sins from the church."

Cold weather ended the tile laying work, and as Jack had kept up his dues in the United Mine Workers' Union of Danville, Ill., he returned to the mines. This time he could go to work without molestation. He didn't even have to bother about paying his dues, as the benevolent coal operators check off the union dues there on each and every pay day. On pay day the manager of the mine deducted Jack's dues and paid them over to the union official. His first check was marked "Fine, 50 cents," and Jack kicked. The next time it was marked "Docked \$3" for allowing slate to get into the car he was loading with coal.

Jack complained at the union meeting, but was assured that one-half the sums collected in fines and for docking went into the treasury of the United Mine Workers to build up a big war chest in times of need. The other half went to the mine operator.

Later Jack tried his hand at wood turning in a new factory that was just opened up. When the men employed with him discovered he was a union man they asked Jack to help organize a union of wood turners. Jack's blood boiled when he discovered that the foreign workers were not getting as much pay for the same work as he was getting, and his name was first on the list of new union

members. He was the first to demand better pay for the others. And he was also the first man fired. He was elated to see that his companions stuck by him and he claims that the \$2 paid for the charter of the wood turners' union was his only investment in real unionism. The strike was lost because the men were not sufficiently well organized to tie up the whole shop, but Jack still keeps that union card. He says it is a trophy from his only fight with his employers where militant workers stood together.

Now, Jack was a good "mixer" and was generous with his money, although he did not waste it in debauchery, so he was offered a job as barkeeper in Danville, Ill. He took it, but the barkeepers were all members of the International Bartenders' League and Waiters' Alliance. The officers of the union said it was too bad that such a good fellow as Jack had to pay out \$15 more as an initiation fee to get into the union. Of course, as usual, he produced his gallery of union cards, but nothing went there but the cash.

By this time Jack began wondering how many American Federations of Labor there were collecting initiation fees. Each one seemed to want to make him pay dearly for staying inside the union band wagon. In the spring Jack returned to Chicago and got a job, paying \$5 to the hodcarriers' union to have his card reinstated.

In the winter he went back to the mines. Work was plentiful. The men were rushing out coal, piling it up at the pits, in the railroad yards and shipping extra loads to industrial centers. In April, 1911, the union contract with the coal companies expired. Jack had been docked twice and every second week an extra dollar was deducted from his pay envelope, which bore the slip: "Union Dues (War Fund)." There were thousands of dollars in the union treasury and Jack wondered why the mine-owning officials were willing to deduct money from the men's pay to turn over to the union for a war fund. We don't blame him. Most anybody with any intelligence would have been guessing too. Jack could not believe the mine owners were afraid of having

any trouble. He expected there would be no difficulty in making a new adjustment in wages.

In April, 1910, the daily papers reported that there were 5,000,000 tons of coal stored up. The officials of the mines ordered a suspension of work. There was no strike, you understand—only a peaceful suspension of work. But the officials of the United Mine Workers would not permit the miners' war fund to be touched. A lot of unruly fellows knocked pretty hard about this time. Somebody said they were Socialists. Anyway, they used their hammers all the time. They said the mine operators welcomed the suspension of work because it would enable them to sell the 5,000,000 tons of coal at an advance of \$1 a ton.

Jack still had a little faith in the union leaders, who called the anvil chorus a "cheap bunch of anarchists," etc., etc. The papers maligned them. The clergy pointed to them in scorn and the whole world of respectability tried to ignore them when they pointed to the Cherry mine disaster and called it willful murder. They had even been known to go so far as to say the union officials were almost as culpable as the mine owners, because they had not seen to the enforcement of the laws regarding mining safety devices.

The union officials advised the miners that there would be no strike benefits and no picketing, as the bosses had promised them that they would not bring in any scabs. The officials advised the miners to go away and get jobs somewhere else. Jack realized that they did not want the men there asking them for bread. They did not want to pay back any of the money they had deducted from the men's pay for the big war fund. What in the world did they want it for?

So Jack went back to Chicago and went to barkeeping again. His card from the

Danville union helped him a little—he only had to pay \$10 initiation fee this time. Here is where we met Jack.

This last gouge was about the last dose of anti-unionism Jack will ever endure. He has been a good "union" man all his life. He has hated scabbing and always stood by his fellows.

In June, Jack received word that two of the mines at Danville had signed up with the men. This was his old home and he went back because he thought the work would be permanent.

When he went he was told that he was expected to SCAB ON HIS STRUGGLING BROTHERS who were still out on strike. Jack grew furious. He pulled the seven different union cards that had cost him so dearly out of his pocket and threatened to strangle anybody who doubted that he was a true-blue militant union man.

But when Jack finally saw that by going back to work and supplying the market with coal while his comrades were out was breaking their strike and giving strength into the hands of the bosses, Jack swore and tore. But he didn't go back to Danville.

He realized that he could not change things alone, but that it is necessary to point out the evils and weaknesses of trade unionism to every workingman. He realized that the organization that would really help the working class would say: "Once a union man always a union man, no matter in what industry you may be working."

Think this over. Talk it over in your union. You will find that on an average thirty-five men out of every 100 in a union are carrying cards in more than one organization. The next thing is to get them to read up on industrial unionism. "One union of all workers in an industry; all industries in one union."



Carrying the Banner

BY

DAVID FULTON KARSNER

CARRYING the banner is the curse of those who are jobless. It is not a pretty banner. But it is a conspicuous one. Its army includes young men and old; girls and aged women; tattered garments and soleless shoes; lined faces and despairing faces; wild eyes and eyes still left with a glimmer of hope. All these make up the whole of the banner-carrying brigade.

In Chicago there are 500,000 men, women and children out of work. Yet in this space it is not given to me to state why there are so many carrying the banner. It is merely given me to state a few concrete instances of men who answer "Help Wanted" advertisements in the daily newspapers, and who, in the course of their search for the job or jobs designated in the newspapers, find that the coveted place has been filled "just a minute before." The *Chicago Daily News* boasts of printing more "Help Wanted" ads than any other newspaper in Chicago. Most of these ads are what is known as "blind." That is, instead of the employer stating in the ad his place of business he refers the job seeker to "D 72, News Office." This saves a lot of time and worry on the part of the employer, and at the same time creates a waste of time, energy and money on the part of the unemployed. A man may answer 400 ads and still remain jobless.

The *Daily News*, in particular, and all papers in general that make a specialty of the "want ad" business, find a ready market for the paper in the ranks of the jobless. Lured by the hope of getting work

through the columns of the papers, the jobless daily invest their last pennies in the purchase of these sheets. It is amazing how often people can be fooled.

In order to secure these last pennies from the jobless the *Chicago Daily News* has carried for some time on the front page this grim remark: WORK FOR EVERYBODY. And as a result every afternoon from 500 to 1,000 men flock to the *News* office to purchase the papers as they come off the press. It is sad to see them swiftly turn the pages to the classified section and scan the "Help Wanted" column. Perhaps the advertiser has stated where the job seeker may call. If this is true, as often it is, from fifty to 100 men and boys will dash for that place.

The other day the great house of Marshall Field advertised in the columns of the *News* for a "competent shoe salesman." Perhaps the writer has much to regret that he was not born a shoe salesman instead of an habitual botherer of men. Or perhaps he has much to regret that he was not born an employer of men instead of one of the employed or unemployed. But whatever his regrets may be, he applied, with thirty-two men, for the position at Field's.

By the way, this is the same Field who dedicated to Chicago the Field Museum; the same Field who left his two little grandchildren, who are now being educated in England, millions of dollars each; the same Field whose wayward son was the principal party in a revolver episode which resulted in young Fields' de-

mise; the same Field whose clerk heard me ask for a job.

"What line are you experienced in?" the clerk asked me.

"I can sell silks, shoes, or mop floors, clean brass knobs and drive a wagon."

"We will have nothing in your line for two months."

"What is my line?" I ventured.

"You are in the unskilled class. You should know something definite."

I replied that I had been fired so often from former places that I had no time to learn anything definite.

"May I file an application for unskilled work in this house?" I asked.

"It is quite useless, young man; our files are filled with such applications as you wish to make."

"But I must have work," I persisted.

"Boy! Boy! Show this man to the elevator!" he commanded.

As I turned to go I was followed by a dozen men who had heard the conversation. They, too, were unskilled. They, too, had much to regret. Each of us pulled a paper from our pockets and scanned the "Help Wanted" columns again. Simultaneously we turned our steps to the house of Thompson, 186 North State street, who had advertised for a porter. This is the Thompson who was once treasurer of Cook County, and who has made a fortune by his chain of restaurants in Chicago. As I was about to enter the door of the establishment I was met by a crowd of about forty men and boys who had been turned away. They all wanted to be porters. A policeman on the corner, thinking that someone was trying to get away with the top floor of the Masonic Temple, promptly appeared on the scene to chase the job seekers. I assured the blue-coated disturber that I was a customer.

"I want that job as a porter," I told the red-faced employer. He looked at my shoes. I wondered why. I looked at

my shoes. They looked like any other pair of shoes to me. He looked again. I looked again.

"How long have you been out of work?"

"Do my shoes indicate anything to you?"

"No; guess you ain't been looking for a job very long."

I had learned a point. The more worn a man's shoes are, the safer the bet that he has been carrying the banner a long time. His chances for a job are remote indeed. No godly employer wants a man nigh shoeless.

"This job is taken; I just hired that man," he said, pointing to an emaciated creature.

"How much pay in it?"

"That's none of your business, but I pay him \$10 a week. I wanted a porter to make himself generally useful; to run errands, to wait on the store occasionally, and to drive the wagon when we are short-handed. He must be willing to work seven nights a



GRABBING THE PAPERS.

weeks."

"That's a good job. Have you another like it?" I asked.

My fellow job seekers had disappeared when they heard the job was filled. I watched after them and saw each one refer again to the "Want" column. The banner was weighing heavily upon my shoulders now, but I had courage to call upon the Mission Art Company in answer to their ad for "an energetic young man, Catholic preferred."

"Have you ever sold anything?" I was asked. I was about to reply that I once sold my overcoat in Pittsburg for the price of a bean soup, but I reflected that such a reply would be frivolous on my part.

"I sold Marion Harland's books on 'Table Etiquette, Toasts and After-Dinner Talks' to working people in Balti-

more. I also sold patent fly catchers," I said boastfully.

"Are you a Catholic?"

I answered that I would be anything for a job.

He turned out the light, picked up a crucifix and held it in the darkest corner of his desk. This demonstration proved to me that the article could be plainly seen in any dark room; that the purchaser would be able to see Christ on the cross without turning on the light. He told me that every Christian would like to have a likeness of Jesus. My profit would be 50 cents on each crucifix. I asked if I might take a few out on trial.

"Young man, these will cost you 75 cents apiece."

My fellow job seeker broke in that he had been out of a job for four months, and added that he could not get 75 cents even if automobiles were selling for that price. The employer told us it was pleasant work—this business of peddling crucifixes. On my way down the stairs I met eight men ascending. They all wanted to sell something. Five of these admitted to me that they had no money to buy when I stated the proposition to them.

I next turned my steps to South Market street to a place that had advertised in the *Daily News* for laborers. There were no frills attached to the ad; no promises of big profits—they just wanted laborers. When I reached the place I found 116 men. A policeman stationed in front of the door saw to it that there should be no disturbance caused by jealousy when the fortunate men were chosen. Undaunted, I brushed my way into the office and stood before a frail railing. A burly brute stood on the other side.

"I want the job as a laborer," I shouted, despite my diminutive stature.

"Who in the hell are you? Get in line and wait your turn," he replied. I "got," but in a moment I heard him shout to the crowd of eager men outside that all the jobs had been filled. They all turned their coat collars up around their necks and disappeared mysteriously. The fact of the matter was that only two men were required and these had consented to leave their families in Chicago while they went

to Minnesota to work for \$1.50 per day.

Once more I referred to the "want ad" column. It is such a solace. It reminds me of the days when I used to stand in front of restaurants and stare at the food being served to clerks and shop girls when I had not the price of a chip of butter. I made my way to the Kaiserhof Hotel to see a Mr. Ryan who had advertised for "an honest young man to take charge of a gents' furnishing goods store."

For this job only one man was needed. But between the hours of 1 and 2 o'clock in the afternoon ninety-five men had applied. I awaited my round. When finally it was my turn to be interviewed I was told by Mr. Ryan that the job called for a man to go to Brent, Montana. He had no intention of engaging the applicant then, but would look over the candidates and decide in a month. We candidates realized that we had about as much chance of landing that job as we had of finding a pop bottle in the Pacific Ocean.

Winter or summer, spring or autumn, it is always the same. For every job there are 150 applicants. I have stood in line with men looking for jobs and marveling at their patience. I have looked into the faces of the fussy, fuming, magnificent army of unemployed men and have seen in their eyes patient determination. And I have asked myself: "How long—how long will we endure such a condition?"

Think of a man who is willing to pay from \$5 to \$10 a month for one year to anyone who will assist him in securing a job. Such a man is trying to beat the employment sharks at their own game. How about the registered druggist who has gone through college and can produce a state certificate, advertising for a job at anything? Such ads were inserted in the columns of the *Daily News* under the heading of "Situations Wanted—Male."

Occasionally a man or a woman or a child is willing to get out of the army by jumping into the nearest river, or by making use of a revolver, or by inhaling gas, or by drinking some deadly draught. But the army goes on and grows on, steadily gaining new but unwilling re-

cruits. Whenever a man lays aside the banner for the suicide's grave there are five others to take it up.

Edward A. Turner, 78 years old, a homeless veteran of the draft riots of 1864, attempted to end his life in New York by slashing his throat. He had been to see his former employer in an effort to get work, but was rebuffed. The *New York Herald* of January 6, 1912, printed the following statement from the old man:

"If we could only live on air this would be a beautiful world. But I often think, when I see mothers wheeling their babies along in carriages, if they do not wonder

whether their children may some time have to walk the sidewalks for lack of a home to sleep in and without food for days."

I wonder, too. I wonder how long the millions of workers are going to stand idly by and watch the masters snatch bread from their mouths. I wonder how long they are going to tolerate an industrial system which permits one group of workers to scab on the other group while the latter strikes for bread and for a bed.

And I wonder how long it will be before you and I shall carry the banner—the red banner symbolic of the INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

The Disunited Mine Workers

BY

JOHN K. HILDEBRAND

THE enforced suspension of work on the part of the United Mine Workers on April 1 doesn't look good. It wasn't a strike and it wasn't a lockout. It was just a "suspension," so the hundreds of thousands of men thrown out of work drew no strike pay. Meantime the salaries of the officials went on the same.

The suspension benefited nobody except the operators, as has been the case in nearly every strike and suspension in which the United Mine Workers have been involved. As a Wall street market letter, issued at the end of the first week of the suspension put it: "The railroads have great surplus stocks of coal which they are now disposing of rapidly and at the same time saving operating expenses by the idleness of the mines."

Everybody knew the suspension was going to take place, the companies beginning to heap up their stocks and fill railroad yards with high-piled cars as far back as six months ago. And very obligingly the miners worked industriously till the last hour on March 31 heaping up mountains of coal so as to scab on themselves while they were out of work!

Truly, craft unions and craft union methods are a fearful and wonderful thing. Not only do members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor cheerfully scab on each other in time of strike, but local unions of the same organization help to break each others' strikes; and not content with that, the members scab on themselves. Organized scabbery can go no further. It has been reduced to a science.

A compromise wage agreement fixed up by the union officials and the bituminous operators was approved about the middle of the month, but at that date no one knew what would be done in the anthracite fields. The compromise provided for an increase of 5 cents a ton for screened coal, 3 cents a ton for unscreened coal, and 5.26 cents for day work.

This does not mean that the miners won an absolute increase or that they were substantially benefited. It merely means that they have won back the reduction that John Mitchell, their honored president, accepted for them some years ago.

The United Mine Workers haven't gained anything worth talking about in ten years. The cost of living has increased

about 60 per cent in that period. Therefore the majority of the members of the U. M. W. of A. are considerably worse off than they were when they joined the union.

The one demand that meant something was sidetracked and forgotten. A seven-hour workday and five hours on Saturday would have been a distinct gain and would have benefited the organization immeasurably. It would have provided jobs for the thousands of mine workers who have done nothing for the past two years. But the operators were opposed to it, so the miners' officials did not insist on it. They didn't want to be offensive.

So the men will go back to work with their hands tied for another two years, having gained nothing; but the salaries of the officials will go on just the same.

The United Mine Workers of America is frequently lauded, especially since the recent convention at Indianapolis tacitly endorsed the Socialist party, as a revolutionary organization.

Is it?

Let us see.

The United Mine Workers gain their strength as a union from two institutions—the check-off system and the contract. Without these the union would fall to pieces that is, as it is constituted today.

The check-off is a system whereby the mine owners deduct from the pay of the men the amount of dues, assessments and fines imposed by the union, thus making the operators a collecting agency for the union officials. It can be readily seen that in case of trouble the owners can use this system as a club on the union officials, and they do so constantly use it.

How does this check-off system work out? It is forcibly stated by a writer in *Pittsburg Justice*, as follows:

"Did it never strike you as a singular proceeding that the mine owner would consent to withhold from your pay envelopes money to maintain an organization, if that organization was meant to fight him, if he had anything to fear from it? Are you so simple as to believe that these employers who have ground your lives out beneath the hoofs of the mounted Cossacks; who have laid you dead in swaths before the volleys of the militia; who have stopped at no villainy in their efforts to crush you, could you possibly believe that they would

do anything likely to enable you to more successfully resist them?"

That is the matter in a nutshell. It would be well for every miner to read that paragraph over and over again and ponder it carefully.

The other sacred god of the miners' union is the contract or agreement. The operators violate it whenever they see fit; they break it constantly and continuously. But nothing stirs a union official to such immediate action as an actual or threatened violation of a contract. He will drop his business like a hot potato, rush frantically for the nearest train and travel hundreds of miles to bully the guilty member or local back to submission and work. The punishment he deals out is merciless. Nothing fills him with such horror as any action against the employer's interest.

But when a mere miner or an obscure local union has a grievance and is urgently calling for redress—Lordy, what a difference! The officials are simply so busy, so great is the pressure on them and the demands on their time, that they just can't attend to it now, but will get around to it just as soon as the opportunity presents. Meantime, mind you, the aggrieved men must stay at work or incur a heavy penalty. Take note of this significant paragraph in the thirteenth section of the agreement between the Illinois Coal Operators and District No. 12 of the United Mine Workers: "In all cases of dispute the miners and mine laborers and all parties involved shall continue at work pending a trial and adjustment, until a final decision is reached under the provisions herein set forth." And any local union, committee or member that dares to take any action not approved by their high officials in such case "shall be liable to expulsion or fine, subject to the discretion of the District Executive Board." Moreover, if any men strike because of an unrectified grievance, their brothers may be called in to scab on them as per clause C.

And now while dealing with the Illinois agreement, let us look at other sections of it. Here is the third: "Any operator paying the scale rate of mining and day labor under this agreement shall at all times be at liberty to load any railroad cars whatever, regardless of their ownership, with coal, and sell and deliver such coal in any

market and to any person, firm or corporation that he may desire."

This is the notorious "scab clause" that has already made so much trouble for the officials who agreed to it. It allows of such wretched business as went on during the strike of the Northern Colorado coal miners which has been recently reported at an end. This strike lasted two years, and all this time this territory was supplied by scab coal mined by brother union men in other districts of the U. M. W. of A.!

Let's go on. Here is the start of the eighth clause: "The price for powder per keg shall be \$1.75, the same to be delivered at the face when so requested. The miners shall purchase their powder FROM THE OPERATORS." Can you beat it? The poor devils are obliged to buy the very materials with which they work from their employers, affording the bosses fat and juicy profits.

The kicker gets small show among the mine workers. No matter how just his grievance, if he makes trouble he will be fired. He may get back by appealing to the union, but if this case is not "adjusted" in five days he gets no back pay, and not more than ten days' compensation at most, even if it is proved that the operator has been to blame. The simplest procedure, then, is to lay the dissatisfied miner off and delay settlement for months, the operator being serene in the knowledge that he won't have to give the aggrieved man more than ten days' back pay at most.

These quotations are enough to show what the Illinois agreement is. Now, who signed this agreement, that allows the owner so easily to take advantage of the miner? Here are the names: J. H. Walker, Groce Lawrence and Duncan McDonald, all members of the Socialist party and candidates either now or in the past for office on Socialist tickets. A number of other men high in the councils of the union are members of the Socialist party, but their Socialism is not of the brand that will hurt anybody. It seems to be kept in a bottle for the purpose of uncorking it with a loud noise on the platforms of convention halls.

Nobody can make a more resounding, a fierier Socialist speech than Frank J. Hayes, vice-president of the United Mine Workers, and yet in the Columbus convention when a vote came as to whether John Mitchell should be allowed to remain in the union

or in the Civic Federation, Hayes voted with the Mitchell gang.

By the way, it should be kept in mind that the vote calling on Mitchell to quit either the Civic Gang or the miners' union in no way represented the sentiment of the miners as a whole or of the delegates. There was a big factional fight on between Tom Lewis' and Mitchell's adherents and when the Socialists sprang their resolution the Lewis crowd voted for it because they wanted to hit Mitchell, not because they gave a hoot about the Civic Federation. The talk about that affair being "a manifestation of class consciousness" is all bunk, as everybody acquainted with coal-mine politics knows.

It cannot be justly charged that any of the miners' officials are crooked or corrupt. They are merely craft union officials and have jobs to hold, that's all. They can see things only from a craft union outlook and are incapable of taking a class viewpoint. They are thoroughly reactionary in method, whatever they are in speech.

On the political field, as Socialists many of the miners' officials are prepared to accept the principles of "No Compromise, No Political Trading." They demand the overthrow of capitalism and stand by the state and national platforms of the Socialist Party; but on the political field they take a position diametrically opposed to the revolutionary position and actually enter into contracts with the capitalist class for periods of one, two or three years. Hence, a continuation and constant renewal of these contracts MEANS A PERPETUATION OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. Thus is shown the inconsistency of a man trying to be a Socialist on the political field and a trade unionist on the industrial field. Such men compromise at the mouth of the coal pit where Socialism begins and they are revolutionary at the door of the state house where Socialism neither begins nor ends.

What a pity that the American miners do not say with the revolutionary miners of South Wales: "The ballot you need to use most is the ballot that comes the closest home to you. To have a vote in determining who shall be your foreman, manager, inspector, etc., is to have a vote in determining the conditions which shall rule your working life."

The Black Man's Burden

BY

HUBERT H. HARRISON

EDUCATIONAL.

EDUCATION is the name we give to that process of equipment and training which, in our day, society gives the individual to prepare him for fighting the battle of life. We do not confer it as a privilege, but it is given on behalf of society for society's own protection from the perils of ignorance and incompetence. It is a privilege to which every member of society is entitled. For without some equipment of this sort the individual is but half a man, handicapped in the endeavor to make a living. Here in America we subscribe to the dangerous doctrine that ten million of the people should receive the minimum of education. And in order to reconcile ourselves to this doctrine, we deck it in the garments of wisdom. Because of the serf idea in American life, we say that the negro shall have a serf's equipment and no more. It is the same idea that the aristocracy of Europe evolved when the workers demanded that their children should be trained better than they themselves had been. "Why," said the masters, "if we give your children schooling they will be educated out of their station in life. What should the son of a carpenter need to know of Euclid or Virgil? He should learn his father's vocation that he may be well equipped to serve in that station of life into which it has pleased God to call him. We need more plowmen than frocks, more servants than savants."

In our own land when negroes demand education, we say, "Why, surely, give them industrial education. Your race has a great opportunity—to make itself useful. It needs trained craftsmen and workers and, perhaps, a few parsons. Teach your sons and daughters to work. That is enough." And we dexterously select leaders for them who will administer the soothing syrup of this old idea with deftness and dispatch. The general

education board which disburses millions of dollars annually in the South for education has, so far, given to forty-one negro schools the sum of \$464,015. Only in two instances has any money been given to a real college. Practically all of it went to the labor-caste schools. Why? Because the dark degradation of the negro must be lightened by no ray of learning. That would never do. We need them as "hewers of wood and drawers of water." And in the meanwhile, this is what the richest country on earth offers to ruthlessly exploited people as a training for life.

Before the Twelfth Annual Conference for Education in the South (1910) Mr. Charles L. Cook, superintendent of schools in North Carolina, read a paper on negro education in the South. His investigation extended over eleven states: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas and Tennessee. In these states the negroes make up 40.1 per cent of the population, but receive only 14.8 per cent of the school fund. He showed that even if the school fund as disbursed were apportioned to each race according to taxes paid the colored people of Virginia should receive \$507,305 instead of the \$482,228 which they now receive; in North Carolina they should get \$429,127 instead of \$402,658, and in Georgia \$647,852 instead of \$506,170. So that these three states expend for negro education \$93,278 less than that the negroes themselves pay for and that sum is contributed by negroes to the white children of the state.

But, as a matter of fact in no modern country is education made to depend upon the tax-paying power of the parents. If that were so, the children of 80,000,000 American proletarians would live and die without schooling. So that the case is really much worse than it seems.

South Carolina spent in 1910 \$10.34 for

the education of each white child and \$1.70 for the education of each colored child. In Lawrence county the state gave to each colored child 97 cents worth of education that year; in Lexington county, 90 cents; in Bamberg, 89 cents; in Saluda, 68 cents, and in Calhoun, 58 cents worth. The smallest sum spent on a white child for education that year was \$4.03. In Georgia it was quite as bad. One county of this state owned 19 of the 27 school houses for negroes. The valuation of the entire 19 was \$2,500; that is, \$131.58 for each school house for negroes! The annual cost of the education of a negro child in six counties of this civilized state was 39 cents. Meanwhile the whites of Baltimore were protesting against the building of a new negro school! In Louisiana the report of the Department of Education shows that the average monthly salary of white male teachers is \$75.29, while that of colored male teachers is \$34.25. The average monthly salary of white female teachers is \$50.80 and that of colored female teachers is \$28.67. The average length of the annual school term for white children is eight months and a quarter; for colored children, four months and a half.

In Wilcox County, Alabama, where there are 2,000 white children and 10,758 colored children, \$32,660.48 is devoted to education. Of this amount the 10,758 colored children receive one-fifth—\$6,532.09, or sixty cents each per annum—while the 2,000 white children receive the remaining four-fifths—\$26,128.13, or about \$13 each per annum. Mr. Booker Washington, who lives in this state sends his own children to the best colleges and to Europe while advising the rest of his people to "make your condition known to the white people of the state." Now, if education—of any sort—is a training for life, is it not evident here that black children are being robbed of their chance in life? Why? Is it to be supposed that their fathers are so stupid as to allow this if they could vote for their own needs? But Mr. Washington decries the agitation for the ballot as unwise and never loses an opportunity of sneering at those who see something of value in it. But to continue. The number of white children of school age in Alabama is 364,266; the number of

colored children of school age is 311,552. But the teachers of the white children receive in salaries \$2,404,062.54, while the teachers of the colored children receive \$202,251.13. The value of all school-houses, sites and furniture for white children is \$6,503,019.57; for colored children, \$273,147.50.

In South Carolina there are 316,007 negro children of school age and 201,868 white children; but the state spends on its negro children \$368,802, and on its white children \$1,684,976. Thus does America keep knowledge from its negroes. She is afraid of the educated black man. Of such are the people who taunt negroes with ignorance.

SOCIAL.

When a group has been reduced to serfdom, political and economic, its social status becomes fixed by that fact. And so we find that in "the home of the free and the land of the brave" negroes must not ride on the same cars in a train as white people. On street-cars, certain sections are set apart for them. They may not eat in public places where white people eat nor drink at the same bar. They may not go to the same church (although they are foolish enough to worship the same god) as white people; they may not die in the same hospital nor be buried in the same grave-yard.

So far as we know, the segregation ends here. But why is segregation necessary? Because white Americans are afraid that their inherent superiority may not, after all, be so very evident either to the negro or to other people. They, therefore, find it necessary to enact it into law. So we had the first Ghetto legislation in an American nation last year, in Baltimore. Hard on the heels of this followed legislation proposals along the same line in Richmond, Va., Kansas City, Mo., St. Louis, Mo., and Birmingham, Ala. In Memphis, Tenn., negroes pay taxes for public parks in which they are not allowed to enter. A year ago they petitioned for a negro park and were about to get it when 500 white citizens protested against it. That settled it with the park. But discrimination goes even farther and declares that negroes shall not possess even their lives if any white persons should want them. And so we have the institu-

tion called the lynching-bee. The professional southerner seems to love a lie dearly and continues to assert that negroes are lynched for rape committed upon white women. Why not? It is perfectly American. If you want to kill a man call it mad; if you want to silence a man call him an Anarchist, and if you want to kill a black man call him a rapist. But let us see what the facts actually are.

In the two decades from 1884 to 1904 there were 2,875 lynchings in the United States. Of these 87 per cent, or 2,499 occurred in the South. The national total was grouped as follows:

1. For alleged and attempted criminal assault, i. e., rape.....	564
2. For assault and murder and for complicity	138
3. For murder	1,277
4. For theft, burglary and robbery....	326
5. For arson	106
6. For race-prejudice (?).....	94
7. For unknown reasons.....	134
8. For simple assault.....	18
9. For insulting whites.....	18
10. For making threats.....	16

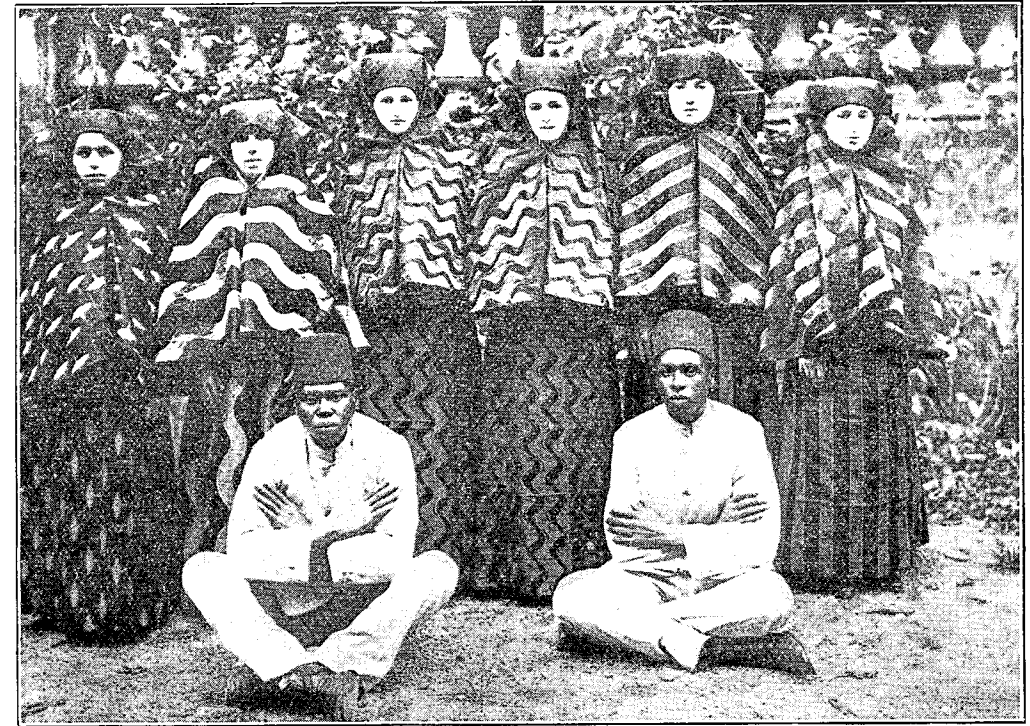
The causes for the remainder were: slander, miscegenation, informing, drunkenness, fraud, voodooism, violation of contract, resisting arrest, elopement, train-wrecking, poisoning stock, refusing to give evidence, testifying against whites, political animosity, disobedience of quarantine regulations, passing counterfeit money, introducing smallpox, concealing criminals, cutting levees, kidnapping, gambling, riots, seduction, incest, and forcing a child to steal. Yes, there are courts in the South; but not for black people—not when the mob chooses to relieve civilization of the onus of law and order. At Honeapath, S. C., a negro was lynched in November last, charged, of course, with "the usual crime." The charge had not been proven, or even investigated; but the man was lynched. The howling mob which did him to death was composed of "prominent citizens" who had made up automobile parties to ride to the affair. Among those present was the *dis-honorable* Joshua Ashley, a member of the state legislature. He and his friends cut off the man's fingers as souvenirs and were proud of their work. Why shouldn't they? You see, it helps to keep "niggers" in their place. And then, besides, isn't this a white man's country? Gov. Blease of

South Carolina, was also proud of the event and said that instead of stopping the horrible work of the mob he would have resigned his office to lead it. In Okemeah, Oklahoma, last June, a band of white beasts raped a negro woman and then lynched her and her fourteen-year-old son. Nothing has been done to them. And it is not that the facts are unknown. At Durant, Okla., and elsewhere, the savages have posed around their victim to have their pictures taken. One man, from Alabama, sent to the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, of Brooklyn, N. Y., a post-card (*by mail*) bearing a photograph of such a group. "This is the way we treat them down here," he writes, and, after promising to put Mr. Holmes' name on his mailing list, declares that they will have one, at least, each month.

In Washington, Ga., Charles S. Holinshead, a wealthy white planter, raped the wife of T. B. Walker, a decent, respectable negro. As his wife returned to him dishevelled and bleeding from the outrage perpetrated on her, Walker went to Holinshead's store and shot him dead. For this he was tried and condemned and, while the judge was yet pronouncing sentence, Holinshead's brother shot Walker in the court-room. They held his head up while the judge finished the sentence. Then he was taken out and lynched—not executed. Nothing was done to the other Holinshead.

The New York *Evening Post*, on October 23rd, said in an editorial that "there has hardly been a single authenticated case in a decade of the negroes rising against the whites, despite the growing feeling among them that there should be some relation since no tribunal will punish lynchers or enforce the law." I am glad that the *Post* noticed this. I had begun to notice it myself. When President Roosevelt discussed lynching some years ago, he severely reprobated *the colored people* for their tendency to shield their "criminals" and ordered them to go out and help hunt them down. So was insult added to injury.

But, putting my own opinion aside, here are the facts as I have seen them. In the face of these facts, the phrase, "the white man's burden," sounds to me like a horrid mockery.



SIX WIVES WHO BELONGED TO EX-SULTAN ABDUL HAMID.

Passing of the Turkish Harem

BY

MARY E. MARCY

ON looking up the historical development of any social institution, Socialists are wont to claim that we are nearly always able to find its basis lodged in some economic need of the people or a certain class of the people. In other words, the food, clothing and shelter problems give rise to nearly every social institution. With this fact in mind, it is with more than usual interest we find that Vahan Cardashian in her booklet "Actual Life in the Turkish Harem" published by The Glover Press, New York City, has pointed out the economic origin of polygamy in Turkey as well as the economic reason for its decline during the present century.

In the 7th century, she writes, Arabia had no compact political system. There was no recognized system of home life, or

marriage. Perhaps one-half the people of Arabia were of unknown parentage. Upon the death of a man, his widow descended to his sons, by the same woman or another, and one of them would or could marry her.

"At that time, Arabia was the battle ground of scores of migratory and predatory tribes wandering aimlessly to and fro, continually preying upon one another."

The proportion of women to men became so great that men often buried their female children alive. There was no limit upon the number of wives a man might possess but his ability to support them for the time being, and he could dismiss one or all at pleasure without any regard as to their future comfort. Men did not know their mothers; brothers could not recog-

nize their sisters. Incestuous marriages were unavoidable and common.

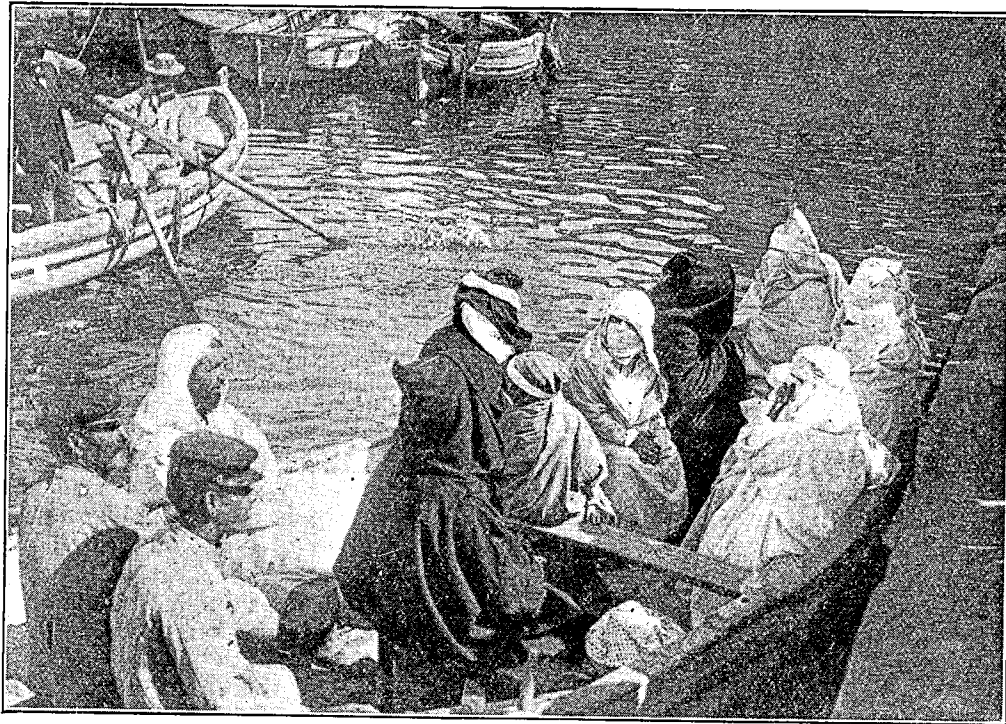
These evils Mohammed undertook to improve. He restricted men to four wives at a time, supplementing the limitation by the additional provision that they could have female slaves who were also to enjoy certain rights.

Thus he made certain of building up the male population depleted by continual wars and, as the number of women vastly exceeded the men, these thousands of unmarried women were housed and sup-

ported honorably instead of being forced to become prostitutes to earn a living.

very recently there were no unmarried men nor bachelor maids among the Turks. "A Turk may marry four wives at a time, in addition thereto, have female slaves." Chapter IV of the Koran says: "If ye fear that ye shall not act with equity toward orphans of the female sex, take in marriage of such other women as ye please, two, or three, or four at a time." They said, "O, Prophet, does this revelation apply also to you?" He said, "Yes, it does." A few days thereafter, God, in his Infinite Wisdom, hurried, through

Archangel Gabriel, so said Mohammed, a modifying revelation, which runs as follows: Chapter XXXIII. "O Prophet, we have allowed thee thy wives unto whom thou has given their dower, and also slaves which thy right hand possesseth, of the booty which God had granted thee, and the daughters of thy uncles, and the daughters of thy aunts, both on thy father's side and on thy mother's side, and any other believing woman, if she give herself unto the Prophet, in case the Prophet desireth to



HAREM WOMEN FLEEING FROM REVOLUTION.

Furthermore Mohammed evidently knew that only economic security would prevent superfluous females from preying upon the rest of the community. Until

supported honorably instead of being forced to become prostitutes to earn a living. Vahan Cardashian believes that Mohammed's chief desire in advocating the Harem System was to insure the masses of the people against a return to their habits of unbridled promiscuity which had begun to produce a most deteriorating effect upon the health of the country.

take her for wife. This is a peculiar privilege granted unto thee above the rest of the true believers. Thou mayest postpone the turn of such of thy wives as thou shall please, and her whom thou shall desire of those whom thou shall have before rejected, and it shall be no crime in thee. This will be more easy, that they may be entirely content, and they may not be grieved, but may be well pleased with what thou shalt give every one of them. God knoweth whatever is in your heart. O True Believers, enter not the house of the Prophet, unless it be permitted ye to eat meat with him, without waiting his convenient time; but when ye are invited then enter, and when ye shall have eaten then disperse yourselves; and stay not to enter into familiar discourse, for it incommodeth the Prophet. He is ashamed to bid you depart, but God is not ashamed of the truth. And when you ask the Prophet's wives what you may have occasion for, ask it of them from behind a curtain. This will be more pure for your hearts. Neither is it for you to marry the wives of the Apostle of God, after him forever; for this would be a grievous thing in the sight of God."

Upon this revelation is based the Harem system of the Sultan, who is the

successor of the Prophet, by reason of his possession of the old garb, sword, standard and two hairs of the beard of the Prophet. The deposed Sultan had 370 women in his Harem. Many of his predecessors maintained large Harem establishments, which entailed an expenditure of several millions of dollars a year. Be that as it may, Harems of the extravagant size and vicious nature and influences, as the one supported by Abd-UI-Hamid, are things of the past, and will perhaps never again obtain in Turkey. Yet, the fact that hardly 20 per cent of the Mohammedans are polygamous is not due to the influence of any moral conviction or scruple, but to the difficulty which the middle-class Mohammedan experiences in supporting more than one wife, and the equal inability of the high classes to meet the requirements of modern fashion and luxury, which dominate those Harems. Moreover the most forceful reason for the abolition of this primitive institution is not its inconsistency with the spirit of modern civilization—sufficient though that is—but the decay of its original cause, namely: the over-abundance of women, and as Caidashian says: the high cost of living.

The Workers' Holiday

BY
ED. MOORE

MAY DAY brings to the ears of our memory that soul-stirring appeal of the foremost champions of the working class in its struggle for economic freedom: "Workingmen of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain."

In response to that rallying call and battle cry, working people from all lands in every capitalist nation, of every creed and no creed, are resenting a united front in resisting the aggressions of the master class and forcing onward the mass of the toilers whose labor gladdens the earth while their backs bend under the weight of the burden of producing surplus wealth for schemers to enjoy.

In France, wage workers in the government's service, postal workers and railroaders, rebelled against long hours and low pay. Military force and patriotism were invoked to terrify the workers into submission. Briand, elevated to the head of the French cabinet in payment for his treason to the working class, was forced to resign to appease the workers who paralyzed a nation by simply folding their arms and doing nothing.

Great Britain, whose boast is that she rules the waves, was taught by dock laborers and seagoing transport workers that it is not a constitutional monarch and a parliament of aristocrats and commoners that have made and keep her state; that it is the despised navy coal

passers and firemen whose brain and brawn are the real greatness of the nation upon whose dominions the sun never sets.

Beginning with a murmur of discontent against the misery of their narrow lives, the coal diggers of Britain united, and with a voice that shook the fabric of the nation, demanded a "minimum living wage." A king, a prime minister, in short, all the political machinery of the ruling class bowed its head and listened to a demand that was irresistible because those who dig the fuel that furnishes light, heat and power folded their arms.

Kingly prerogatives cannot make electric lights glow. The authority vested in a parliament cannot fill the coal bunkers of trans-Atlantic liners, and high-powered rifles in the hands of obedient trained murderers will not produce the heat to cook or the food necessary to keep alive the loyal defenders of the privileged few who rob and rule the toilers. So top-hatted gentlemen bowed to coal-begrimed mine workers and formally declared the legality of a minimum living wage for them.

Columbia, the land of the free, is also thrilling to the voice of the militant workers. In the textile districts of Massachusetts the aristocrats of our industrial masters gathered from all parts of the earth, workers who were bred to be submissive and to kiss the hands that smote them, brought for the purpose of transforming their labor into the clinking gold that buys admission to the inner circles of the effete rulers of European countries. But the industrial masters forgot:

"And the slave, where'er he cowers,
feels the soul within him climb

To the awful verge of manhood"
when the whimpering cries of his children call out to him for bread. In Lawrence they took five loaves from the weekly rations of their wage slaves, and the world is still reverberating with the echoes of the exultant shouts of victory of the workers united under the red flag of the working class nation, using direct action in one big union.

On the industrial field the folded arms of the strikers dried up the current of surplus value—unpaid labor—that flows into the coffers of the magnates of industry and finance. A demand by the

Socialist party of the United States that President Taft fulfill the obligations of his oath of office to protect the constitutional rights of workingmen citizens induced him to call off the brutal police and murderous militia from interfering with parents who were sending their children to be cared for by warm-hearted comrades while the strike lasted. Using its economic power and its political privileges, the working class in the United States has shown the capitalist class that in the war for economic freedom Labor is invincible.

The workers of the world are a nation by themselves. It is fitting that this nation should have a holiday. That national holiday should be emblematic of the gladness of a world emerging from a season of bleakness and barrenness into one where Nature empties her cornucopia of wealth into the laps of the toilers. So our working class nation has selected May Day for its national holiday.

Never before had the militant workers so much cause to rejoice and be glad on its national holiday. It has been able to show its class that the day is not far distant when

"The war drums shall throb no longer
And the battle flags shall be furled."

And, taking form in one big union, we see what our great economist, Marx, predicted that:

"The working class will substitute, in the course of its development, for the old order of civil society an association which will exclude classes and their antagonisms, and there will no longer be political power, properly speaking, since political power is simply the official form of the antagonisms in civil society."

And our class's victories all over the world appear to be condensed in these lines:

"We have fed you all for a thousand
years,

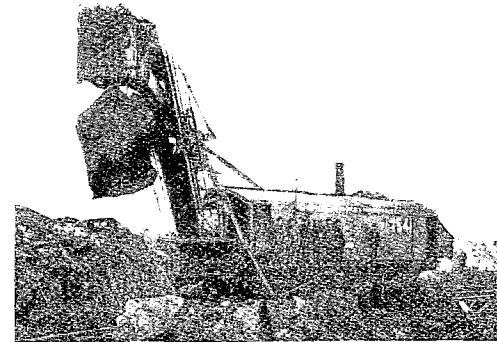
For that was our doom, you know,
Since the days that you chained us in
your fields

To the strike of a week ago.

You have eaten our lives, our babies and
wives,

And you said it was your legal share.
But if blood be the price of your lawful
wealth,

Good God! we ha' fought it fair!"



"THAT DAMN STEAM SHOVEL"

BY

PETER KINNEAR

I STOOD on the cellar bank with several hundred others watching with interest the excavating going on. Below some twenty feet, one of the marvels of the machine age, a monster steam shovel, operated by four men and four helpers, was doing the work which under former circumstances took the combined labor of 200 men to perform.

"Thirty loads an hour was her capacity," proudly the shovel operator stated, "and she can be depended on to work twenty-four hours. No more trouble with walk-outs and strikes, and she paid for herself in three months by her saving in wages what would have been paid these men standing on the bank."

At this remark I gazed about me, scrutinizing with more interest my associates on the bank watching this monster shovel that had displaced them and taken their jobs.

It was an average assembly of workmen drawn in the search for work. There were the same drawn faces, the same restless look, with its nervous twitch, the same despair written over their features, that are seen daily in the industrial centers, betokening workmen out of work.

And I wondered to myself as to what were their thoughts as they stolidly gazed at the cause—the steam shovel.

Suddenly I was brought out of my reverie by an exclamation close to me—"That damn steam shovel!" I heard.

Curiously gazing about, edged closer to the speaker and noted him to be a man fairly well clothed against the winter's cold. In his coat lapel he wore a machinist's union button and underneath a Knights of St. John pin. Deliberately I opened up a conversation with him regarding the marvel of the steam shovel incessantly devouring up the earth underneath.

"Yes," he replied to my enthusiastic description of its saving in labor and toil, "it is wonderful, but that steam shovel has taken my job."

"Why, how so?" I asked, gazing at his union button. "I note that you are a union machinist?"

At this his face slightly flushed, showing in greater contrast the furrows of worry imbedded in his brow.

"Yes, that's true," he replied, as he added, with a sigh, "and I used to build steam shovels when working at my trade."

"Then," I curiously asked, "how do you figure that this steam shovel has taken your job?"

For a moment he gazed stolidly into my face as if endeavoring to fathom the stupidity of my question. Gradually his eyes moistened with tears, and with a distant look as if longing for home and rest, he replied: "I will tell you why, mister.

"I am a machinist, but work at our trade has been very slack through the winter. In the last six months I have been able to get in only about four weeks at my trade. The rest of the time I have spent searching for work. I have a wife and three children. We all must eat to live. The few dollars that I had saved up when work was good we practically used up some months ago. My rent is now two months overdue and the landlord has given me notice to pay up or he will have me placed on the streets. My grocery and butcher bill are now thirty days overdue and they have the thirty-day limit to credit customers. Both have notified me that I must pay up or get a steady job, otherwise they will cut off my credit. We must live.

"My wife, through incessant worry over our indebtedness, is sick in bed. We never before owed anyone, as I always made good wages. Conditions have reached a climax in my home. This morning I could stand it no longer, so I said to my wife: 'Mary, I am not too proud to work at anything to make an honest living. They are putting up a large skyscraper down town. The cellar is being dug now. I intend to go down and get a job, even if it is pick and shovel work.'

"Imagine my surprise on arriving here early this morning, I found these same men standing on the bank that you see now. I thought I was late, but as I gazed into this pit I quickly saw the reason. The steam shovel that I helped build deprived me and the hundreds of others here of the common laborers' job, pick and shovel work."

Here was fate with a vengeance. The steam shovel maker that helped build thousands of steam shovels (at good wages) that displaced hundreds of thousands of common laborers at poor wages

was meeting ultimately the same fate—displaced by his own creation—the steam shovel. He continued:

"Never before was the machine problem so forcibly brought to my view. Never before did I realize the community of interest of the working class and how helpless we are within the situation we have helped create. Always had I felt secure in the thought that if worst came to worst I could get a job at common labor, pick and shovel work, to live. But here my cherished thoughts received a violent setback. The steam shovel closed even this avenue to me."

Kindly I turned to the machinist. Both of us had received a new view of things as they are.

"My friend," I asked, "have you ever thought of a solution to this problem, this steam shovel problem that is displacing hundreds of thousands of common laborers and throwing them into an already overcrowded labor market, with no provision made to take care of them?"

"Why, no," he replied, astonished. "Is there a solution?"

"Yes," I stated with conviction, "there is. The solution lies with you and the idle men standing on this bank. You alone can solve this problem. First, you must organize yourself into a compact body against the owner of this steam shovel, both industrially and politically. Then with this compact organization you must demand the social ownership (by all you men) of this steam shovel."

"You mean to take the steam shovel away from the man that owns it?" he inquired dubiously.

"Certainly," I replied, "in the interest of the two hundred idle men standing on the bank. The man that owns the steam shovel today runs it for profit. The labor cost it has saved him on the two hundred men that it has displaced paid for the steam shovel in three months. The steam shovel, run in the interest of you two hundred men now idle, producing for use and not for profit, would mean, if work were proportionately divided among you workers, about one hour's toil per day at a wage of \$4."

"Why," he remarked, "under such a

distribution of work, work would become a pleasure!" And he added enthusiastically, "It looks practical, too."

"Very true," I added, "under such a system work would become play. Every worker would receive the full product of his toil. Then, in the place of men cursing the steam shovel, they would bless it, because it would lighten the labor of the workers."

"My friend," he replied, as he shook hands with me preparing to leave, "I am glad I met you. I can see a ray of hope for myself and all these workers standing here idle. And this solution to this machine problem; what do you call it?"

"Socialism," I replied.

At this he quickly dropped my hand and gazed at me half frightened. "Why," he exclaimed, "my church is opposed to Socialism for the reason that it is immoral and would destroy the home."

"Yes," I replied, "the steam shovel owner sees to it that anything and everything that would be of material benefit to you is maligned and slandered so you, in your superstitious faith, will refuse to accept it.

"Socialism has nothing to do with your religion. It has everything to do, though, with the steam shovel. When the workers once own the steam shovel collectively the present owner will be deprived of several hundred dollars per day in profit

with which he now lives in idle luxury while you are seeking pick and shovel work and can't get it. Your home, as far as I can see, does not need any more destroying. With the landlord's notice to pay or move, with the dealers giving you notice to pay or have your credit cut off, with you unable to get a job—your home is virtually destroyed *now*."

"That's almost true," he bitterly replied.

"Very true," I replied, "and what you and the hundreds standing idly on this bank, watching the steam shovel, need now is a system of human society, that will guarantee to you and your families a home that shall never stand in fear, of the creditor's call, a home that I have shown you can be sustained on one hour's toil at common labor on your part. Such a system will be social ownership and democratic management of all the tools of production and distribution. We will produce for your use and my use, and not for a few large profit mongers."

And the jobless worker left me battling between his superstitious faith and his material interest. But he belongs to the social revolution. He cursed the system that is making him feel want—the steam shovel individually owned, and it is only a question of time till he and millions of more men, like him, will join us in the great class struggle.

The Working Man's Friend

BY

S. G. GREENWOOD

UNDER our present industrial system the first step on the part of our eminent citizens after the worker has created wealth is to take it away from him. Of course, he is left, in some form, just enough to keep him from starving to death and at the same time allow his to propagate children. Another worker must be had to take his place, as he will soon become worn out.

The next step is a fight between the business men, landlords, manufacturers

and bankers as to who shall own the worker's product.

The laborer in this second step has as much vital interest as a dead toad has in the stone that killed him. It is true that by keeping his eye on the fights going on between his capitalistic enemies he can sometimes step in and secure an advantage for his class. This advantage to the working class is always lost unless the workers are sufficiently class conscious to maintain their position.

In the fight that takes place between the various sections of the capitalist class over a division of the spoils the political machine (including all legislatures, executives and courts) is one of the tools used. This is not the main tool used. It is an important, but minor one.

The entire political machine is the sideshow and the lawyers and judges playing the game for the capitalist class are the chorus girls in the sideshow. As long as they remain lawyers and judges they are never elevated to the higher and more remunerative positions of clowns.

The clowns are the small bankers and business men.

Some of these ten-minute acts have a lesson in them for the working class.

One of these acts, known as the case of the People of Illinois vs. Keithley, is reported in Volume 225, Ill. Supreme Court Reporter. Keithley, a Peoria attorney, was the villain and is called the defendant.

Keithley, an attorney, after filing a bill "to remove cloud from title," accepted a retainer from the party whom he was suing. In this way he became the representative of both the plaintiff and the defendant in a lawsuit.

A lawsuit is a contest between two or more parties in which the parties themselves disagree regarding their rights. Were there no disagreement there would be no lawsuit. The judges are the umpires and are supposed to see that they all play the game according to the law rules.

In the Supreme Court's opinion in this case regarding Keithley's contention that he represented BOTH SIDES FAIRLY, Judge Vickers says: "It is not material here to determine which of the two accounts is the true one, since by both of them respondent puts himself on both sides of the lawsuit, and by so doing his position is wholly inconsistent, and no explanation has been offered which in reason, law or morals tends to palliate or excuse such a grave breach of professional propriety."

There is no dissenting opinion. The Supreme Court forever disbarred Mr. Keithley from the practice of law in the State of Illinois.

Woodrow Wilson, Robert La Follette,

Harmon, Taft, Bryan and "King Ka Zook" have all, time and again, assured the voters that they were the only true representatives of *all* the people. They have each written it in their manifestoes and howled it from the rostrum.

An illustration will show them in no more logical or justifiable a position than was Keithley.

One small clique of men own the gas plant in Chicago. The small clique owning the plant buys coal, labor and other commodities as cheap as possible. They produce gas as cheap as possible.

It is put under pressure and sent through the mains to the consumer. They charge the consumer for the gas, all he will stand for; every cent they dare and can pry out of him.

The consumer, on the other hand, would gladly accept gas at 19 cents a thousand, at which price it has been sold many times in the oil and gas fields; or he would use it as he does the air, free of charge if he could.

Are the interests of the owners of the gas plant and the consumers the same? Do you think a lawyer representing both the consumer and the owner in a lawsuit over the price of gas would receive any pay from the gas corporation?

The working man elects and pays men in the important matter of making laws (the rules of the game). They say they can represent both these interests at the same time.

As a result, the worker finds the rules and the umpires such that all he gets is work and enough to eat so that he can work another day.

Over 80 per cent of the stock in all the banks, steel mills, coal mines and railroads is owned by a small handful of men, less than one-fourth of 1 per cent. They own these industries for the same reason as those owning the gas plant, namely, to get as much profit out of the workers as possible.

Can an intelligent worker vote for a man that says he will make laws for all the people and represent all the interests FAIRLY?

Perhaps these presidential candidates have never read the case of the People vs. Keithley, and so think it possible in

"reason, law or morals" to represent two conflicting interests.

Perhaps these presidential candidates know better than to imagine that it would be possible to represent a starved, gaunt and hungry wolf with a rabbit in a corner and the rabbit at the same time.

Capital in class society is a hungry wolf. It is never satisfied. It must devour the workers in ever-increasing numbers. It can grow in no other way.

Perhaps the workers cannot think clearly like Judge Vickers, so at election time they vote for men that have so little sense that they actually boast that they will represent opposing interests at the same time.

Judge Vickers said in the Keithley case it is not worth discussion as to whether Keithley represented BOTH SIDES FAIRLY. The very attempt to represent both sides is regarded by the court as so inconsistent that it is ground for taking away the lawyer's license to practice law.

The Socialist party makes no claim of representing both the exploiter and the exploited.

The Socialist party is composed of class-conscious workers who demand their own representatives.

The Socialist knows no man can represent the plaintiff and the defendant in a lawsuit. He also knows in an industrial system no man can represent the few who own the tools and at the same time represent the masses, who, in order to live, have to sell their labor power to the owners of the tools.

When a worker understands that he and his fellow workers have created the wealth of the world and that a few are in possession of that wealth, he is not of necessity "class conscious." Most professional reformers understand and make use of this fact.

When a worker not only knows that he and his fellow workers have created the wealth, but also knows that to possess the wealth created he and a majority of his fellow workers *will have to FIGHT together* to possess this wealth; and also understands that the man he can trust is the one whose interests are the same as his own and, so understanding, selects as a representative one of his comrades

to work for their *Common Cause*. *This man is class conscious.*

This is a long sentence and perhaps an illustration of its application in the political field will make it clear.

This fall before election a kindly looking lawyer by the name of Dole shakes hands with you and tells you that as a young man he worked on a farm and that he is a "friend of labor." Your papers tell you what a nice, clean man Mr. Theodore La Follette Dole is. He keeps a pew clean in Eagle Beak's brownstone church; he once saved the country by shooting Spaniards; he can sing in German, and that with honest Theodore La Follette Dole to watch your interests there would be no stealing or special privilege.

Did you vote for Dole? No. You, with your fellow workers, said: "Dole is a nice gentleman, I have no doubt, but he believes he can represent us all in a system where one class owns the tools and the other class, dependent on them for a living, has to work at the owners' terms.

"I know he would be kind to us and let us have 70-cent gas and smoke our pipes on the rear end of the street cars, but we would still be working for the men who own the factories, the mines and mills.

"We want the tools. We want the product. We want all of it. With our labor we have created it all. We are going to send our fellow worker, Germer, to Congress. He works with us—is of us. We have his resignation before he starts. He cannot throw us down because he wants what we want. He will fight our common cause in Congress while we fight here. He was with us top, middle and bottom when we forced an eight-hour day. He does not pretend to represent the owners of the mills and the banks and us at the same time."

You talk, work and vote for yourselves. That is why you want to elect your Socialist comrade. His interests are your interests. Now you are class conscious.

You don't forget that victory will perch on the shoulders of the working class when it sticks together industrially and politically.

Welcome the New Review

BY

FRANK BOHN

THE bane of the American Socialist movement has been too many publications both of books and periodicals. The announcement of a new daily, weekly or monthly for general circulation ordinarily fills the experienced Socialist propagandist with dismay. However, it is now our privilege to welcome with unmixed joy a new weekly magazine, *The New Review*.

The *New Review*, to be published at New York City by a group of comrades whose names are a sufficient guarantee of the character and permanence of their undertaking, is to be devoted chiefly to things scientific and literary in the field of Socialist thought. We surmise that it will take the place in America which the *New Age* fills so admirably in Great Britain. But naturally an American publication must have many features which are not thought necessary or desirable in England. We are sure, for instance, that the quality of its matter will not suffer by making it more attractive in appearance to the peculiar American public.

Nothing is now more needed by the American movement than a first-class weekly devoted largely to a scientific discussion of the momentous problems now pressing for solution. Before the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW* became a popular magazine for the workers it tried to perform this task. But the time was not ripe for such a publication and the then editorial policy of the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW* was such as to make it only pseudo-scientific. Conditions are now much altered. Many comrades are devoting themselves assiduously to a study of economics, history and government. Their best work deserves the medium of a publication devoted entirely to these studies. Our public discussions have been always haphazard and often puerile. In fact, the greatest matters

we have to consider are often not examined at all until some petty strife within the party stumbles upon the issue. If the *New Review* will labor without ceasing to set a new moral standard in this matter, its work will be of inestimable value.

The most crucial problems now demanding new knowledge and careful analysis are three: Our American system of government and law in its relation to the labor movement; the present organization of big business on the one hand and of the labor unions on the other; and the government of cities. Take, for instance, this last matter. While our party has been successful in carrying city after city, there has not appeared in print during five years five contributions worth reading in connection with the government of municipalities.

Municipal government in the United States is sunk in a veritable bog of the most venal, ignorant and reactionary legislation known to the civilized world. Here we are in the midst of the most trying responsibilities in this connection, and absolutely no intelligent efforts are being made by anybody to make sound knowledge available for either theoretical or practical purposes. When the suggestion was made that the N. E. C. undertake this work, the proposition was decried. Here is work for the *New Review*. The party has within it abundant talent. Let it be given organization and direction.

The field of the *New Review* is boundless and the demand for its work insistent. Abundant support ought to be forthcoming immediately. Half of the \$10,000 needed has been subscribed. The stock is divided into fifty shares of \$100 each and one thousand shares of \$10 each. Bertha M. Howe, secretary, Hall of Records, New York City, will furnish upon request all further information desired.

EDITORIAL

A Defeat That Is a Victory. In April, 1910, Milwaukee elected a Socialist mayor. The Socialists were in a minority, but the opposition was split, hence the "victory" of which we made much, possibly too much. In view of recent developments, it is interesting to turn to the files of the *Chicago Daily Socialist* and read some of the comments made on the day after election.

Barring some absolutely unforeseen phenomena, MILWAUKEE WILL HENCEFORTH BE CONTROLLED BY THE WORKERS.

Evidently something was wrong with this forecast. Perhaps we may see where the writer went astray by reading further.

"The victory in Milwaukee was built upon two things—a long-continued educational campaign through literature and close co-operation with organized labor. In no city in the United States is there as large a proportion of the Socialist voters thoroughly grounded in the fundamentals of Socialism. More copies of the classic works of Socialism have been circulated there than in any city of equal size in the country. In consequence there are few 'phrase philosophers' and many actual students of the basis of Socialism."

All this would have been important if true, and if true would have afforded some ground for the rosy prophecy in the former paragraph. But unhappily the facts are otherwise. We in this office are in a position to estimate rather closely the sales of Socialist classics in various cities. And the sales in Milwaukee, instead of being exceptionally large, have been ridiculously small, indicating that the Milwaukee comrades have been too busy in the pursuit of offices to give even a passing thought to the education of their membership in the principles of Socialism. It may be true that there are few "phrase philosophers" in Milwaukee; probably it is. Since some of our readers do not know what a "phrase philosopher" is, we will explain. It is a term of reproach applied by would-be bosses and by persistent office-seekers to any one who knows enough about real Socialism to ridicule their pretensions and challenge their claim to leadership. We have heard of only one such man in Milwau-

kee lately, still we trust there are more. But if there are many actual students of the basis of Socialism there, they have kept the fruits of their studies locked within their own bosoms. The "literature" which the Milwaukee organization has circulated has too often been an appeal to property-owners for their votes on the anti-graft issue, rather than an explanation of capitalist exploitation and the class struggle. And we could were it worth while cite many instances of misdirected energy in the service of Milwaukee property-owners. Yet, with all their omissions, the Milwaukee comrades have at least kept flying the red flag of the revolution. And the menace of revolution, distant though it be, has driven the capitalists, reputable and disreputable, alike, into one camp. It was a little thing to stop petty grafters from levying toll on the bigger grafters of Milwaukee. It was no very great thing to conduct a fairly efficient and unquestionably honest reform administration. Such things have been done by many reformers in many cities before, and the results have never been lasting, because the efforts have been superficial. But in their day of defeat our Milwaukee comrades have won a tremendous and far-reaching victory. They have driven the capitalists to unite, and the union of the capitalists foreshadows the great and triumphant union of the wage-workers.

The Socialist Party at Washington. A notable convention has lately been held, that of the Socialist Party of the State of Washington. Socialism has made wonderful progress there during the last two years. The secretary's report shows a membership of over 6,000, or one paid-up member for every 200 of the total population of Washington. This is 50 per cent better than California, and more than 100 per cent better than any other state. But this increase in numbers is not the notable thing about the convention. Better still is the clear-cut revolutionary expression of the wishes and the aims of the wage-workers, embodied in the following platform, immediate de-

mand and resolutions adopted by the Socialist Party of Washington:

PLATFORM.

The Socialist party of Washington in convention assembled reaffirms its unflinching loyalty to the principles of international socialism and to the Socialist party of the United States, and presents the following as its platform:

In the struggle for freedom the interests of all modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only national, but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world through the intelligence, class-conscious use of the ballot, the general strike and the boycott.

Human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land to produce things necessary for human life. Whosoever has control of land and machinery controls human labor, and with it human life and liberty.

The working class owns nothing but its labor power, and sells this for wages to the capitalist class.

This labor power applied to modern means of production and distribution produces at least four times as much value as the working class receives in wages.

The capitalist class, unable to find a market either in this or foreign countries for the surplus product, are now closing the mines, mills and factories.

This, together with the constant invention of labor saving machinery, throws men, women and children of the working class out of employment, causing untold misery and distress.

The lack and uncertainty of employment produces extreme poverty, which in its turn produces crime, insanity, prostitution of body and brain, suicides, drunkenness, disease and degradation.

The insecurity of a livelihood and consequent degenerating results are therefore directly due to the private ownership and control by the capitalist class of mine, mill, factory and land.

The remedy lies in the social ownership of these means of production and distribution, thereby giving all an equal opportunity to live and enjoy the product of their labor.

Humanity lives amid constant change. Laws, institutions and customs, once useful and popular, become oppressive, abusive, intolerable and dangerous to further progress of the race. It is at such a time that the race must find a new method, inaugurate a new system more in harmony with its needs. If any nation or community can not change for the better it is because it is either too ignorant or too terrorized by the ruling class. Tyranny rules from the top down, social democracy from the bottom up.

The Socialist party is the only political party which stands for the overthrow of the present capitalist system of exploitation and the substitution of the social ownership of the source of food, clothing, shelter and other necessities.

IMMEDIATE DEMAND.

Our only demand is the social ownership and democratic management of the whole of the machinery of production and distribution.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That we, the Socialist party in convention assembled, do hereby recall to the minds of the working class all the arbitrary, cruel and inhuman methods used by the capitalist class in this class war, including the use of police power to suppress the freedom of speech, press and public assembly, as recently evidenced in several cities of this state, and as this abuse can only continue as long as we, the working class, remain divided, we here and now urge the members of our class to devote their efforts towards greater solidarity, clearer class-consciousness, and the necessity of united political action, and we hereby endorse the principle of revolutionary industrial unionism.

Resolved, That we, the Socialist party, hereby endorse all united action of the workers and pledge ourselves to assist them by supplying speakers, money and other necessary support wherever possible, to the end that we may win our economic freedom and overthrow the capitalist system.

To the small farmer we say, we are opposed to the private ownership of the land for the purpose of speculation and exploitation.

We are absolutely opposed to the Boy Scout movement, and the teaching of military drill with guns and other means of destruction of human life to our school children.

The work of this convention and the rapid growth of the party in Washington afford valuable suggestions for the National Convention of the Socialist Party which is to begin its work at Indianapolis May 12. New members and new voters are coming to us fast enough; it is time to shape our declarations in such a way as to attract ONLY those who WANT REVOLUTION, and who will be satisfied with nothing less.

How to Get Reforms. Let us assume for the sake of argument that reforms, meaning laws passed with the consent of our capitalist rulers, will be of some benefit to the wage-workers. What then is the quickest and surest way to get them passed? Is it to agree among ourselves exactly what reforms we want and agitate for them until election; then instructing our representatives in congress or legislature to draft bills and try to persuade the old party politicians to pass them? That is the opportunist method. The advantage of it is that incidentally it may help a few party members to eat off the political pie counter and see their pictures on the front pages of capitalist

newspapers. One disadvantage is that it dulls the enthusiasm of wage-workers who want revolution and makes them suspect the Socialist Party of being merely a machine of and by politicians like the other parties. Another disadvantage is that it doesn't even enact the reforms. If the old-party politicians are going to let the reforms go through, they want the credit for themselves. A bill introduced by a Socialist will almost surely be pigeon-holed indefinitely by the committee to which it is referred. If we really want reforms the quick and sure way to get them is to organize not only politically but industrially, and to agitate for the overthrow of the whole capitalist system. Let us concentrate on this agitation all the strength we have been wasting, and the capitalist politicians will fall over themselves to offer reforms in the hope of stemming the tide of revolution. Then if we have representatives in legislature or congress, it will be for them to expose the "jokers" in the first alleged reforms that are offered, and show the inadequacy of each proposed reform to accomplish its boasted aims. Stung by working-class criticism, and fearful that too obvious a sham in the way of legislation might prove a boomerang for them, it is quite possible that the servants of capitalism may put through certain palliatives quite as important as some of the "immediate demands" we used to put into our platforms. Then when economic laws react against themselves and the wage-workers realize that such relief is only temporary, their blame will fall on the old parties, not on us. Meanwhile, we shall have been doing our own work, the education of revolutionists.

Local Butte's Platform Amendment. Local Butte, Montana, with 286 members in good standing, proposes the following amendment as a part of the platform and declaration of principles of the Socialist Party of America:

"Established Socialism, to be successful and enduring, or, in fact, to be at all worthy the name of Socialism, must be a condition of industrial democracy. It must be a direct, democratic management and control of industry, and of the distribution of the products of industry, by and for the workers engaged in industry. The Socialist party urges the working class to so shape its form of economic organization as to conform, as far as possible,

to the lines of modern industrial development, thereby preparing the working class, through industrial organization, for the taking over collectively, by the workers, of the machinery and forces of production and distribution, thus fitting the workers for harmonious, democratic working-class control and management of the future industrial democracy—Socialism.

"COMMENT: The most significant development of the International Socialist movement in recent years was the character of Gustave Herve's comment on the German elections.

"The militant French writer makes straightforward acknowledgement of the tremendous importance of united working class political action, and admits his conviction that such action can be made a powerful factor in the struggle of the working class toward economic independence.

"In no other part of the world, save possibly in his own country, should Herve's confession have greater or better effect from a working class standpoint than in the United States.

"It indicates an early clearing of the atmosphere as to the relations of the economic and political organizations of the working class, and a growing international understanding of their interdependence.

"It indicates an early freeing of the American labor movement from the influence of those narrow, carping critics, in both A. F. of L. and I. W. W. circles, who on all occasions sneer at and belittle the importance of working class political action.

"In view of the fine, tolerant spirit of Herve, and its probable effect upon the world of organized labor, is it too much to expect the Socialist party of the United States to reject the disgusting and futile compromises of previous platforms respecting organized labor, and to substitute therefor a clear and decisive declaration showing broadly the Socialist attitude regarding the organized labor movement?

"The adoption of the above declaration would remove any existing justification for the charge that the Socialist party favors any factionalism in the organized labor movement. It would simply outline a form of organization economically that is *absolutely essential* to the triumph of the working class through Socialism. In other words, the Socialist party—the political party of the working class—in seeking to abolish the wage system, points out to the working class in a purely constructive manner a development in unionism that *must precede* actual Socialism.

"We leave the manner of securing this desired organization entirely in the hands of the workers themselves, taking no stand either for or against those who "bore from within" or hammer from without.

"Moreover, such a declaration as the above would emphasize the working class character of the American Socialist movement, tend to discourage the apparent tendency within our party in some localities to compromise with small capitalist interests for immediate polit-

ical spoils, and form a solid groundwork for a permanent, substantial growth."

The REVIEW heartily endorses the action of Local Butte. The proposed amendment is one on which all Socialists who understand the class struggle should be able to unite. It should be adopted at

the May convention, and if by any chance it should be defeated there, then the minority supporting it should take advantage of their right under the party constitution to have it sent out to a referendum of the membership as an amendment to the platform adopted by the majority.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

THE Great English Coal Strike. By a majority of 42,998 the English miners voted to remain out. But their Executive committee advised them to go back to work. Finally, on April 6, a conference of the Miners' Federation voted, 440 to 125, to accept the recommendation of the Executive committee. So the strike is off and it is time to take account of gains and losses.

The men struck for a minimum wage. For coal "hewers" they asked a minimum rate varying in different districts from six shillings to seven shillings six pence. For all men employed about the mines they asked at least five shillings a day; for all boys at least two shillings. On Feb. 27, two days before the strike began, Premier Asquith promised the men that if they would not "down tools" the government would pass as quickly as possible a minimum wage law to apply to the coal industry. The bill was to declare the acceptance of the principle of the minimum wage and to provide for the fixing of minimum rates by official boards to be appointed for this purpose in the various mining districts. Each board was to consist of representatives of miners and operators with a government employe to act as chairman. This representative of the government was to have the deciding voice in all cases in which the representative of capital and labor could not agree. The Executive committee of the miners flatly refused to call the strike off on the basis of this mere promise of Mr. Asquith. The strike was declared. On February 29 more than a million men went on strike. There was tremendous suffering. The industry of England was brought

near a standstill. Premier Asquith hurried his minimum wage bill through Parliament with surprising speed. The miners insisted that the minimum rates be written into the bill. All attempts at amendment, however, were sternly repressed. The bill became law as originally drawn. This was on March 29, exactly a month after the strike began. Then came a surprise. The Executive committee advised the men to go back. A vote of the rank and file was taken, with the result given above. On April 4, the Executive committee adopted the following resolutions: "Seeing that there is no provision in the rules and regulations of the Federation to guide this committee as to the majority required to continue the strike except the resolution passed at the conference of Dec. 21, 1911, that a two-thirds majority is required to declare a national strike and the same majority is required to continue a strike, and seeing that a two-thirds majority vote is not in favor of the continuance of the strike, and acting upon that vote, we advise a resumption of work, but a conference is to be called for Saturday to consider this recommendation." The conference supported the recommendation, and the strike was declared off.

This simple outline of events shows that the men did not get what they went out for. They struck for a definite minimum wage; what they got was the institution of a system of district boards authorized to fix minimum wage scales. What minimums these boards will propose no man can tell. And, it has no means of enforcing its recommendations. So instead of something very definite which they demanded the men have re-

ceived something very indefinite which they refused to consider when it was first offered them. On the face of things, then, this strike which has been so tremendously successful as an exhibition of working class power has been unsuccessful in achieving the object for which it was called.

The good of this strike lies, then, in the lessons it has taught. For more than a month a million miners remained out. Even their worst enemies could not claim at the end that more than 20,000 had gone back. More than 2,000,000 other workers were thrown out of employment in the course of the strike. On every hand the cry was raised that the "selfish miners" cared only for their own distress. But those miners stayed out. They were ready to stay out indefinitely. This exhibition of spirit brought all the powers of government to their knees. Cabinet ministers begged and argued. On the first day of the strike Premier Asquith made to the conference of miners an address which must ever remain historical. He said in part: "We have come to feel as a government that when all efforts at voluntary arrangement had failed, and we were face to face with the warfare between capital and labor in your industry, and the stoppage of the sources of our coal supply, and the consequent gradual paralysis of other industries of the country which depend upon yours, we should be false to our duty as stewards and trustees of the general interests of the nation, if we did not take, in defiance of convention and tradition and custom, whatever steps we could to bring about a reasonable arrangement.

"Therefore, departing, as I admit we have departed, from what has been usual and customary in the conduct of the government of this country, I and my colleagues have now spent the best part of more than a week in trying to acquire first-hand knowledge of what were the real conditions of the problem. We wanted to obtain the truth. The conclusion to which we came was the conclusion embodied in the first two of the propositions of the government; that a case had been made out for ensuring to the underground workers in the coal industry of this country, with adequate

safeguards, a reasonable minimum wage.

"Well, this is a considerable advance if you compare the state of things today with what it was—I will not say a year, I will not say six months ago, but I will say even a fortnight ago."

To be sure the Premier was the soul of caution. At every point he emphasized the fact that the men should be content with a "reasonable" arrangement. And he acknowledged quite openly that members of the cabinet never worried themselves much about conditions in the mining industry before a "stoppage of the sources of our coal supply" was threatened. But in the main he was right. His action did indicate an advance. The government was looking at the coal industry as a matter of national concern, a public matter, one not to be left to selfishness of a group of private capitalists. The whole country, in fact, expected the government to take their view. Even the opposition recognized that it was the only possible view and refused to make a party issue of the minimum wage bill.

All this, of course, shows the power of labor. Even though the miners have not won what they demanded, the lesson cannot be lost. If the million who went out on Feb. 29 do not eventually get from the district boards a really "reasonable" minimum wage, they will know what to do and how to do it.

Though the English government has done what it could to smooth over the strike situation, in one respect it has acted in a manner to which long use has accustomed us in this country. Tom Mann and a number of others have been arrested and imprisoned for writing, printing, or distributing articles calling on the soldiers not to shoot in case they were called on to do strike duty. If the English authorities broke with tradition in order to conciliate the workers, they also broke with tradition in their efforts to keep the army untouched by sympathy for the workers' cause. In England they have had free speech. It may be that the government is ready to sacrifice this along with some other things long cherished by Englishmen.

The attitude of the Labor party leaders has not been as bad as it was during the

transport workers' strike, but judged from the workers' point of view it still leaves much to be desired. On March 8, when the struggle was at its height, Philip Snowden published an article in the *Daily News* advising the men to submit to public opinion and accept the government's proposal. He said: "If the miners continue to refuse to accept the government's proposals other steps will have to be taken to bring the dispute to an end. If the government have to legislate there is little probability that their measure will go beyond the suggestions already made." This aroused joy among the capitalists and discontent among the miners. Ramsay MacDonald, it should be said, spoke out manfully for the men on more than one occasion. When it came to the final vote on the government's bill there was a struggle within the ranks of the Labor group. Some of the Labor M. P.'s wished to escape from an unpleasant position by refraining from voting. The miners' own representatives, however, were opposed to the bill and insisted on truly representing the wishes of their constituents. They carried the day and so the entire group for once enrolled itself with the opposition. Of course, the large number of Conservatives voting with the government placed the majority for the bill beyond all question. The whole story of the contest leaves one with the impression that the official representatives of the workers played rather an unimportant part. In Parliament they hardly dared raise their voices, and outside of Parliament they were divided.

The British Socialist party, speaking through Clarion and Justice, has given the men fine support. It becomes more evident every day that this new party is not an old organization in disguise. An appeal sent out by its Organization committee in connection with the strike clearly recognizes "the efficacy of joint industrial and political action for securing the rightful claims of those employed in the industries which are fast gaining recognition as being of national and no longer merely private importance." Many signs give basis for the hope that the working-class of England will soon have a political party worthy of the magnifi-

cent spirit which it has exhibited on the economic field.

The German Coal Strike. If any set of workers ever had just cause for a strike the German coal miners had it. Since 1907 their wages have been decreased from 16 to 18 per cent. This means that they now receive from 200 to 300 marks a year less than they did five years ago. During the three years from 1907 to 1910 the cost of living is said to have increased more than 14 per cent. At the present time wages range in most districts between four and five marks a day. But this is not the only thing the German coal miners have to complain of. Their unions are not recognized by the employers, and the men are subjected to one of the worst black-listing systems ever invented. A record is kept of each employe's doings from the moment he applies for work and he is punished with suspension or discharge for infraction of any one of an elaborate set of rules. And discharge from one mine means no more work in any mine controlled by the operators' association.

The miners have long been discontented. Finally, on March 10th, a strike was called in the Ruhr district. The demand was for 15 per cent increase in wages, recognition of the union and abolition of the blacklisting system. About 250,000 men came out. This was a good beginning, and it looked for a while as though they would win. But within ten days nearly half of the strikers had gone back and the strike was called off. It was a defeat.

The employers fought their men with two weapons: the Christian unions and the soldiers. The latter were rushed into all the affected districts by the trainload. They shot down peaceful strikers with customary German obedience and effectiveness. They prevented the holding of meetings and destroyed literature which had been prepared for distribution. They made it practically impossible to carry on the strike organization in a peaceful manner.

But the Christian unions did even better service. Though many of their individual members went out, the Christian organizations as a whole went systematic-

ally and officially about the business of strike-breaking. On the first day of the strike they issued a leaflet in a hundred thousand copies proclaiming that the strike was unnecessary and that if the men would only have patience the operators would grant reasonable demands.

While the strikers' leaflets were being destroyed by the soldiers this announcement of the "Christians" was vigorously circulated. Meantime the "Christians" were at work under protection of the soldiers. This did more than anything else to break the strike.

The Labor Struggle

Ain't It Orful, Geraldine? It is to be feared things are not going right in the National Civic Federation. That lovely get-together spirit in which, as all right-minded persons know, Capital and Labor ought to meet, seems to have been sprained in the right ankle. Here goes General Manager Frank Hedley of the Interborough Railway of New York, calling Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, "a damned liar, a cur, a skunk." Now the sad part is that Stone and Hedley's boss, August Belmont, are both members of the Civic Conglomeration. Stone has been uttering hideous threats of organizing the wretched slaves of the Interborough, and Hedley doesn't want any such organization—there's the rub. The spectacle of Stone and Belmont splitting their coat-tails and sitting down at hotel banqueting tables has been an enjoyable scene at Civic Fed. meetings of the past. And this is the thanks that Stone gets for lending his graceful presence to Belmont feasts! Belmont is the Wall street head of the Interborough company and smashed the revolt of his employes a few years ago by landing shiploads of scabs where the reception committees of the strikers couldn't get at 'em. But why worry? Come on, let's bust another bottle of champagne!

No Other Alternative. And now comes the Molders a-talking about Industrial Unionism. We quote from a letter to the *Molders' Journal*:

"I will take one industry as an example—the Steel Trust. When this trust was formed—eleven years ago—the steel

workers were among the best paid wage-earners in the United States, many of them earning from \$5 to \$15 a day, and they were thoroughly organized in craft unions. There being the Union of Tinplate Workers, the Puddlers, the Wire Workers, and many others, all independent of each other. Now witness the result: Eleven years ago there were 121,000 organized steel workers—today there is a bare 4,000 (tinplate workers) of all that great army of union workers. And what has done this?—the concentration of the steel business under one head and the division of the workers in separate individual unions. Now I wish to state my opinion after careful thought—it is this: That we shall have to organize on new lines, industrially, whether we wish it or not; we shall be driven to it, there is no other alternative."

Positively it looks as if our Socialist politicians will have to hurl themselves into the breach and combine further with reactionary trade union leaders, as has been done in California, if the march of Industrial Unionism is to be stayed.

Slaughter Under Direct Inaction. Ten thousand three hundred and ninety-six persons slain on the railroads of this country in 1911, of which number only 356 were passengers. And yet Direct Action is opposed on the ground that it would cause the slaughter of so many workers. Even if that objection were well-founded—though it is based on a total misapprehension of what Direct Action means—any kind of action would be better than the present inaction which allows this wholesale murder.

How Not to Praise a Man. In a eulogistic article Karl Legien, head of the German trade unions and Socialist member of the Reichstag, is welcomed to this country as an "eminent and powerful working class leader." Legien is doubtless a useful worker in behalf of his class but we can imagine nothing more harmful to his proposed lecture tour than an introduction of this character. Most of us have had enough of "eminent leaders." The working class would be in better shape if it had fewer "leaders" and more self-reliance. There is no place in the Socialist and labor movement for snobbish adulation of "the great man" and Legien himself, if he is of the right stuff, would probably be the first to say so.

Worse Than Chattel Slavery. At Lawrence the capitalist guardians of law and order prevented the children of strikers from being sent to workers in other cities. In Hoquiam, Wash., 150 lumber mill strikers were captured and shipped out of town by "vigilantes." Same thing in the free speech battle at San Diego. Mark what this means. It means that the working men and women in this country are in a far worse condition than the black slaves of the South before the Civil war. One thing was gained by the abolition of chattel slavery and that was personal freedom. The slave was no longer tied to the plantation but at last was at liberty to go where he pleased, even though it meant little but a change from one slave job to another. In other respects the

chattel slave was much better fixed than the wage slave of today, because his master had to take some care of him, to keep him well fed and clothed and housed, and attended when sick, in order that he might be kept in prime working condition. The modern capitalist master not only ignores the physical condition of his wage slave but has now abolished his freedom to move about. The modern worker no longer owns his own body and person. He must dispose of himself as his capitalist master wills. We are living in the darkest age in the history of the world.

Near-Industrial Unionism. At this writing it is not known what will be the result of the meeting this month in Kansas City of the Federated Railroad Crafts which have been discussing the need for a formation of "a federation of federations." But the meeting is significant in that it is a confession of the failure of the A. F. of L. plan of keeping the workers divided into crafts and of the breakdown of the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison system of craft organization. It is significant, furthermore, as an attempt to approach the industrial form of organization as nearly as is possible under A. F. of L. rules. The machinists, the boiler-makers, the carmen, and the other shopmen and clerks who are included, have realized how impotent and weak each is when fighting singly and have finally come to the conclusion that they must hang together or hang separately.

When at last the state becomes the real representative of the whole of society, it renders itself unnecessary. As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection; as soon as class rule and the individual struggle for existence, based upon our present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from these, are removed, nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a state, is no longer necessary.—Fredrick Engels in "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific."

LITERATURE

Readers of the Review will please observe that Charles H. Kerr & Company sell only their own publications, and can not undertake to supply books of other publishers nor to answer questions about them.

Rebellion. By Joseph Medill Patterson, Chicago. The Reilly & Britton Company. Price, \$1.25 net.

Unquestionably *Rebellion*, by Joseph Medill Patterson is the book of the year. It is the great American novel come at last, a vivid, realistic story of the lives of thousands of working men and women in every large city in this country. The characters are people we know. Georgia Connors, the wife of a chronic inebriate, becomes a stenographer, to support her mother, her brother and her husband. When her yearning for decent living overcomes the teachings of the Catholic Church of which she is a member, she separates from Connors, and at last she learns what the love of a real man may be to a woman. Then begins the age-long struggle between the standards of life acquired in *The Loop* and the Catholic Church. During a period of illness the priest persuades her to take back Jim Connors, who has given up drinking. A baby is born to them, but it lives only a few weeks owing to the heritage of disease bequeathed by its father who has again succumbed to his craving for whisky. At the grave of their child, Georgia Connors separates from her husband for the second time. A year later Mason Stevens, the man for whom she has long cared, returns and the priest meets the modern materialist with the century old precepts of the Catholic Church. Georgia declares she will secure an absolute divorce and marry Stevens.

The characters are drawn with an artistic touch that is a revelation. We all know young boys like Al, Georgia's brother, who is ready to fight for his sister's honor, pathetic sodden minds like the puttering, ineffective mother's, who accept blindly the words of the Church. Do not miss this book. It is realistic, common, stimulating and full of the problems of the working man and woman. Its art lies in its very simplicity, and every character stands out as true to life as life itself. We have not yet done wondering

that such a work could come from the pen of a Little Brother of the Rich.

American Socialism of the Present Day. By Jessie Wallace Hughan, Ph. D. New York; John Lane Company. Price, \$1.25.

A work of this nature is needed both by the American Socialist movement and the American public. Comrade Hughan has performed her task with painstaking care. The fact that it was written as a doctor's thesis while Miss Hughan was a member of the Columbia University Graduate School of Political Science explains the amount of detail which the author has mastered in order to come to her conclusions. To write a book of this kind is the hardest possible task. It is much easier to accurately generalize about the political theories of epochs past than to present a true picture of a great social movement in the process of making. Everybody now knows what Aristotle and Abe Lincoln thought, but what an enthusiastic optimist, certain of both his power of analysis and generalization, one must be in order to set out on a quest the purpose of which is to discover what Hillquit, Slobodin, Victor Berger and Robert La Monte are really thinking. Miss Hughan brought down and bagged her quarry. With equal precision, care and honesty of purpose the writer describes the position of Debs, Haywood and lesser known Socialists. Quotations from all the chief Socialist publications and from national, state and municipal platforms are made in order to indicate points of unity and difference within the whole range of the American movement. To active members of the Socialist party the book cannot but be of intense interest.

Miss Hughan begins her work by tracing the history of Socialism in the United States. A chapter each is devoted to the fundamental intellectual bases of the movement, the economic foundation of history, the class struggle and the theory of surplus value. A chapter on the theory of crises serves to indicate the unclearness of the American Socialist mind on this

subject. From these chapters on history and scientific theories we proceed to a pictorial review of the contending forces above mentioned. It is in Chapter 12, which deals with the immediate program of American Socialism, that the book becomes absorbing. We can see Boudin shaking his fist at Hillquit. William English Walling is up in arms against the Labor party, and Debs and Berger are in strenuous debate over matters of tactics and organization. One feels that the author is now about to make a very great error, but she doesn't. The error into which nine persons out of every ten would have fallen would have been to describe these differences as really resulting from and producing factionalism. They do not. These differences merely show tendencies. The party listens to the debates, carefully chooses its course and is throughout, in all that pertains to general Socialist principles and policies, riveted together like a new jack-knife. "The Socialist party is divided," says the author in a chapter devoted to divisions in the party, "neither in two opposing camps nor into a number of warring factions. . . . There is rather, a gradual shading from the revolutionist on the left to the constructivist on the right, through groups whose characteristics are not always exact and always changing, but whose members indulge in frequent and mutual criticisms."

The book is so eminently fair in its description of these various groups and tendencies that it is not until the very last page that we are enabled to surmise the fact that the author has opinions of her own. Here is a sentence or two we are led to believe that she rather favors the "constructivist" program. One's first feeling is to resent this glistening of a personal viewpoint through the thick veil of the method and form of a doctor's thesis. But upon second thought, why not? Even the Columbia Political Science School could not completely transform the heart and mind of a Socialist into a camera.

Finally, the work possesses one virtue for which the author deserves the thanks of the American Socialist movement. Statements of facts are supported by

abundant references to the authorities, which are always cited in the footnotes. We must respectfully and in the kindest spirit refer the scores of American Socialist authors to Miss Hughan's refreshing example in this regard. The work is therefore of permanent historical value as well as great immediate interest.

The Socialist Movement. By Ramsey MacDonald. New York: John Lane Company.

Just the opposite in every respect from Miss Hughan's work is that of the leader of the English Laborites. It does not tell what the Socialist movement is but rather what Mr. MacDonald thinks it ought to be. The gang-plank is no sooner drawn in and the propeller started than Mr. MacDonald proceeds to throw overboard, one after another, all the essentials of Socialism. The first thing to be left behind is the class struggle, which the author says does not exist. And so on and so on. Tear out the title page and the reader would be absolutely sure that the book was written by a charity patient in the hospital of an old ladies' home. We judge from the first half of the book, as no one would think of reading it through.

Confessions of an Industrial Insurance Agent. By Wilby Heard. New York: Broadway Publishing Company. Price, 50 cents.

The author describes himself as a specialist in the business of muck-raking. His field is large and the fruit over-ripe. Industrial "insurance" is probably the meanest, the most contemptible form of graft practiced in this country. This book leads one to believe that nine-tenths of it is pure daylight sneak thievery. It is practiced upon the most innocent and helpless. State insurance is advocated as the only possible remedy.

The Machinists Bulletin.—*The Machinists Bulletin*, published by the Brotherhood of Machinists at 34 Park Row, New York, N. Y., with Robert M. Lackey as editor, is one of the best small journals in America. It is chock full of meaty articles that every wage worker will find full of the ideas and aims he needs. The Brotherhood of Machinists is an industrial union that is gradually breaking the ground for the new unionism all over the United States. All the wage workers need is to be shown, and the Brotherhood of Machinists are showing them.

NEWS AND VIEWS

Haywood Demands Proof from Mr. Simons.—Much has been written in regard to the victory of the textile workers at Lawrence, Mass. Such national characters as Samuel Gompers, John Golden, Daniel DeLeon, and A. M. Simons have given their different versions of how the strikers came to win. But it remains for Mr. Simons to distort his personal views into the most contemptible attack ever directed against an individual. It is a well known fact that everyone connected with the strike, either in an official or an individual capacity, as well as the strikers themselves, have accorded full credit to the Socialist party for the splendid support given to the strikers. The strike committee recognized this in a resolution submitted for their adoption.

It was likewise known to the strikers that their children were taken by Socialists and provided for during this industrial war.

In reciting these facts, Mr. Simons is merely holding up a shield behind which to make an infamous and libellous attack. Personally I have never sought credit for anything I may have done to assist the striking textile workers of Lawrence, believing that their success was due entirely to the splendid spirit of solidarity and class consciousness they manifested. I am satisfied, and Mr. Simons should also be, to allow the mantle of victory to fall upon the shoulders of those to whom it belongs—the strikers themselves. The work of all others is appreciated but recognized as incidental.

But it was not the purpose of Mr. Simons' article, which was printed in the Chicago Daily Socialist of April 20, and which will probably appear also in other party papers, to give or take credit in connection with the Lawrence strike, but to influence the delegates who are soon to assemble in national convention at Indianapolis. Mr. Simons as a politician regards this as a privilege and takes the opportunity to make a malicious attack.

There is no part of Mr. Simons' article in which I am interested save the single paragraph reading as follows:

"But we remember that when the Socialist party was straining every nerve to save the life of Bill Haywood that he was working in the Boise jail to elect Democratic politicians. These things do not sound nice, but it is sometimes well that even unpleasant truths should be told."

And this Mr. Simons must prove.

I say that this statement is untrue; that Mr. Simons knows it to be untrue, and when he wrote it he knew he was indicting a wilful, contemptible and malicious lie.

I challenge Mr. Simons to make good on this statement or stand again branded as a slimy slanderer.

To my comrades, members of the Socialist party, I want to recall to your memory that when I was confined in the Boise prison and you were exerting every effort to save my life, I was honored by being made the standard bearer of the Socialist party in the state of

Colorado and that the largest vote for a Socialist ticket in the history of that state was polled in that election.

I would recall to the memory of Appeal to Reason readers the slogan of that campaign that came from jail: NO COMPROMISE AND NOTHING TO ARBITRATE. That was our slogan then and it is my slogan now. WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD.

Haywood at Gloversville, N. Y.—"We had our Haywood lecture and am pleased to say that as far as Haywood was concerned the lecture was a great success, as the enclosed copy of resolution will show."

Whereas it is generally known amongst the Socialists in the U. S. A. that a division of opinion is arising amongst the members of the Socialist party as to tactics of greatest value to be used by the laboring class in their efforts to obtain their emancipation. Be it resolved that we, the Gloversville Socialist Party Local, forward the following to the state and national secretaries, so far as Comrade Haywood is concerned we are convinced that after hearing him speak and getting his word of honor as to his idea of tactics, he is thoroughly in favor of political action.

Carried by a unanimous vote.

ALF. J. LITTLE, Secretary.

From Indianapolis.—Under the heading HAYWOOD MEETING BIG SUCCESS, the Indianapolis Register has a two-column account. "More than two thousand people heard William D. Haywood last Tuesday night in Tomlinson Hall speak on the Coming Victory of Labor and cheered his sledge-hammer blows against the existing capitalistic system."

From Muncie, Indiana.—Over nine hundred people turned out to hear William D. Haywood and it is almost unnecessary to state that the comrades are enthusiastic over the splendid success of their meeting.

Schenectady, N. Y.—Comrade Wiesinger has promised us an account of the splendid Haywood meeting which was recently pulled off and we will run same in the June Review.

From Elyria, Ohio.—The Elyria Reds have sent in a fine picture of the comrades taken after their recent Haywood meeting. It will be reproduced in the June Review and our readers will have an opportunity of seeing a bunch of comrades who are "Red" all through—Local Elyria lost its "yellow streak" years ago, in fact the Review is inclined to doubt its ever having had one.

Optimistic Reports From Montana.—Montana is watching, not her mountain heights, but her broad plains and her industrial centers, for in these is centered the political warfare that is being carried on from every Socialist "prospect hole" and mine, cabin and engine room. The onward sweep is gaining in momentum every month, and with the rapidly awakening class-consciousness of the

farmers, of the railroad men who have formerly felt themselves the aristocracy of the labor movement, of the clerks, and even of the lawyers and teachers, we see a great hope ahead for the ultimate victory of the Socialist principles and ideals.

The labor movement is strong in Montana, and even our workers not identified with any union are becoming convinced that the aim of industrial unionism and of Socialism are identical, and that while separate and distinct organizations, each is vital, the two unquestionably are inter-dependent and must mutually assist and support each other.

In January, 1911, the number of dues paying members reported to the state office was 744; in January, 1912, 2,013, a gain of 171 per cent. This gain will continue throughout 1912, and may even surpass that of 1911.

We are continually in receipt of letters asking how to proceed to organize a local, these requests coming from people who have been reading our literature and are anxious to have a part in the fight against injustice and greed. The awakening is mighty, and if we mistake not, the force of this WORKERS' FORWARD movement will sweep away the foundations of the capitalist monuments to barbarity and avarice like fallen leaves on a mountain stream.—Alma M. Kriger, State Sec'y.

To Vote on Trade Union Fusion.—The following resolution has been initiated by the German Branch of Local, Los Angeles:

Whereas, There is a wide and growing suspicion that the California Socialist movement is in danger of being subjected to a species of bossism locally known as "Harrimanism," and

Whereas, "Harrimanism" means the subordination of the political activities of the Socialist party to the American Federation of Labor, by the creation of "craft" branches of the Socialist party, (as for example, the Typographical Branch," the "Carpenters' Branch," the "Machinists' Branch," and so on), thereby creating and establishing a new species of Socialism, viz.: "Craft Socialism," and

Whereas, The inauguration of the era of "Harrimanism," of "Craft Socialism," and of "the trades union functioning through the Socialist party," has already been launched by the organization and chartering of the "Typographical Branch" of Local Los Angeles county by the county administration, therefore be it

Resolved, That the Socialist party of California specifically repudiates and condemns such tactics as being in direct violation of the traditional and constitutional policy of "no compromise, no political trading," and hereby instructs its delegates to the national convention to oppose with all its power of voice and vote any and all attempts to graft on to the Socialist movement of America any such un-socialistic, inconsistent and suicidal policy.

A Defense of Comrade Charles Edward Russell.—In the April "Masses" an attack is made upon the competency of Comrade Ed-

ward Russell to represent the Socialist party as its presidential candidate. I do not come to Comrade Russell's defense because he needs any aid from me, for in my visits about among the locals I find that if Comrade Debs is to be released from the burden of making the campaign, only one other name is ever mentioned or thought of and that name is Russell's. I simply rise in the interest of truth, and it seems to me that Comrade Russell's article in the March International Review was sadly distorted by the writer of the "Masses" article. I read the Russell article and it appeared to me to be a splendid bit of work, showing us a wise program. The article is not before me, but its import was to set before use the example of the abolitionists of America rather than the populists. The abolitionists with their policy of "no compromise, no political trading" forced by the very power of their ideas, the other parties to do their work even though they never won an office or carried a city. On the other hand, the Populists, with their splendid program, failed because it went into the game of getting offices and votes. Russell's plea, as I understand it, is for the Abolitionist policy rather than the Populist, and so far as I know that has been the policy of Socialism everywhere, unless for the unhappy situation in England, now fast being repudiated; this certainly has been the policy in America, as it stands for "no fusion, no trading" testifys. If anyone is forgetting his Socialism it appears to me to be the writer of the "Masses" article rather than Comrade Russell. And may I also suggest that the reference to the situation in Germany ought not to have overlooked that Germany has two kinds of labor-unions, the "Christian labor-unions" and the "Socialist labor-unions." While the Germans hold rigidly to the separation of the industrial and political organizations, they had to repudiate the "Christian" unions, and it may be that Socialism will have to repudiate such unionism as Golden's textile unions and Tobin's "Boot and Shoe Workers."

ROLAND D. SAWYER.

Workingmen as Party Candidates.—I wish to call attention of the readers of the Review to a recent motion calling for a national referendum, passed by Branch El Cajon, of Local San Diego County, California. The motion, now ready for seconds, if passed will require the national secretary to print the actual occupations of all candidates for party or political offices on all ballots sent out.

It seems to me that, should this motion carry, it would be of great aid to the individual members of the party in casting an INTELLIGENT vote for their candidates. Most Socialists, if they should see the following on their ballot, would surely vote for a workingman: John Hopkins, preacher; James Rockbury, painter. At least, if we are consistent, we would vote for a workingman to represent a WORKING CLASS PARTY. Ignorantly in the past, I have voted for disgruntled

preachers and pettifogging lawyers until I am sick, and now I want to cast my future ballots for my own class.

At the present time our National Executive Committee is composed of the following: John Spargo, high-priced lecturer; Job Harriman, ex-preacher and lawyer; Alexander Irvine, editor and ex-preacher; Morris Hilquit, lawyer; Victor Berger, editor and publisher; William D. Haywood, ex-miner, and Kate Richards O'Hare, a faithful pioneer worker and organizer for the Socialist party. Our national secretary is an ex-preacher; a union stenographer would do as well.

Out of the eight national officers we find only two who could be classed as real representatives of the working class. The other six have for years belonged to a class that has been taught to reverence capitalist law and the past. No matter what their sentimental inclinations, these are not, and cannot be as a result of their past environment, true champions of the great social revolution. In fact, their acceptance of nominations for party offices in a working-class party proves them inconsistent. Why did not Job Harriman, who so loudly howls about the amalgamation of the Socialist party with the A. F. of L. from every platform he can get foot on, because the A. F. of L. is composed of workmen, decline the nomination for mayor of Los Angeles in favor of some REAL WORKING-MAN? Had he been consistent he would have done so. Instead of doing any noble deed like that, he has accepted every office and nomination he could get and is now making a great play for the presidential nomination. At the present time he is a national executive committeeman, a national committeeman, a member of the California state executive board and general dictator of the California movement, yet he howls about the necessity of the party admitting real workingmen into its ranks.

I would not bar INTELLECTUALS from the party, but it would look better to the prospective Socialist if we could point out real workingmen as our officials rather than disgruntled preachers and lawyers. Let the Harrimans follow the example of J. A. Wayland or Comrade Kerr and work for LOVE OF THE CAUSE and we will have more faith in their politics.

LINSDAY LEWIS,

El Cajon, Calif.

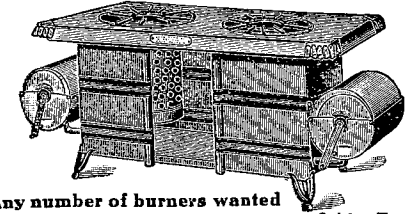
New Revolutionary Paper. "The Industrial Socialist" is the name of a new revolutionary weekly published by fighting comrades at 1136 Main street, Bridgeport, Conn. It is an advocate of One Big Union and of political action that will sustain and support the workers on the industrial field. The very first issue got a rise out of a prominent corset manufacturer of Bridgeport who exploits more than 2,500 people, mostly women and children. He sent an agent around to buy 500 copies. It is neatly printed and full of live stuff and though small as yet, will increase in size as the circulation grows. The subscription price is 50 cents a year.

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Socialist Moving Pictures. Comrade Samuel W. Ball, of Chicago, is the able lecturer for a series of moving pictures which have been put out by the National Sociograph Bureau of 173 North Green street, Chicago. The scenes illustrated are right from the workshop, showing how the army of toilers is incessantly at work heaping up profits for their masters. They are of vivid interest and will strike home to every one interested in the cause of the

working class. No Socialist could fail to be absorbed by this remarkable series, which was greeted enthusiastically on a recent trial tour in Indiana.

Walter Thomas Mills in Australia.—The following resolutions adopted by the National Executive of the Socialist Federation of Australia and officially endorsed by the branches of the federation, are sent out for publication by the International Socialist Bureau:

"1. That the Socialist Federation of Australasia protest to the American Socialist party against the action of Walter Thomas Mills in organizing for and speaking under the auspices of the Australian Labor party (an anti-Socialist organization).

"2. That the Socialist Federation of Australasia protest to the French Socialist party and Jean Jaures against Jaures accepting an invitation to speak in Australia for the so-called Labor party.

"3. That the Socialist Federation of Australia protest to the world's Socialist parties, through the International Socialist Bureau, against any member of the Socialist movement coming to Australia to speak for the so-called Labor party.

"In its politics the Labor party is not fundamentally different from the British Liberal party, and is ever essentially a party of capitalist interests, making the perpetuation of radical hatreds a vital part of its program, advocating forced militarism and jailing working-class boys who refuse to be conscripts, protesting its loyalty to throne and empire, and also protesting its desire to legislative to protect the exploiting interests of the employer as well as the interests of the employees. The Labor party has made laws to jail trade unionists who go on strike, and even at this minute the New South Wales Labor party holds four unionists in jail for striking; and it hurries armed police to every center where a strike takes place.

"A full statement of the Labor party position and record will be duly forwarded."

(That Mills should have entered the service of the Australian Labor party in opposition to the Socialist Federation is no surprise to any resolutionists who know his record. But why does Local Milwaukee continue to recognize him as a party member?—Editor.)

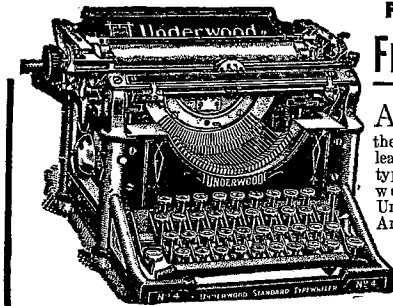
Best in the World.—Glad to hear the 50,000 edition of the REVIEW was sold out. It is the best piece of Socialist literature in the world and I get books and papers from all over, so I ought to know.—Comrade Cattell, Lake Seaman's Union, Detroit.

Going Fine.—Enclosed find money order for 25 more of April number to come quick. They are going fine.—Comrade Smith, Cleveland, Ohio.

Tickled the Boys.—I received the 100 April Reviews Saturday noon and sold 32 copies that afternoon and Sunday. The boys were wild with delight over the articles and pictures. Go to it, comrades.—Comrade Dickert, Indianapolis.

Partisan Use of Party Machinery. National Committeeman T. A. Hickey, of Texas, has made a motion protesting against the use of the machinery of the National Office in sending out to the party press a series of articles by Robert Hunter which Hickey declares "support one wing of the labor unions against the other in spite of the fact that every National Convention of the Socialist party has gone on record favoring labor organizations in general, but no form of organization in particular." It is suggested that "inasmuch as Mr. Hunter is a fortuitously rich man, he ought to go into his own pocket and pay for the publication of his partisan views instead of using the party machinery."

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Name..... Address.....
Town..... State.....
References Required



DAYTON, OHIO, REDS.

Horace P. King Clara M. King G. W. Riche L. M. Folk Camille Midney Frank Midney R. C. Jackson Ella Esler E. R. Esler

A Correction.—In the April number of the REVIEW the statement was made that Locals Springfield and Dayton, Ohio, had donated \$21.00 for the benefit of the Lawrence strikers. This was an error. We find the meeting was held by the group of Reds in the above photograph, all of Dayton and all revolutionists who joined the Springfield comrades in an effort to aid their struggling brothers in Lawrence when they were in a great fight. Comrade L. M. Folk, one of the Dayton Reds, is blind, but he is one of the best revolutionists in the bunch. This is one case of a blind man who sees the Class Struggle and how to emancipate the wage slaves.

Growth in Arizona.—Organized in 1903, the Socialist party of Arizona has now reached its highest point of strength and numbers. The growth has been steady and a direct result of constant agitation and participation in frequent campaigns.

One of the greatest obstacles to party growth has been the undisguised opposition of the masters of bread in the chief industry of the state, that of metalliferous mining. In a number of the larger camps to be known as an active Socialist is equivalent to prompt dismissal. This has its compensatory advantage; it leaves the workers in no doubt as to the fact and nature of the class struggle in which they are engaged. The resulting class-consciousness is at once the security and the chief glory of the Arizona movement.

After the formation of the short-lived Labor

party of 1910, the Socialist party nearly went out of existence in the territory; and not until the fall of 1911, after an organizing tour of Comrade Branstetter and just before the opening of the campaign for the election of the first set of state officials, did the party begin to recuperate from the blow of the previous year and take on new life.

During the past eight months, from a membership of little more than a hundred in three or four locals, the party has grown steadily from month to month to over eight hundred in thirty locals. This has been accomplished without a regular organizer in the field.

Ten locals in the state are co-operating in the National Lecture Course, and from the 3,000 or more subscribers thereto we look for material increase in the party membership, with resultant resources sufficient to keep organizers and speakers constantly in the field.

The Democrats, overwhelmingly in control of the state legislature, are engaged in writing the first laws of the new state. Having, as a result of the agitation for those measures by our party for a number of years, and in the hope of postponing Socialist success, seized upon the expediency of writing into the State Constitution the political measures of the initiative, referendum and recall, the Democratic party is now face to face with the problem of applying those principles in the solution of the industrial problems.

A measure for the recall of judges will be promptly enacted. Our party is already tak-

ing advantage of the initiatory provision of the new Constitution by circulating a woman suffrage petition. The Socialists propose to take full advantage of this political club in forcing to a vote of the people measures in the interest of the working class that may be "overlooked" by the Democratic legislature.

Efficient party organization and resources sufficient to put up a strong campaign can land Arizona in the Socialist ranks in any coming election.

W. S. BRADFORD,
State Secretary.

Making Socialists.—Am sending for some extra copies of the Review. Am making Socialists with every number. Subscribers think there is nothing like it.—Comrade Sullivan, Watervliet, N. Y.

All Gone.—Enclosed find \$1, for which send me 20 more Reviews. The 20 I received yesterday are all gone.—Comrade Lang, Muscatine, Ia.

Quick Action.—Received the 50 copies of the April Review O. K. and sold them in two days. Enclosed find money order for \$2.50, for which send 50 more copies of the same number.—Comrade Kennedy, Shelbyville, Ind.

Pleased.—Received the March number and will say I am more pleased every new number I receive. Please find enclosed \$1.10, for which send me more Reviews for April.—M. F. Myers, Fin. Sec., L. U. 2369, United Mine Workers, Utah.

Like Hot Cakes.—I got your bundle of 30. All went like "hot cakes." Please send 50 more copies.—Comrade Rosen, Illinois.

Makes Sound Socialists.—Enclosed find express order of \$2 for 40 April Reviews. The local at the last meeting passed a motion that we get 40 copies each month till we require an increase. The opinion of this local is that it is just the thing needed to make sound Socialists. We intend to have all the working members push the sale from now on. Later: Received 40 copies of Review for April. We sold over half first day. Local agrees it is a dandy. Enclosed is order for \$1 for 20 copies of same edition. Keep the Review going along the same lines and you will soon reach the 100,000 mark.—Comrade Mearns, Sec. Local Norwalk, Ohio.

Estimate of a Railroad Man.—Your magazine is worth \$1 a word.—Henry Parr, New Orleans.

From One of Our Boy Hustlers.—I asked a man the other day if he wanted to buy a Socialist Review and he said not on your tin type. He must of been a republican. Oh, how I like to ask a republican to buy a Socialist paper. I like to ask a man if he wants to buy a Review. He looks at it a few minutes and reaches in his pocket and pulls out ten cents and takes one. Then I hussel on to the next man and try and sell another one. I am anxious to win that book, that Happy Hunting Grounds. I know it is a good book.—Comrade John Hartman, Pennsylvania.

Best Ever.—I lent my neighbor my last copy of the Review. He and his wife have been Republicans all their lives, nearly 50

years. I have been furnishing them other literature, too. Now he says, "I have voted for the old parties the last time." Not being able to subscribe he hands me a dime to have the April Review sent to him, saying it is the best magazine he ever read.—Comrade Taylor, Oklahoma.

Our Youngest Review Hustler.—We beg leave to present herewith to the International Socialist movement and to the comrades in general a picture of the youngest Socialist hustler extant. Through his secretary he writes: "I am 15 months old, a red-headed Socialist who believes in and practices Direct Action. Only resort to political methods when I want the moon. My uncle 'Red' goes with me when I deliver the papers, but I hand them out and collect the money. Am certain that I will have success. Am enclosing a photo of myself and watermelon."—James Warren Hoffpauir, Abbeville, La.



BABY BEALS-HOFFPAUIR.

A Dangerous Precedent. Local Stanton, Ill., protests against the naming of John H. Walker as candidate for Congress on the Socialist party ticket in the 18th Illinois Congressional District on the ground that he has not been back in the party a year, as required by the party constitution. Walker has signified his willingness to abide by the action of the locals in his district in regard to the matter, but under the Illinois primary law there is no way of taking such a candidate's name off the ticket once it has been placed there, and Walker's name must now remain. Attention is called to the fact that in a speech at the annual convention of sub-district 6 of district 12 of the Illinois Mine Workers held in East St. Louis April 7-11, 1910, Walker said:

"I don't know whether there are many Socialists who agree with my statement that I am a Socialist, but regardless of their opinion I know that I am one. I have always been one and always expect as long as I live to be one. I know that in the Socialist party itself by the methods they have adopted and

have pursued in the past that instead of making progress for themselves or their party, they have stood as a block in the way of progress. Men have been turned out of the party who advocated propositions that meant real progress. In your political organizations you can do that; you have a right under your laws to do that; and I, when I could not reconcile myself to their methods of dealing with existing conditions, withdrew from the party. I would not be governed by laws that would prevent me from doing things that would really mean progress for the organization. I believe in the principles in the ultimate as strongly as I ever did and will continue to believe in them as long as I live; but politically I have a right to my own opinion." Walker is president of the United Mine Workers of America in Illinois. It will be remembered that he withdrew from the party in 1908 at the time he made the public statement that he would work for and support John Mitchell as a candidate for governor of Illinois on the Democratic ticket. Also his action in the Peoria convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in 1910, in bringing before that body the question of forming a new political party to be known as the Labor Party, and which was voted down in a referendum vote, should not be forgotten.

Local Stanton considers this a serious matter in that it will enable persons to join, resign from and rejoin the Socialist party at will for the purpose of getting on the Socialist ticket whenever there is a favorable chance for election. It holds that it will be harmful to the party to elect men to office who hold the laws and policies of the party in contempt, as evidenced by Walker's statement above, and that the habit of naming candidates merely because of their vote-catching abilities is baneful to the welfare of the cause.

Organizing the Wireless Men. The International Wireless Telegraphy Operator's Union wishes to hear from all persons interested in its welfare. Organized November 1, 1911, for the uniting of all wireless telegraphers and elevating their social, moral and intellectual standing; and for the protection of their interests and promotion of their general welfare. Les Leonard Bentley, Manager Pacific Division, Box 13, East San Pedro, Cal.

A Protest. Whereas, The National Socialist Party is supported by the working class of the United States, who find it difficult to obtain even the few dollars necessary to pay dues and consequently feel the necessity of economizing, and

Whereas, Several members of this local have received numerous communications from the National office, containing application blanks and other printed matter enclosed in large envelopes with two-cent stamps thereon, and

Whereas, These communications were sent out indiscriminately in large numbers, thus entailing heavy expense without possibility of adequate returns, as those letters merely urged

the already hustling members to greater activity, which spur is not necessary, and

Whereas, One letter stated that no less than 20,000 of one kind were sent out, at what we judge a fair estimate of three cents each, or \$600, which in our estimation is an absolute waste and could be used far more judiciously for other purposes, such as sending out speakers to places where strikes are on, distributing literature among strikers, etc., therefore,

Be it resolved, that we, the members of Twin Falls Local of the Socialist Party, in regular meeting assembled, do hereby condemn such ill-advised expenditure, and be it further resolved, that we instruct the State Secretary to take this matter up with different locals in the state with the view of arousing a general protest to the National office against such extravagant methods of carrying on propaganda work, and be it further resolved that one copy of these resolutions be sent to the National Secretary, John M. Work, one copy to the Secretary of the National Socialist Lyceum Bureau, L. E. Katterfeld, one copy to the State Secretary, I. F. Stewart; one copy to the Inland Echo for publication, one copy to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for publication and that one copy will be inserted in the minutes for record.

Committee: W. M. Donne, F. Olson, E. R. Nussgen, Secretary and Treasurer; W. H. Schultz, Chairman.

A Reply. The Twin Falls criticism has some merit. I realized last summer that to write hustlers under first-class postage is expensive. I asked the National Executive Committee for permission to publish a leaflet under second-class rates in order that the Party's Lyceum Bureau might have as good opportunity to encourage party builders to their best efforts as different private institutions now have to enthuse their "Army" of "Hustlers." This year's experience teaches that such a periodical is essential to the greatest success of the Lyceum or any other party work, and I therefore renew the recommendation.

That two-cent postage pays better than one-cent I learned from the Appeal, which has spent many thousands of dollars circularizing the Appeal Army.

Some comrades received duplicate letters since their names appeared on several lists that we circularized, but the labor to separate them would have cost more than the postage.

In some localities the letters were probably superfluous, but in many they were urgently needed and of great help to the Lyceum Committees, according to the letters of appreciation we received. Some even ordered additional letters.

In Twins Falls these letters seemed particularly appropriate, since we received reports that some members not only opposed taking up the proposition, but knocked it after the local had accepted it.

Looking over the year's work, I now see much waste that we can eliminate in the future. This applies to the Party as a whole at least as much as to the Lyceum Department. For every dollar that was spent unwisely from this office, ten dollars' worth of

energy was wasted in the field because of the lack of support or actual antagonism of some who should have given their heartiest co-operation.

The Lyceum is essentially an effort to eliminate waste from our propaganda. Mistakes are inevitable, but gradually the Comrades everywhere are **LEARNING HOW.**

L. E. KATTERFELD,

Manager National Socialist Lyceum Bureau.

Idaho Encampments.—I take great pleasure in giving you all the information possible regarding the movement in Idaho. The past year has been a good one in our state. The number of locals has been doubled since September, giving us 120 in all, with 33 members at large. Total number of dues-paying members is approximately 1,800. We expect to make a wonderful showing this fall and will keep our organizer in the field until the votes are counted. We have not elected many officials in the cities so far, but with the crystallization of sentiment and the rapid growth of our organization we are confident of capturing many municipal strongholds, invade the legislature, and possibly send a man to Congress this fall. Conditions are ripe for Socialism in Idaho. Every one is disgusted with the old order. We calculate to take advantage of the situation by holding a series of encampments all over the state during the summer months. A proposition is now before the state membership to buy a large tent, secure six or eight of the best speakers in the movement and arrange our meetings so that practically every person in the state will have an opportunity to attend. In this way we can create sentiment in our favor so that when our conditions go before the people, they will listen to the message.

The farmer is beginning to wake up out here. Socialism, pictured by the capitalist press as a grizzly Gorgon devouring farms, no longer affrights the tiller of the soil. While looking at the horrid picture he has discovered that Capitalism is really getting his land. High taxes, high cost of living, excessive freight rates and poor markets is a frame within which a new picture is being painted. It has developed far enough now to convince him that the finished portrait will be a poor-house.—I. F. Stewart, State Sec'y.

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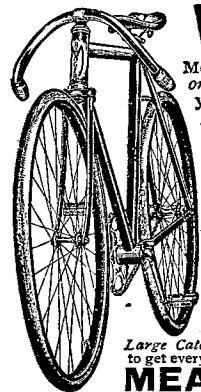
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Organizing Canadian Construction Workers.—In answer to telegram from St. John for an account of the strike on the Canadian Northern construction work, will do my best with the limited time at my disposal.

The strike is the outcome of intolerable conditions endured perforce all during the winter months; in the first place, many men bought jobs in Vancouver and other places to go to work at day wages, but when they got here were told if they went to work here they would have to take station work, the men were then up against it, and many of them took the bait and now, after months of hard work they are in debt. Yet all they have received for their labor was an unsanitary place to sleep, bum grub, the rottenest of sausages, that would often make them vomit, such clothes as they needed of the coarsest kind, overalls, hobnail boots, and for luxuries snuff and tobacco. Right here come to mind the second verse of "The Roll Call" in our little Red Song Book.

"Shall we labor for the grafters from the dawn to setting sun?

Shall we all his graft and hard work meekly bear?

When we've worked a week we owe the boss for all the work we've done.

When the driver yells, 'Roll out, boys,' are you there?"

Just at present we are not there. To go on with the story: Many workers that came here for jobs are wise to the fact that piece work, by whatever name it is called, is against the real interest of the workers, and refused to take the bait, but quietly jungled up on the banks of the Frazier river till the contractors, seeing there were not suckers enough to build the road for snuff and overalls and bum grub, put men to work at day wages. Most of these men have listened to the I. W. W. agitator on the streets of Portland, Tacoma, Seattle, Vancouver, Spokane and numerous other places in the Northwest, and while eating their jungle breakfast they discussed matters of organization, and one Carl Olsen asked who was in favor of it and it proved they all were, and so, though not working, they went from camp to camp, putting the question to the men, and it was soon found the men were heartily in favor of the One Big Union, and after about 600 had been approached and proved willing, word was sent to Vancouver for an organizer. To make a long story short, the seeds sown by the I. W. W. agitators had taken root and appeared about the surface in the shape of Local Union No. 327, and its growth went steadily on till it was a rare thing to find a workingman not a member of the I. W. W.

During the winter the men perfected their plan, engaging organizers to go to the camps regularly, and while the army of unemployed menaced them they patiently put up with the vile camp condition but with a growing bitterness that could have no other outlet but in revolt. On March 27 the men in Benson & Nelson Camp No. 4 gave the boss till noon to grant them a nine-hour day and \$3 minimum. Being refused they went to Camp No. 3, then

No. 2, and all came to Lytton, held a meeting in their hall, elected scouts to take the news up and down the line, and in next to no time the line was tied up from Hope to Kamloops, over 160 miles.

Strike committees as well as police and commissary committees were elected at all the important points along the line—Hope, Yale, Spuzzum, North Bend, Lytton, Spence's Bridge, Ashcroft, Savona and Kamloops.

The capitalist papers have had to confess the wonderful control the men, used to strong drink to drown their misery, have shown. We care nothing about their praise; what we want is to win; results are all that count with us. The Vancouver papers say it is the first time in the history of the world that railroad laborers have tied up a road completely, and we hope to show them, if they do not grant our demands, we know how to make this road the most costly railroad in the world.

There are about 7,000 men out, and while we have a minimum wage scale for different kinds of work, our main demand is a nine-hour day and \$3.00 minimum, knowing that the highest standards rest on raising and safeguarding the lowest. The time is past to ask workingmen to stay away from places where vile conditions exist. It is our duty to stay and Organize to change things. Running away won't do it, nor praying. When this road is built it will be built by I. W. W. men, be it this year or twenty years from now.

THOS. WHITEHEAD.

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A Successful Socialist Sunday School.—"To the young belongs the future." Judging by the zeal and enthusiasm displayed by the young "hopefuls" of our Philadelphia Sunday School one readily believes that the present also belongs to them. Their happy faces, sparkling eyes, strong bodies and joyous spirits have been a source of inspiration to their teachers whom they meet each Sunday morning. The school owes its beginning to Mrs. Morris Goldberg. Last fall she was able to organize a staff of teachers and got the Workingmen's Circle to give their aid. They furnished a whole building—heated, provided with an assembly room, seating 150, and separate class rooms. They installed a piano which cost them over a hundred dollars—because they believed in the children.

The Workingmen's Circle (an organization formed chiefly of Socialists) sent their children on Sunday mornings. The youngsters were soon interested and brought others whose parents were not Socialists. A trained singing teacher (a Socialist), Miss Kamenoffsky, was engaged as well as a pianist who gives his services free.

The pupils, numbering 150, from 6 to 15 years of age, all meet in the assembly hall every Sunday morning. A song is sung, then recitations are given by one or two pupils; then more songs and the classes go to their respective rooms. There are four grades at present in charge of Mrs. Goldberg; the principal, Miss Goldberg, Miss Vittelas and myself. The class of youngest pupils is given interesting talks and readings, chiefly on nature, animals, etc. The class of oldest pupils are given material which bears more directly on our present social life. The Socratic method of asking questions is used in order to arouse self-activity on the part of the pupils. The aim in general in all the classes is to avoid dogma, to dispel superstitions, to get a better understanding of social relations, to perform that work which no other institution is doing—training the children to be social beings. To cultivate their imagination, to enable them to picture a better state of society and to desire that state, to love the beautiful, this is part of our work. The meaning of the war spirit, race-prejudice, class-subjection and other capitalistic ideals are clearly shown in their real purpose—to keep the working mass divided.

My purpose in writing this is to inspire the formation of other schools like ours. The child is worth bothering with. He must have the material adapted especially for him. Dividing society into sheep and goats is not sufficient to give the child a social view-point or knowledge of social relations or its relations to the world of nature.

The school has more applicants than it has room for. It has already 150 pupils. We have another school just as large uptown, equally successful. They are a source of constant inspiration to all concerned and more will probably be opened next year, for "nothing succeeds like success." We have a systematic course of study, though it is not fixed nor

ironclad and a regular course outlined. I shall be pleased to send our plans to any one who contemplates getting up one of these schools—who sends the necessary stamped envelope to the principal, Mrs. M. Goldberg, 1408 S. 5th St., Philadelphia. Let the good work proceed! Onward, to the revolution!

HENRY FLURY.

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We Socialists of the United States were just coming to realize that we knew little about the literature of Marxian Socialism and that we needed a knowledge of it badly. It could not be had in English. The money we raised among us was used to translate and print the German, French and Italian classics of Socialism and to print original American books as fast as they could be found. It took all the money subscribed for stock and all we could borrow to do the translating and printing. No one made any profits, and for a long time no one except the printers got union wages.

In all about 390 Socialist Party Locals and 1,960 individuals subscribed for stock. No one drew any dividends; no one expected any, for none were promised. The comrades put in their money for two purposes. One was to get REAL SOCIALIST BOOKS for less than they would otherwise have cost, if indeed they would have been obtainable at all. The other was to put REAL SOCIALIST BOOKS within the reach of the wage-workers of the United States.

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The International Socialist Review was started in 1900. Within a year it reached a circulation of over 5,000. Then it began to stagnate, and at the end of the first seven years its actual paid circulation was barely 3,000. We decided that a change of editors was necessary, and in 1908 we made the change, and began organizing the editorial staff which is still in charge. The effect was soon apparent. We kept most of our old readers and found a multitude of new ones. From 3,000 our paid circulation has jumped to 50,000, with signs of an even more rapid increase to come.

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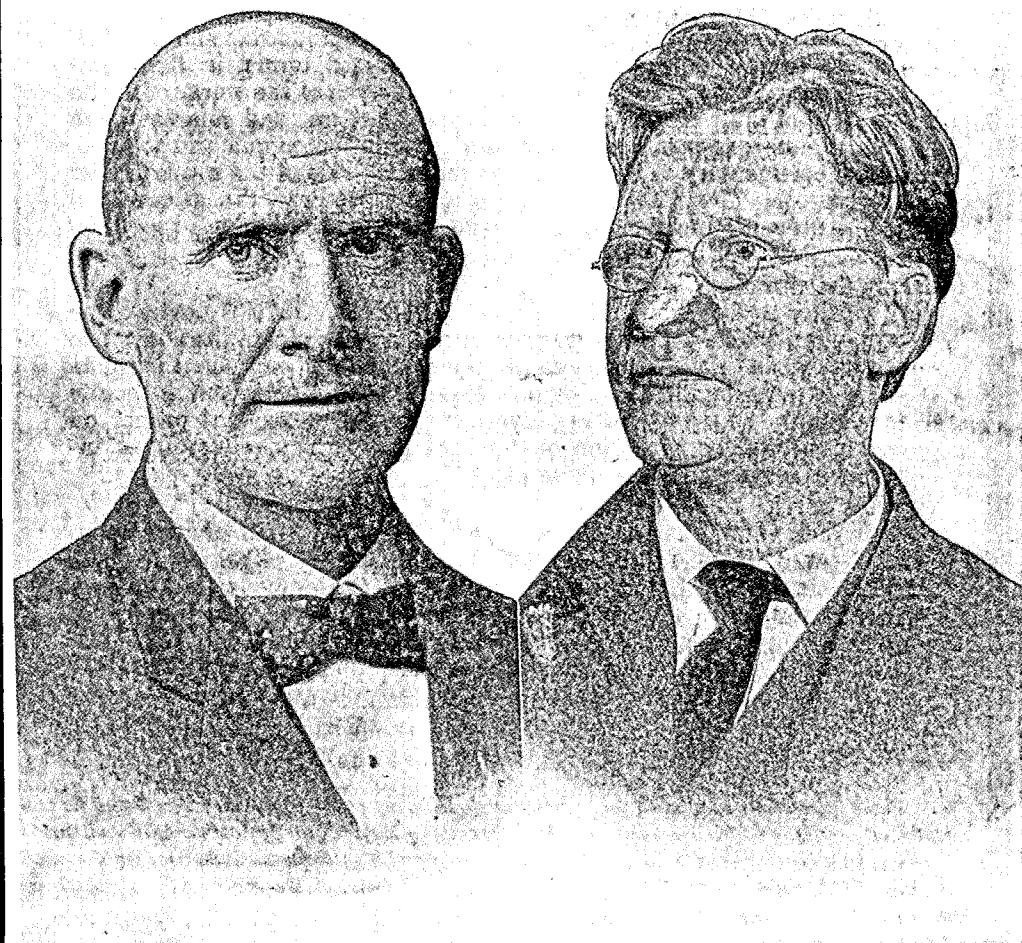
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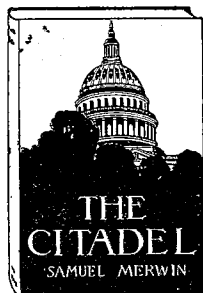
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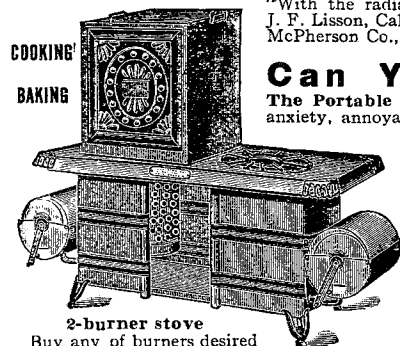
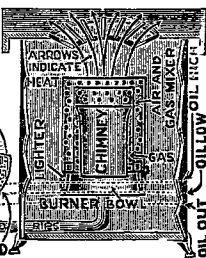
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William D. Haywood directed the recent successful textile workers' strike at Lawrence, Mass. **J. Keir Hardie, M. P.**, fought in and out of Parliament for the British miners in their recent general strike.

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The American is dealt with in the Metropolitan in

Haywood and Haywoodism

The article, written by **Carl Hovey**, author of "The Life-Story of J. Pierpont Morgan," analyzes Haywood, seeks to reveal the secret of his power, and discusses dispassionately, candidly and vigorously the methods of the Industrial Workers of the World and its relation to other labor organizations. Mr. Hovey has written an able study of a phase of the American labor movement commanding ever increasing attention.

Hardie has himself written for the Metropolitan

Labor's Great Victory in England

The Minimum Wage Bill, rushed through Parliament in order to end the great general strike of miners, is explained at length by Mr. Hardie. He considers the bill a great victory for Labor. But he also discusses "Syndicalism," criticising it severely and defending the policy of political action as expressed through the Labor Party, which he helped to found. An authoritative statement of an historic event.

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Victor L. Berger Says:

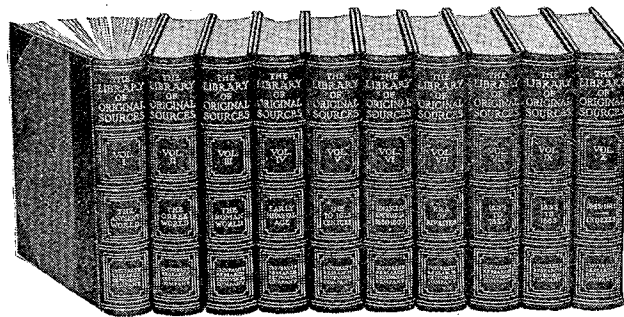
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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives LaMonte, William E. Bohn, Leslie H. Marcy, Frank Bohn, William D. Haywood, Phillips Russell

The Editor is responsible only for views expressed on the editorial page and in unsigned department matter. Each contributor and associate editor is responsible for views expressed over his own signature.

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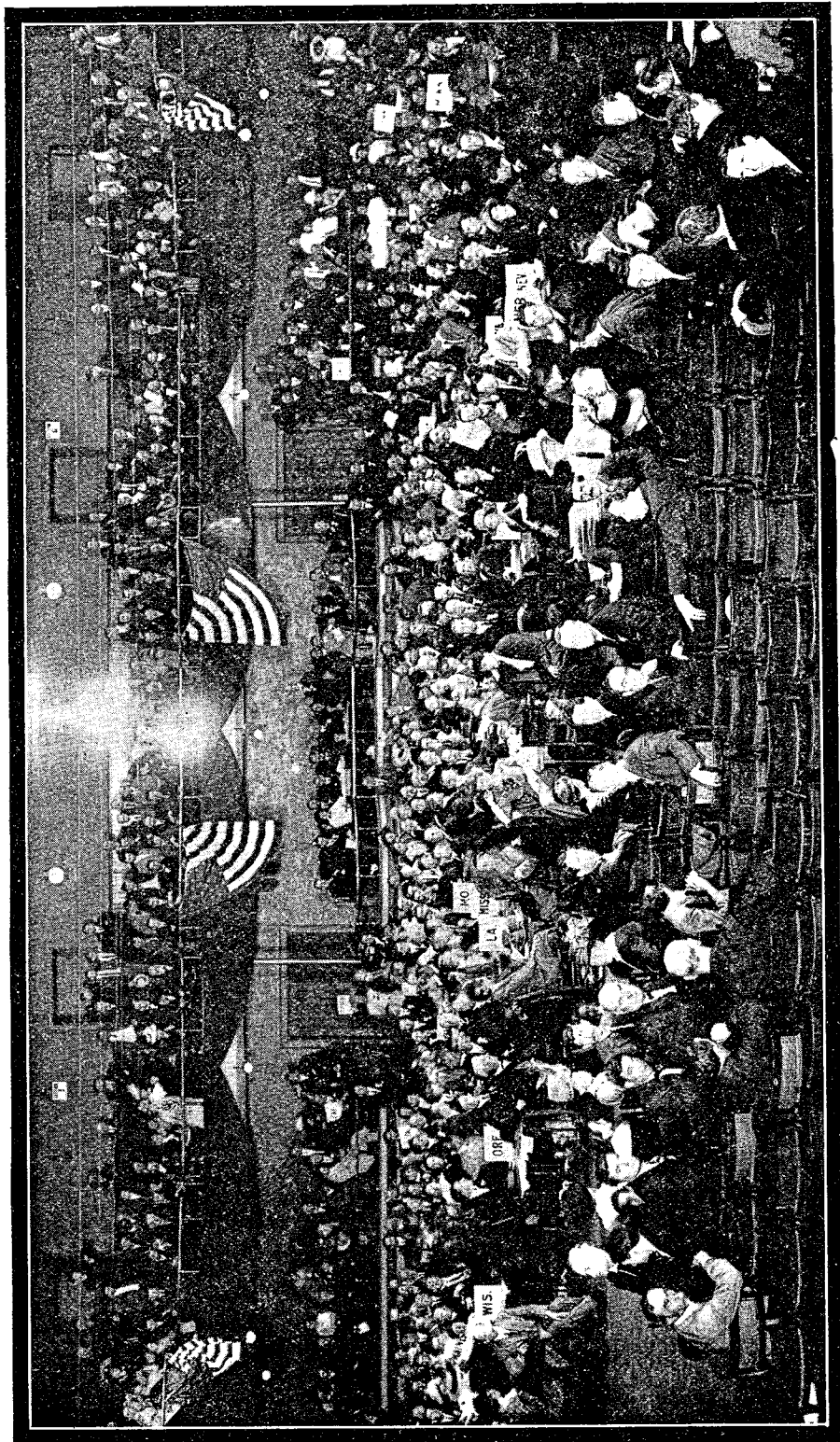
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THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONVENTION OF 1912. INDIANAPOLIS.

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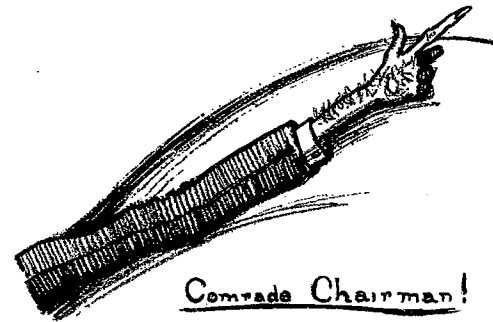
No. 12

THE
NATIONAL
SOCIALIST
CONVENTION
OF
1912

(Cartoons by Marion Reynolds.)



MAYOR DUNCAN AS CHAIRMAN.



PERHAPS the best way to describe the national convention of the Socialist party of the United States, which met in Indianapolis on May 12, is to begin before the beginning.

The excitement attendant upon the convention really began on the Friday before the formal opening when the National Executive Committee met to con-

sider the matter of sending financial relief to the Chicago *Daily Socialist* and to the free speech fighters of San Diego. The sum of \$1,000 was voted to help the Daily and \$250 went to the San Diego comrades, with a recommendation that a general appeal be issued for funds. Considerable debate was aroused over the San Diego situation, which was brought up by Haywood. The most interesting features were the declarations by Berger that the American Federation of Labor is "a thing of the past," as far as any real usefulness to the working class is concerned, and the denunciation by John Spargo of the San Diego free speech fighters, many of whom, he declared, belonged to "a vicious element with criminal faces."

Spargo's feelings were again outraged when at a meeting of the Marion County Socialists on Friday night it was revealed that the Indianapolis comrades had appointed one of their number to make an address of welcome to the delegates clad in a pair of overalls. Spargo declared that the proposal was undignified, savored of a masquerade performance, and, besides, would give the capitalist press a chance to poke fun. Berger expressed similar fears.

The local Socialists expressed their resentment at this attitude, their contention being that the overalls were intended to be simply a symbol of the fact that the Socialist party represented the workingman.

So important seemed this matter of a pair of overalls that it was brought up at the meeting of the N. E. C. the next day, and Spargo proposed that if the Indianapolis comrades persisted in their insult the members of the N. E. C. should show their displeasure by arising and leaving the hall. For a time it looked as if the N. E. C. would be rent in twain over the question of a 59-cent pair of overalls, but when a vote was taken the overalls won, it being required that welcoming addresses should not be over five minutes long. Berger wished it known that in the pinch he voted for overalls.

The incident was the subject of much laughter in the streets and hotel lobbies, and dismal prophecies were made that a split in the Socialist party was inevitable,

but when the welcoming speaker, Carl Ott, appeared the next day on the convention floor, he wore plain, ordinary bourgeois pants. When some one demanded to know where those overalls were, Ott passed the matter over by saying that they had been brought into the hall that morning, but he didn't know where they were now. It was hinted in the corridors that a conspiracy had been formed and the offending overalls had been removed from the convention's jurisdiction by interested parties.

Another tense situation developed when it was announced that the local superintendent of police had placed a ban on the red flag and had forbidden it to be carried in the parade scheduled for Sunday night. Again the N. E. C. was thrown into a state of agitation which was intensified when it was learned that the N. E. C. was to be placed at the head of the parade and might have to bear the brunt of the attack. A delegation was sent to the police superintendent, who said there was nothing to it and that there was no more law against a red flag than there was against a yellow one. The Catholic Church is known to have had a hand in trying to stir up the police.

National Secretary John M. Work called the convention to disorder at 10:25 o'clock the next morning, delegates seated not ten feet away arising and fiercely demanding that he speak louder. Gustave Strobel, of New York, was then levied upon to call the roll and enthralled the convention with his clear, bugle-like tones, which were replied to by voices that varied in pitch from the hoarse bellow of Dan Hogan, of Arkansas, to the flute-like tenor of Guy Lockwood, of Michigan. Jim Reilly of New Jersey was elected secretary, to his great satisfaction, with John E. Russell and Elizabeth Goldstein as assistants.

The official roster showed 293 delegates present, coming from every state in the union and from seven foreign-speaking organizations.

Pennsylvania furnished the largest group, composed of 28 delegates. New York came next with 23. Ohio followed with 21, California coming next with 18, and Illinois just behind with 16. These



THE PENNSYLVANIA DELEGATION.

five delegations alone represented 106 votes and necessarily played a conspicuous part in the convention.

The rumor factory started operations the very first day, not to mention the axe-grinding mill, whose low, steady hum

could be heard even in times of clash and tumult.

The California delegation excited the most curiosity, as it was supposed to furnish the most trouble. It did supply a considerable part of it. Job Harriman

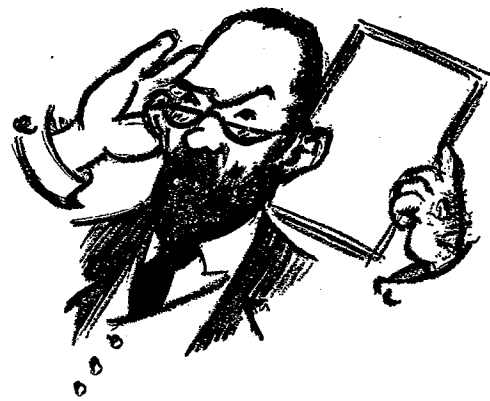


OHIO DELEGATES—NINETEEN REDS, TWO YELLOWS.

impinged upon the eye clad in a suit of vanilla ice cream color. He later exchanged this for clothes of more somber hue. Close upon his heels followed a pamphlet attacking his record, written by A. R. Holston, and said to be circulated by A. W. Harrack. Harriman denied with a circular denying Holston's charges and quoting a friendly letter from F. B. Meriam, state secretary of California. This was refuted in turn by a circular signed by E. A. Cantrell, California's organizer, so it was evident that Harriman was far from being "in control" of his delegation.

It was discovered that almost every known occupation was known among the delegates. Delegate Fritz, of Mississippi, for instance, confessed to being an optometrist, while Oscar Ameringer, of Oklahoma, blows a horn. Among the other representatives of the proletariat were 21 lawyers, 18 preachers, and assorted real estate agents, teachers, doctors and trade unionists.

The delegates as a whole looked pretty well to the eye, but it was later learned that appearances were deceitful. For example, a perfectly harmless looking delegate might afterwards prove to have been a convicted sheep-stealer, while a depraved looking individual with a baleful look in his eye, when introduced, would turn out to be a minister. The doctor delegate would be wearing a soft shirt, while the carpenter delegate would be choking himself to death in a high celluloid collar. Costumes varied all the way from the natty Norfolk coat of Delegate



BYRD FROM TEXAS.

Dobbs, of Kentucky, to the red flannel shirt of Delegate Cumbie, of Oklahoma. The latter wore this so constantly that it was rumored he slept in it, which charge when carried to him he indignantly denied. Morris Hillquit, of New York, was elected chairman and Floyd Ramp, of Oregon, vice-chairman, for the first day, which was occupied almost entirely in making rules and laying down the order of business.

When Sunday night came it was decided to call off the parade because of the cold weather and the failure of the two bands to appear. Instead a mass meeting was held in Tomlinson Hall, where Frank J. Hayes, Alexander Irvine, Anna Maley, Job Harriman, Lena Morrow Lewis and Victor Berger made addresses.

Monday's business was begun with the election of J. Mahlon Barnes, of Pennsylvania, as chairman, and Geo. Clifton Edwards, of Texas, as vice-chairman. Most of the day was spent in attempts to get committees organized and in deferring reports.

Haywood got the floor to read a telegram just received from San Diego telling of new atrocities there. On motion it was referred to the N. E. C. for immediate action.

Spargo declared for the N. E. C. that payment for delegates' expenses would include sleeping car fare. He found it necessary to make an impassioned speech on the subject, pointing out that self-sacrificing delegates could not be expected to ride on the rods under trains, but must come to conventions "in the best condition to fight capitalism." This recommendation met with enthusiastic cheers.

Several resolutions were introduced and referred to the Resolutions Committee, including one from U. Solomon, of the New York delegation, calling for action in the case of Ettor and Giovanitti, now in jail at Lawrence, Mass., and pointing out that the capitalist class intended to make another Haymarket tragedy out of it. Another was from Wheeler, of Pennsylvania, pledging support to all workers in their struggles and recommending to them the principle of industrial unionism. A third was from the Montana delegation declaring that the

future society must be a condition of industrial democracy.

The first unpleasant incident occurred on this day. This came up when Mahlon Barnes, as chairman, announced that a telegram had been received from a Denver branch protesting against the presence on the floor of the convention of a man against whom charges were pending. When demands came from the floor that further information be given, Barnes hinted that the person involved was a member of the N. E. C., but maintained a mysterious silence as to what the contents were. By this time everybody realized that William D. Haywood, who was absent, was the person involved, but Spargo hastily moved that the telegram be laid on the table, which was done. It was supposed that this settled the matter, but to the astonishment of many delegates the gist of the telegram appeared in the local capitalist press the next morning, giving no details but hinting that the charges against Haywood, who was named, were grave. Inquiry developed the fact that Barnes had given permission for the capitalist reporters to see this telegram and copy its contents, notwithstanding the fact that it had not been read on the floor of the convention.

Much feeling developed against Barnes for his conduct in this affair, and the next day when Haywood asked the floor on a matter of personal privilege, it looked as if a storm were brewing. Haywood said that he had learned of the telegram and demanded that it be read to the convention in full, and that he considered such matters ought to be read into the minutes before going to the capitalist press.

The telegram was then read, and proved to be from the Tenth Ward Branch of Local Denver, declaring that a trial committee there was considering charges against Haywood on the ground of "treason to the party and conduct unbecoming a Socialist." It turned out that these charges had been secretly forwarded to Denver by Local Bridgeport, Conn., which is one of the strongholds of Robert Hunter, who, by the way, was not present at the convention, but was said to have taken a boat for Europe.

Haywood then took the floor and explained the nature of the charges, pointing



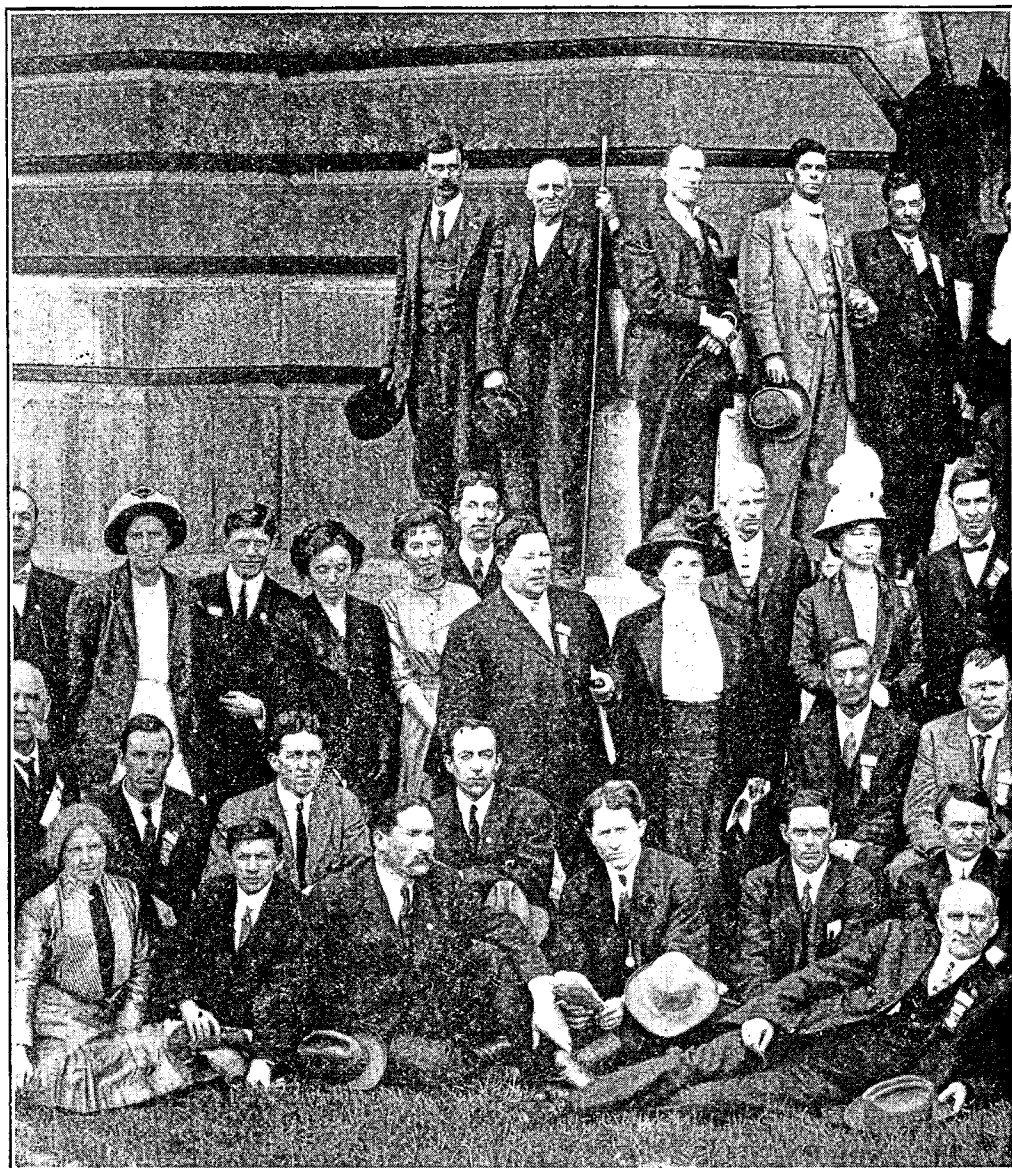
REYNOLDS OF INDIANA.

out that Local Bridgeport had sent its only contribution to the Lawrence strike to John Golden, member of the A. F. of L. and Militia of Christ, who scabbed on the Lawrence strikers continuously.

Jasper McLevy and Ernest Berger, chief lieutenants of Hunter in Bridgeport, both leaped to their feet along with countless others, but the threatened explosion was averted. "The interests" didn't want the matter aired at this time and the chairman recognizing Spargo, the latter moved that the entire matter be tabled, which was done by an overwhelming vote, and it was further voted that all telegrams thereafter should be read to the convention before being given to the press.

On the third day L. Guiteres de Lara, fraternal delegate from Mexico, was given the floor and urged the convention to protest against intervention by the United States government in Mexican affairs. He explained that the present revolt was caused by the broken promises of Madero and other politicians, and that the Mexican people would not be satisfied till they got back the land which had been stolen from them.

Haywood then followed with a motion that the convention approve the action of the Copenhagen congress calling for a general strike in the event of war, but his voice was lost in the confusion and



the chairman ruled his motion out of order.

Geo. Pettigrew, fraternal delegate from Canada, was also given the floor and made an excellent address, in which he declared that Canadian Socialists were for revolutionary political action and industrial unionism.

Rev. Carl D. Thompson, of Milwaukee, reported for the Committee on Commission Government. No action was taken except that the committee was continued

to report again to the next convention.

It was announced that committees had been elected as follows:

Platform—Charles Edward Russell, New York; Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin; James F. Carey, Massachusetts; Charles Dobbs, Kentucky; Lewis J. Duncan, Montana; W. J. Ghent, District of Columbia; Dan Hogan, Arkansas; A. W. Ricker, Kansas; J. Stitt Wilson, California.

Constitution—Morris Hillquit, New York; Barney Berlyn, Illinois; Otto F. Bransetter, Oklahoma; George D. Brewer, Kansas; George H. Goebel, New Jersey; A. H. Floaten,



Colorado; James Oneal, Indiana; N. A. Richardson, California; Dan W. Hoan, Wisconsin.

Labor Organizations and Their Relation to the Socialist Party—Oscar Ameringer, Oklahoma; T. Clifford, Ohio; Job Harriman, California; T. A. Hickey, Texas; Algernon Lee, New York; T. J. Lewis, Oregon; James H. Maurer, Pennsylvania; William Rodriguez, Illinois; Dan White, Massachusetts.

Auditing—M. E. Fritz, Mississippi; Stephen C. Garrison, Indiana; W. A. Ward, Missouri; O. H. Blase, Kansas; Fred Bennets, New York.

Ways and Means—O. S. Watkins, Minnesota; George W. Bacon, Pennsylvania; Max

Boehm, Ohio; Margaret D. Brown, Iowa; L. B. Irvin, Oklahoma; Milo C. Jones, New Jersey; Arthur LeSeur, North Dakota; E. L. Requin, California; Isaac Franklin Stewart, Idaho.

Reports of National Officers—George Allan, England, Maine; William E. Duffy, New York; John H. Grant, Minnesota; Anna Cohen, Pennsylvania; C. W. Sherman, Oregon; Anna K. Storck, Ohio; Harold W. Houston, West Virginia.

Party Press—J. L. Bachmann, Ohio; Sam E. Beardsley, Connecticut; W. A. Jacobs, Wisconsin; Meyer London, New York; R. A. Maynard, California; George E. Owen, Okla-



homa; Mary O'Reilly, Illinois; William Morris Wesley, Utah; Fred Krafft, New Jersey.

Foreign Speaking Organizations—Frank Aaltonen, Michigan; Alex Coleman, Massachusetts; A. O. Devolt, Minnesota; Louis Goaziou, Pennsylvania; Caroline Lowe, Illinois; Dan M. McCartan, Ohio; William Burkle, New York.

Resolutions—Joseph E. Cohen, Pennsylvania; W. P. Collins, Colorado; E. R. Meitzen, Texas; George E. Roewer, Jr., Massachusetts; H. L. Slobodin, New York; John Spargo, Vermont; E. H. Thomas, Wisconsin; H. M. Wells, Washington; John G. Wills, Oklahoma; Ben Wilson, Kansas.

Co-operative Movement—Emma D. Cory, Washington; J. T. Cumble, Oklahoma; W. R. Gaylord, Wisconsin; Lee W. Lang, Iowa; Edward I. Lindgren, New York; Caleb Lipscomb, Missouri; Edgar Eugene Powell, Ohio.

State and Municipal Programs—Ernest Berger, Connecticut; Roscoe Emin Dooley, Oklahoma; George W. Downing, California; W. W. Farmer, Indiana; John C. Kennedy, Illinois; Anna A. Maley, Washington; Margaret L. Prevey, Ohio; Carl D. Thompson, Wisconsin; Thomas M. Todd, Colorado.

International Relations—J. Mahlon Barnes, Pennsylvania; Louis Haemer, Illinois; May



Wood Simons, Kansas; U. Solomon, New York; John Ohsol, Massachusetts.

Immediately after the election of Lee, of New York, as chairman and Le Seuer, of North Dakota, as vice-chairman, business was suspended and the floor given to Karl Legien, Socialist member of the German Reichstag and president of the German Federation of Trade Unions. Legien's speech, which was afterwards read in translation by his secretary, Baumeister, was quite evidently "inspired." In

fact, he acknowledged that he had been informed by "prominent members of the party" on the leading questions that were to come up. And nearly everybody knows who the "prominent members of the party" are who speak German fluently. It was quite evident that his references to "dual unions" and "destructive tendencies" were aimed at Haywood and the I. W. W., and some saw in his statement that the German Social Democratic Party "has never claimed that the unions

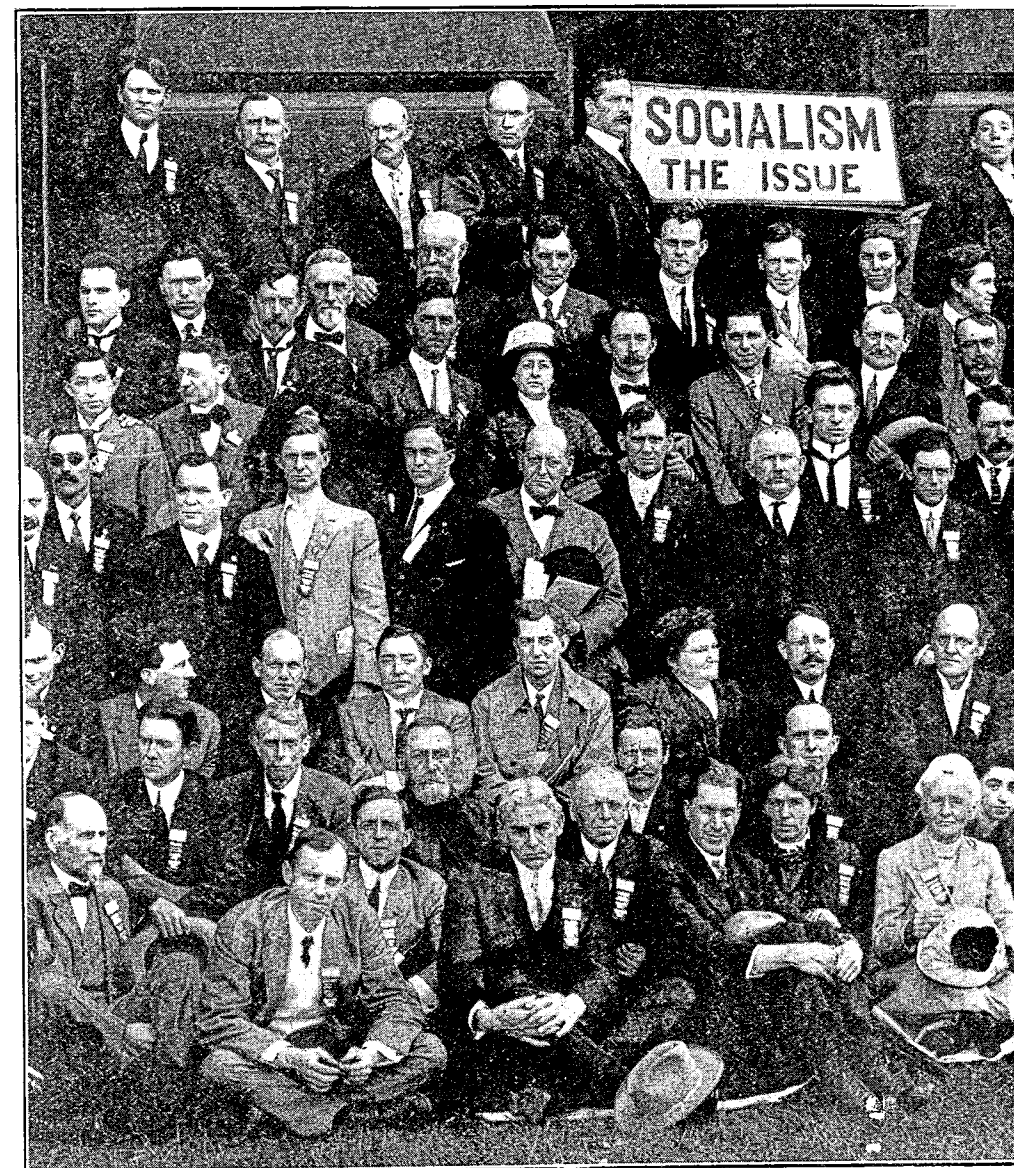


should assume a political character or that they should become part and parcel of the party itself," a slap at the Harriman "Los Angeles plan" of having the unions "function" in the Socialist party.

Job Harriman then asked for the reading of new telegrams from San Diego, which was done. The San Diego situation kept cropping up almost continually during the convention and it was somewhat comic to see how the old-line leaders sought to avoid dealing with it. They

were there for politics—the class struggle for the time being was a secondary consideration. All sorts of excuses were made for side-tracking the subject—that it wasn't a Socialist fight, that the I. W. W. merely provoked it for the purpose of making trouble for the Socialist party, that it was an anarchist affair anyhow, that the capitalist authorities in San Diego were in the right and the fighters wrong, etc., etc.

When Stitt Wilson arose and moved



that the telegrams be referred to the N. E. C. for immediate consideration and action, the stir on the floor betokened that another fight was about due.

Bessemer, of Ohio, then moved that a telegram be sent at once to the governor of California demanding protection for the rights of the free speech fighters, also a similar telegram to President Taft. Heated arguments immediately arose. Berger, Spargo, and Harriman fought the motion, London, of New York, chiming

in with the declaration that "because this is a Socialist convention is no reason for it acting like a lot of fools." Kate Sadler, of Washington, and Marguerite Prevey, of Ohio, spoke vigorously for the motion.

It was put to a vote and lost by 137 to 102. This was the first clear indication of the probable numerical line-up of the two contending elements in the convention, and was very encouraging to the "reds" in that it showed they had more delegates with them than they thought.



In the afternoon Harriman reported for the N. E. C. that in addition to the \$250 already voted, it was decided that telegrams should be sent to the governor of California urging that he protect citizens in their rights, to the secretaries of the State Federation of Labor and the State Building Trades Council and to the State Executive Committee of the Socialist party urging co-operation with the San Diego free speech league.

Zitt, of Ohio, moved to amend by sub-

stituting the word "demand" for "urge."

Kate Sadler moved to amend further by including the Industrial Workers of the World in San Diego in the telegrams to be sent. When a protest arose over this, Bessemer, of Ohio, asked Harriman if his report did not recognize the American Federation of Labor and ignore the other organizations involved. Harriman answered that it was to be an appeal to "all the working class." Bessemer declared that the I. W. W. was involved in



the San Diego fight and should be included in all communications. A protest by Spargo was followed by another from Solomon, of New York, who contended that the I. W. W. had no state organization in California.

After further heated debate the Sadler amendment was carried, and loud applause and shouts arose. The Zitt amendment then carried, and the "reds" cheered some more as they realized that they had scored their first victory. Irvine, of Cali-

fornia, moved that a collection be taken up for the San Diego comrades, but this was shut off by a motion of Mahoney, of Massachusetts, to proceed with business.

Meantime the Committee on Resolutions had made a report favoring the immediate appropriation of \$500 and a call on all Socialist organizations to form defense committees in behalf of Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovanitti, whom the capitalist class intends to send to the electric chair because of their activities in the

strike at Lawrence. This report was adopted unanimously with the exception of Coldwell, of Massachusetts, who shouted a loud "No!"

The report of the Committee on Farmers' Program was then taken up as read by A. M. Simons. The other members of the committee were Algernon Lee, Oscar Ameringer, Rev. Carl D. Thompson, James H. Maurer, and Clyde J. Wright, not one of whom is an actual farmer. On motion by Wills, of Oklahoma, a committee of real farmers was elected to confer with the standing committee. Those elected were: Wills, Sherman of Oregon; Theinert, of Rhode Island; Nash, of Minnesota; Beloit, of Idaho; Caldwell, of Pennsylvania; Coonrod of Idaho, and Brandt, of North Dakota.

The proposed program as submitted was as follows:

1. The Socialist party demands that the means of transportation and storage and the plants used in the manufacture of farm products and farm machinery shall be socially owned and democratically managed.
2. To prevent the holding of land out of use and to eliminate tenantry, we demand that all farm land not cultivated by owners shall be taxed at its full rental value, and that actual use and occupancy shall be the only title to land.
3. We demand the retention by the national, state or local governing bodies of all land owned by them, and the continuous acquirement of other land by reclamation, purchase, condemnation, taxation or otherwise; such land to be organized as rapidly as possible into socially operated farms for the conduct of collective agricultural enterprises.
4. Such farms should constitute educational and experimental centers for crop culture, the use of fertilizers and farm machinery and distributing points for improved seeds and better breeds of animals.
5. The formation of co-operative associations for agricultural purposes should be encouraged.
6. Insurance against diseases of animals and plants, insect pests and natural calamities should be provided by national, state or local governments.
7. We call attention to the fact that the elimination of farm tenantry and the development of socially owned and operated agriculture will open new opportunities to the agricultural wage-worker and free him from the tyranny of the private employer.

Edwards, of Texas, moved to amend paragraph 1 by inserting in the second line after the word "machinery" the words "when such means are used for exploitation." This was carried.

Ohsol, of Massachusetts, moved to amend the same paragraph by inserting the words "the land" after the word "that." Quite a debate followed but the insertion of "land" was voted down, so the convention went on record as opposed to the social ownership of the land.

When paragraph 2 was taken up, Slobodin, of New York, declared that it left room for a fight between farmers and their laborers and inquired of Simons if this was not true. Simons answered that in a fight he "would be for the laborers every time."

"Then they will expel you from the party," declared Slobodin.

The paragraph was then adopted as read.

In the third paragraph Ohsol moved an amendment to strike out "continuous" and substitute "gradual" in the second line, and the Rev. Frederick Guy Strickland, of Ohio, moved to substitute the words "Socially productive" before the word land.

Fear that farmers who happen to be also employers of labor might be offended was pretty evident in the debate that ensued and it was quite plain that Populism was still strong among some of the delegates from the farming sections. With these amendments the program was finally adopted and the little farmer who has never been out of debt in his life will be assured that the wicked Socialists don't intend to take his farm away from him and the employing farmer is likewise kept from harm.

Wednesday night a big meeting was held in Tomlinson Hall at which Charles Edward Russell and William D. Haywood spoke. The feature of the meeting was the spectacle that Alexander Irvine almost succeeded in making of himself. After Russell had made his excellent address stereopticon views by S. Liberty were thrown on the screen, but there was so much delay that the crowd became impatient and began to yell for Haywood. Repeated calls for him so irked Irvine that he finally walked out and angrily declared that there must be "order" or the meeting would not be allowed to proceed. The crowd was in no humor to be told how they must behave, even by a member of the National Executive Com-

mittee, and things were beginning to look nasty when somebody evidently put a few words in Irvine's ear. At any rate he subsided. After much delay Haywood finally got the platform and, assisted by the pictures of the Lawrence strike, spoke so well that the audience enthusiastically contributed more than \$100 for the defense of Ettore and Giovanitti.

By Thursday the convention had been organized well enough to do business, after four days of maneuvering and disputing. It was rumored the night before that "the other fellows" had picked James F. Carey, of Massachusetts, for chairman. Such proved to be the case and Jim started out like a locomotive with forty minutes lost time to make up. He recognized only whom and what he saw fit to recognize, and it soon became evident that a steam roller, well oiled and running under the high gear, had been especially prepared for this occasion. The Reds were quick to see that unless they made a fight now they would stand no chance for the rest of the day. Carey was ably coached by allies front and rear, but the Reds were determined and practically served notice that they would refuse to allow the convention to proceed unless brakes were applied to the Carey steam roller.

The fight lasted practically all the morning and if Carey's original intention of riding rough-shod over prostrate delegates was formed to save time, he failed signally, as more time was lost in the protests and disputes that followed than if he had allowed the convention to proceed at its accustomed gait. Carey was finally forced to take the stand to defend himself and evaded the issue by declaring that he "had rather be a steam roller than a gas pipe." However, he slowed down to a noticeable degree after this and for the rest of the day made about as fair a chairman as could be expected.

When things had been quieted down, George Sirola, former member of the Finnish parliament, was heard in an exposition of conditions in Finland and of the realization of the Finns that their only hope lay in Socialism. As expatriated Finns have done so much for the advancement of Socialism in this country,

Sirola was listened to with close attention and was heartily applauded.

The Committee on International Relations then came in with a reply to de Lara's able speech in the shape of a resolution calling on the United States government to keep its hands off Mexico, which was adopted unanimously.

The committee further recommended that fraternal delegates from other countries should as far as possible be routed on speaking tours by the Socialist party; that the following subjects be made a part of the agenda of the next international congress: "High Cost of Living," "International Labor Legislation," and "Trusts"; that international arbitration and disarmament be insisted upon and that "in case of war being imminent, the working classes and their parliamentary representatives in the countries concerned shall be bound, with the assistance of the International Socialist Bureau, to do all they can to prevent the breaking out of the war, using for that purpose the means which appear to them the most efficacious."

All day there had hung about the convention a feeling of tenseness, for it was known that the Committee on Relations of Labor Organizations to the Socialist Party was ready to report, and over this the first big explosion was expected to take place.

Various rumors of what the committee had been considering were afloat. It was said that several different majority reports had been discussed, one of which would endorse the A. F. of L. plan of organization, but that the minority report was holding out for the endorsement of "the principle of industrial unionism as the highest expression of Socialism on the economic field."

The personnel of the committee was actively discussed. The chairman was Oscar Ameringer, who has made a decided flop since the day when he wrote "Union Scabs and Others." The other five on his side were Job Harriman, Dan White, Algernon Lee, James H. Maurer, and William Rodriguez, all firm friends of craft union stand-pattism. Against these were "the three Toms," Tom Clifford of Ohio, Tom Hickey of Texas, and Tom Lewis of Oregon.

Finally, late Thursday afternoon, Harriman came in and announced that the committee had its report at hand and amid an eager silence White then read it as follows:

The undersigned members, constituting the committee, recommend the adoption of the following declaration:

Political organization and economic organization are alike necessary in the struggle for working class emancipation, working class movement—the Socialist party and the labor unions.

The labor movement of the United States has of recent years made marvelous progress in all directions. It has steadily increased in numbers and has reached trades and industries which were before unorganized. It has in many instances concentrated its power and increased its efficiency by the amalgamation of related trades into federations and industrial unions. Many unions have opened their meetings and journals to the discussion of vital social and political problems of the working class, and have repudiated the demoralizing policies represented by the National Civic Federation. The organized workers are rapidly developing an enlightened and militant class consciousness.

The reality of this progress is attested by the increasing virulence with which the organized capitalists wage their war against the union. This improved economic organization is not a matter of abstract theory, but grows out of the experience of the wage workers in the daily class struggle. Only those actually engaged in the struggle in the various trades and industries can solve the problems of form of organization.

The Socialist party therefore reaffirms the position it has always taken with regard to the movement of organized labor:

1. That the party has neither the right nor the desire to interfere in any controversies which may exist within the labor union movement over questions of form of organization or technical methods of action in the industrial struggle, but trusts to the labor organizations themselves to solve these questions.

2. That the Socialists call the attention of their brothers in the labor unions to the vital importance of the task of organizing the unorganized, especially the immigrants and the unskilled laborers, who stand in greatest need of organized protection and who will constitute a great menace to the progress and welfare of organized labor if they remain neglected. The Socialist party will ever be ready to co-operate with the labor unions in the task of organizing the unorganized workers, and urges all labor organizations, who have not already done so, to throw their doors wide open to the workers of their respective trades and industries, abolishing all onerous conditions of membership and artificial restrictions. In the face of the tremendous powers of the American capitalists and their close industrial and political union the workers of this country

can win their battles only by a strong class consciousness and closely united organizations on the economic field, a powerful and militant party on the political field and by joint attack of both on the common enemy.

3. That it is the duty of the party to give moral and material support to the labor organizations in all their defensive or aggressive struggles against capitalist oppression and exploitation, for the protection and extension of the rights of the wage workers and the betterment of their material and social condition.

4. That it is the duty of the members of the Socialist party who are eligible to membership in the unions to join and be active in their respective labor organizations.

Silence still prevailed as the names of the first six men signed to the report were read and then when the names of Hickey, Clifford and Lewis followed in rapid succession and it was realized that the report of the committee was unanimous, there was a plainly audible gasp. Astonishment showed on every face and then followed a tumultuous yell as the convention woke up to the fact that a bitter fight had been averted.

Before those on the floor had finished jubilating Harriman arose on the platform, evidently with his system full of speech. But the delegates didn't want any speech-making at that time. There were loud demands for "vote" and "question" and Harriman could not make himself heard, although Chairman Carey was plugging for him valiantly. Protests arose that Harriman had no privilege to speak, because he was not chairman of the committee. Harriman then tried to pretend that he was acting as a substitute for the chairman, but this didn't go either, and the convention still refused to listen to him. A demand then arose that Ameringer take his rightful place as chairman.

Harriman then turned hopefully to Ameringer and inquired meaningly: "Do I speak as chairman?"

Ameringer looked doubtful for a moment but when a chorus of "noes" arose. Oscar declared that Harriman could not be allowed to speak as chairman. Harriman looked somewhat sheepish at this, but was rescued by Chairman Carey, who called on the convention to hear him.

So Harriman got the floor though evidently he shortened his speech considerably in consequence of the demonstration

made against him. He pointed out what difficulties the committee had encountered in coming to a conclusion, congratulated the convention on the solution it had arrived at, and said it was plain the party and the unions must no longer fight separately but must come together, since power could not be developed by division.

Thomas A. Hickey, the fighting Irishman and editor of the exceedingly rebellious Texas "Rebel," then got the floor and declared that the impossible had happened, he and Job Harriman having shaken hands after fighting for twenty years, and that this unanimous report showed that solidarity still prevailed in the Socialist movement.

Tom Clifford was next heard and pointed out the fact that this report showed that the industrialists in the convention were as firm for a united party as those who tried to make it appear that the radicals were merely disrupters.

Loud cries then arose for Haywood, who had sat quietly up to this time at a small table at the left of the chairman. It did not take much urging to induce Bill to arise to his feet on this occasion, and he mounted the platform with his face aglow, while gallery and floor united in a prolonged roar of applause.

"This is the greatest step ever taken by the Socialist party of this country," he declared, a sentiment which was echoed by another outburst from the floor. "I feel that this report should be unanimously adopted and believe it will be. I can then go out and talk Socialism from a Socialist party platform to the entire working class. To the eight million women and children who have no votes, to the four million black workers in this country, to the blanket stiffs of the West and the timber wolves of the South who are disfranchised by the nature of their jobs. I have urged that the Socialist party should encourage the organizing of workmen and women in the shop so they will be ready to carry on production when capitalism is overthrown. I have likewise urged that every workman use the ballot at every opportunity. In Lawrence, where there are comparatively few who have the franchise, the S. P. local has, since the strike, taken in 100 new members at a single meeting."

Haywood was followed by Ameringer, who made one of his characteristic speeches, and then a vote being called for, the report was adopted unanimously amid a new outburst of applause, songs and cheers.

Little further business was transacted for the remainder of the day. There was too much to talk about.

It was recognized that though it was the majority report which had been adopted, it was the "red element" in the convention which had scored. Though they had not obtained a specific endorsement of industrial unionism, they had gotten everything they really wanted and the readiness with which they accepted the report completely took the wind out of the sails of the opposition.

Examination of the labor organization report showed that its position was negative rather than positive, in that it confessed to the failure of the craft union plan of organizing merely the skilled trades, with their jurisdictional fights, high fees, closed books, long apprenticeships, and indifference to the needs of the unskilled. It was recognized that the adoption of the report gives plenty of room for industrialists to work in, since they can now talk Socialism on both the political and economic fields and can no longer be called disrupters merely because they advocate a class organization of the workers in the shop as well as at the ballot box. For this reason the Reds went to dinner with cheerful faces while the other side looked corresponding disturbed and uneasy.

A night session was held Thursday evening to take up the report of the platform committee, of which Charles Edward Russell was chairman. This was found to be even more progressive, on the whole, than the Reds hoped for and though they did not favor the immediate demands, they made little objection to the report. The minority, composed of Lewis J. Duncan, A. W. Ricker, Dan Hogan and Charles Edward Russell, at first intended to submit a report as follows:

The minority of the platform committee reports as follows:

We join in the recommendations of the majority in every respect with this exception, to-wit, that immediately preceding the last

paragraph of the platform we recommend that the following additional paragraph be inserted:

Already, irresistible forces are compelling the workers to change their economic organizations so as to conform with changed industrial conditions, and to enable them to wage more effective warfare against the capitalist system. The workers are thus preparing themselves, by political and economic organization and activity, to take over collectively the means of production, and fit themselves for direct democratic ownership and control of the means of industry and of the distribution of the products of industry by and for the workers.

However, it was later decided to withdraw this and to make the report unanimous.

The principal fights that were made were against the plank calling for the abolition of all federal district courts and the United States Circuit court of appeals and Berger's insertion on the tariff. Slobodin and Hillquit, of New York, made a strenuous fight against the adoption of the former but were beaten by a big vote.

Berger made a stiff fight for his tariff plank, which read as follows: "The gradual reduction of all tariff duties, particularly those on the necessities of life. The government to guarantee the re-employment of wage earners who may be unemployed by reason of changes in tariff schedules."

Though he fought hard, Our Lone Congressman was treated with scant courtesy in this case, the sentiment of the delegates being that the Socialist party was not concerned with the tariff either one way or the other, and the tariff plank was thrown out by an overwhelming vote.

The joyful noise now being made by the Reds stirred "the interests" to action. It was realized that something must be done to buck the growing power of the more youthful insurgent element and all the members of the Old Guard were called into consultation. Berger, Hillquit, Harriman and Spargo summoned their cohorts to action and it was agreed that all their forces should be concentrated on pushing an anti-sabotage clause through in the new constitution. It was decided that the Rev. Winfield R. Gaylord, of Milwaukee, should start the trouble the next day and the Rev. Carl D. Thompson, also of Milwaukee, was picked for chairman.

The Friday session opened with a strug-

gle for the chairmanship, the vote showing 84 for Duncan of Montana, 75 for Thompson of Milwaukee, and 41 for Rodriguez of Illinois. Evidently there was a slip-up in the arrangements somewhere.

The Rev. F. G. Strickland of Ohio, was then elected vice-chairman over Killingbeck of New Jersey, Edwards of Texas, and Lattimer of Minnesota.

Seven delegates from Washington asked that they be recorded as opposed to immediate demands in the platform, with Anna Maley dissenting. Boehm of Ohio also asked to be recorded as voting against immediate demands.

Dan White of the Committee on Labor Organizations reported an omission as follows: "Political organizations and economic organization are alike necessary in the struggle for working class emancipation, the most harmonious relations ought to exist between the two great forces of the working class movement." The correction was ordered made.

About this time rumors began to circulate that an attempt had been, or would be, made to hold an "executive session" of the N. E. C. in which important matters that could not be safely discussed before the general public were to be taken up. An executive session, be it known, is something held mostly by the United States Senate and the doors are barred to all but members. Wherever the secret session talk sprang from, it died out under threats from Haywood that the whole affair would be exposed.

Finally Hillquit came to the front to report for the Constitution Committee. An examination of the names on this committee showed that it had been well "packed," the only member who might be deemed an insurgent being Brewer of Kansas.

An amendment was offered by Anna Maley to insert after the words "political action" in Section 1, Article 2, of the proposed new constitution the words, "and unrestricted political rights for both sexes." This was opposed by Rodriguez of Illinois, who declared that he didn't believe it necessary for a man to believe in equal suffrage to be a Socialist.

Comrade Maley then arose with her feathers all ruffled and landed on the gentleman with one of those thuds which are

frequently described as dull and sickening. Metaphorically speaking, she laid the comrade across her lap and gave him a spanking that made the convention howl with delight. She took the hide right off all those whom she referred to as "half-baked Socialists and politicians." Rodriguez then replied, but the amendment carried by 135 to 86.

Bostrom of Washington then moved to amend as follows:

"No person occupying a position honorary or remunerative by gift of any party other than the Socialist party (civil service positions excepted), and no person whose principal source of income is derived from rent, interest, or profit, shall be eligible to membership in the Socialist party. No party member shall be a candidate for public office without the consent of the city, county, or state organizations, according to the nature of the office."

A move to lay this on the table without discussion was carried.

No further trouble occurred until Section 6 was reached. This read as follows:

"Any member of the party who opposes political action or advocates crime against the person or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation shall be expelled from membership in the party. Political action shall be construed to mean participation in elections for public office and practical legislative and administrative work along the lines of the Socialist party platform."

Garver of Missouri moved to amend by striking out the words, "against the person," and insert the word, "sabotage." A substitute was offered by Merrick of Pennsylvania to strike out all of Section 6, and the war was on.

Rev. Gaylord of Milwaukee opened the battle by the declaration that the situation of yesterday was "too smooth." He said the Socialist party must take a stand against crime and the destruction of property and that workingmen don't stand for crime even in the name of the labor unions. By the time Gaylord concluded it was evident there was going to be an ugly scrap.

Goebel of New Jersey spoke for the amendment, saying he was "opposed to jackass methods of fighting capitalism."

Max Hayes of Ohio warned the Socialist

party not to butt in on questions that belong strictly to the labor organizations, that it had no business to dictate what methods of action the unions should select.

Berlyn of Illinois declared that "the economic movement exists for the purpose of carrying on a guerilla warfare" and that "we as Socialists have found a better way." It was not "yellow," he said, to speak plain English. There was an element using the party platform to preach anarchy.

Cassidy of New York pointed out "the tremendous danger from an element that smells of anarchy and violence." Cassidy then went on to describe the May Day celebration in Union Square, New York, which he said was broken up by anarchists who hated the United States flag and the Socialist party both. What this affair had to do with "sabotage" was not clear and even Hillquit, coaching him behind, repeatedly warned him to "get on the subject."

Marguerite Prevey of Ohio declared that the class struggle is daily becoming more intense and that the workers are simply changing their tactics as the capitalists do. She urged the Socialist party not to assist the capitalist class by protecting its property. Attorney Dobbs of Kentucky in reply said that Socialists must take a stand for "order" as against "chaos."

Bentall of Illinois then arose and declared that it was useless to conceal the issue—that this discussion showed two contending elements in the party, one progressive and the other reactionary. He condemned the latter as hypocritical and told of an incident in Chicago when two union men beat up a girl. *The Chicago Daily Socialist* took no stand against violence then, he said, but instead, the board of directors of the paper tried to ignore it. Among those directors he mentioned Barney Berlyn, Geo. Koop and Mary O'Reilly, who were present.

Bentall thus took his stand with the Reds, but it was freely predicted that trouble will be made for him in the future as State Secretary of Illinois, as he will have against him the powerful trade union machine that has been built up around *The Chicago Daily Socialist*.

Mary O'Reilly in reply accused Bentall of not taking a stand against crooked

leaders of the Chicago garment workers' strike, but "went out begging for votes in a cheap, clap-trap way."

Chairman Duncan protested that this was no time "for washing dirty linen," but Dan White moved that Koop be given the floor, which was done. Koop sprang up evidently loaded for a wrathful reply, but on being warned from the Illinois delegation to "merely deny the story," he contented himself with that.

Brewer said he was in favor of the section as originally read. He was sorry no industrial union resolution had been adopted and yet he was neither a direct actionist nor an anarchist. He said it was the people who tried to inject "sabotage" into the controversy that "have raised all this hell."

Berger then got the floor and made his regular biennial threat of quitting the party and forming a new organization. "You will have a split yet," he shouted, "and by God, I am ready to split right now! I am going back to Milwaukee and tell them to cut out the cancer of anarchy from their body. There is a difference between revolution and organized murder. We, in Milwaukee, believe in revolutionary political action (laughter) but we are opposed to the bomb and the dagger. You know where sabotage leads to. It led to the Haymarket riots and to the recent brigandage in London and Paris. Those who sing 'I'm a Bum,' should get out and form a bum party of their own. I can see anarchism under the cloak of the I. W. W. and it is trying to fasten itself on the Socialist party."

Dan Hogan declared that "the reporting of this clause in the constitution was an egregious mistake. There never was a suspicion that we stood for violence, so why should we declare against it? Why not also declare specifically against free love? It is none of our business to dictate to organized labor what they shall or shall not do."

Slayton of Pennsylvania quoted from an I. W. W. pamphlet, by Vincent St. John, in which sabotage was defined as "any interference with the machinery of production," and declared he would be in favor of sabotage in Russia but not in free America.

Bessemer of Ohio was in favor of "in-

serting a denial of everything that the capitalist class accuses us of."

James Oneal followed with a roast for anarchists. Then Tom Clifford of Ohio arose and inquired "since when has the Socialist party become an organization for the suppression of violence and crime? Someone has injected this matter for a purpose." He then quoted Berger's editorial from the *Milwaukee Social Democratic Herald* of July 31, 1909, in which he said "each of the 500,000 Socialist voters, and of the two million workingmen who instinctively incline our way should besides doing much reading and still more thinking also have a good rifle and the necessary rounds of ammunition in his home and be prepared to back up his ballots with his bullets if necessary." He wanted to know who was urging the working class to violence there.

Berger replied that "the Milwaukee movement is revolutionary (cheers) but does not stand for murder." He would stand by what he said in that editorial, he said, but it was unfair to quote only part of it. However, it was plain that Clifford's quotation had hit Berger amidships as he substituted a somewhat sheepish grin for his previous angry face.

Harriman said there was evidently a difference here which couldn't be smoothed over by resolutions and that we can't tell what the workers will do in their struggles but we can't support sabotage.

Tom Hickey said there was plainly a gap in the bridge again but it had been opened by the other side and this quarrel had been stirred up by "peanut politics."

Hillquit then came to the front with the solemn announcement that the committee had accepted the sabotage amendment. Those close to him noticed that Hillquit had lost his usual bland smile and that his eyes were red and angry. "An attempt has been made," he said, "to have it appear that this amendment would apply only to the party platform. Let me say that it is intended to apply under any and all circumstances and everywhere. It is time we line up."

Voice from Ohio: "We will."

A roll call was demanded by the "yellows" which was heartily assented to by the "reds." The following delegates

voted FOR the insertion of the word sabotage:

Cox of Alabama; Hyatt and Johnston of Arizona; Briggs, Cantrell, Downing, Garbutt, Mizner, Maynard, Harris, Reguin, Richardson, Tuck, Wells, Wheeler, Whitehead, Williams, Wilson, Wolfe, and Wright, composing the solid delegation from California; Meng and Finks of Arkansas; Collins; Floaten, Geffs, Todd, Todd and Troxell (solid) of Colorado; Beardsley, Berger, Clarke, Peach and McLvey (solid) of Connecticut; Houck of Delaware; Ghent of District of Columbia; Alexander and Allen of Florida; Coonrod, Motley and Stewart of Idaho; Berlyn, Haemer, Kennedy, Kirkpatrick, Koop, Larsen, Lowe, O'Reilly, Rodriguez, Stedman, Taylor and Underwood of Illinois; Condo, Farmer, Fenimore, Garrison, Henry, Oneal, Reynolds, Sheffler and Wattles (solid) of Indiana; Jacobsen, Lang and McCrillis of Iowa; Simons and Wilson of Kansas; Dobbs and Lanfersieck of Kentucky; England of Maine; Harty and Rosett of Maryland; Carey, Coleman, C. Fenner, Coldwell, Lawrance, Mahoney, R. Fenner, Roewer, White and Ohsol of Massachusetts. Aaltonen, Lockwood and Menton of Michigan; Grant, Hillman, Ingalls, Jacobson, Latimer, Morgan, Nash and Watkins of Minnesota; Fritz of Mississippi; Behrens, Garner, Lipscomb, O'Dam, Vierling and Ward (solid) of Missouri; Wright, Oyler and Warren of Nebraska; Miller of Nevada; Burke and McFall of New Hampshire; Jones, Goebel, Kopp, Kraft, and Reilley of New Jersey; Lane of New Mexico; Ball, Bennetts, Malkiel, Burckle, Mansett, Cassidy, Duffy, Endres, Furman, Hillquit, Lee, London, Merrill, Pierce, Rothmund, Russell, Simons, Solomon, Strebel and Wanhope of New York; Bowen, Grant, Kelso and Le Sueur of North Dakota; Hayes and Strickland of Ohio; Branstetter, Fields, Cumbie, Dooley, Irvin, Nagle, Owen, Ameringer, Barker, and Shilling of Oklahoma; Bacon, Barnes, Bixler, Caldwell, A. Cohen, J. Cohen, Davis, Goiseau, Grainger, Hogan, Prosser, C. Maurer, J. Maurer, Ringler, Slayton, Williams and Wilson of Pennsylvania; (Reid and Theinert of Rhode Island did not vote) Eberhard of South Carolina; Alexander, Edwards, Byrd, Rhodes, Smith and Thompson of Texas; Burt, Smith and

Wesley of Utah; Spargo of Vermont; Norris of Virginia; Brown, Waynicka, Cory, Cupples, Maley and Hensefer of Washington; Boswell of West Virginia; Berger, Hoan, Gaylord, Jacobs, Mankley, Sedel, Thomas and Thompson of Milwaukee; Carlson of Wyoming.

The following voted AGAINST the insertion of the word sabotage:

Stanley of Florida; Castleberry of Georgia; Beloit of Idaho; Bentall, Burge, Sjodin and Maxwell of Illinois; Baxter and Brown of Iowa; Brewer, Blase, Ricker and Stallard of Kansas; Jones of Louisiana; Staub of Maryland; Hoogerhyde, MacMaster, Etta Menton and McFarland of Michigan, Fournier, Kaplan, Maatala and Devold of Minnesota; Duncan, Smith, Kruse, Scott and Christian of Montana; Cosgrove, Killingbeck and Theimer of New Jersey; Slobodin, Lindgren and Pauly of New York; Tiller of North Carolina; Bachman, Bessemer, Boehm, Clifford, Davis, Farrell, Jones, MacCartan, Patterson, Howell, M. Prevey, F. Prevey, Ruthenberg, Storck and Zitt of Ohio; Wills of Oklahoma; Dorfman, Hayden, Lewis, Ramp and Sherman of Oregon; Bruce, Hunt, Ervin, Merrick, Moore, Parker, Ward, Wheeler and Young of Pennsylvania; Dempsey of South Dakota; Harrell of Tennessee; Green, Hickey, Meitzen, Noble and Rhodes of Texas; Aller, Barth, Bostrom, K. Sadler, S. Sadler and Wells of Washington; Houston and Kintzer of West Virginia; Paulson and Suaja of Wyoming.

The total vote was 191 for the insertion of the word sabotage in the constitution and 90 against. This indicated the lineup very clearly, showing that the "red element" in the convention who would "come through" numbered somewhat less than one-third of the total number of delegates.

The next business was the nomination for president on the Socialist ticket and a roll call being ordered, Dan Hogan got a chance to yell for Debs. After that "there was nothing to it." It was clearly evident that both sides were ready to get together on Debs. The total showed 165 for Debs, 56 for Seidel, and 54 for Russell.

California casts its solid vote for Seidel, except for Cantrell and Tuck who voted

for Debs, and Garbutt who voted for Russell. Connecticut went solid for Russell, as did the New York delegation with two exceptions. The well-trained Missouri delegation also was solid for Seidel.

Seidel thus got a good start for the vice-presidential nomination which he won with ease, though Dan Hogan made a good showing.

Russell would probably have been given the vice-presidential nomination but he refused to stand. Leaders of the New York delegation exerted every effort to keep him from taking the nomination because they wanted to save him for their gubernatorial campaign.

Friday night the big parade was held after all and the red flag was right there, despite the fears of some timid souls that it might be "unwise" to make it conspicuous. Russell and Seidel spoke in Tomlinson hall.

This practically closed the important business of the convention, though there

were a number of changes made in the constitution the next day which will bear study. It remains to be seen how they will work out.

It was rumored more than a month ago that J. Mahlon Barnes had been slated by "the machine" for manager of the 1912 presidential campaign, and such indeed proved to be the case. Hillquit explained that the Socialist party "owed" this position to Barnes. It was also decided that the members of the campaign committee are to live within 500 miles of Chicago.

One of the last acts of the convention was to pass a measure that will force Wisconsin Socialists to use party dues stamps on their membership cards instead of the stamps of their state-incorporated Social Democratic party which they have used heretofore.

As a finale a cablegram was ordered sent to Tom Mann of England, saying: "We cheer your stand against fratricide."

CONVENTION



NOTES

State Secretary Green was the tallest man at the Convention, being six feet five and one-half inches in his stockings. Within the last 60 days Comrade Green has sent to the National office over 181 charters for new locals in Texas. This is a reflex of the Industrial Renters' Union. Congratulations Green. This is the work that counts! A lot of good men come from Texas.

Pettigrew of Canada addressed the Convention and everybody is talking about it yet.

Delegate Lindgren opposed co-operatives in the party because he said they drew activity better employed along revolutionary lines. Furman of Brooklyn told how his local had fallen to pieces because all the members spent so much time nursing the co-operative. Frank Prevey called co-operatives an attempt at a little heaven in the midst of capitalist hell.

Delegate Amringer of Oklahoma believes that we may reduce the cost of living from \$3. to \$1 a day without experiencing a fall in wages. I wish he'd tell the rest of us where he gets his economics. Delegate Kate Sadler said she had always found that she

got a bare living whether in a co-operative or a trust-ridden land. Do you get the point?

Tom Hickey offered to shake hands with Job Harriman for the first time in twenty years, saying that the report on Labor Organizations, etc., was a splendid illustration of the growing solidarity of the Socialist party. He said the resolution passed was the broadest, and farthest-reaching ever made by the Socialist party.

Tom Clifford, Ohio, says we may count on 200,000 revolutionary votes in his state this fall, also that the REVIEW is the greatest revolutionary organ in the world. Some class to Tom!

Margaret Prevey, one of the liveliest and brainiest women at the Convention, said, in opposing the insertion of the word "sabotage" in Section 6 of the Constitution, "If a workman is wrongfully accused of injuring the property of the boss, or of hindering production in the mill or factory, or if he is even convicted of being accessory before the fact, though he be 500 miles from the scene of the trouble, if Section 6 is adopted, including the word 'sabotage,' the party will be compelled

under this clause to expel the member so accused. The capitalists will interpret the law. They have been known to indict and convict innocent men as accessories before the fact. Shall the Socialist party accept the capitalist verdict against one of its members and aid in sending such members to jail? We should take no part in punishing workers who are accused of injuring the property of our masters. The only way we have of judging the guilt of workers in such cases is what our enemies—the capitalists, themselves, say through their courts.

Comrade Bentall, secretary, is now the boast of the comrades throughout Illinois. He made the bravest speech given before the Convention. He said the determination on the part of the politicians to insert the word sabotage was not because they feared its use, but because they wished to misinterpret it and to fasten it onto the backs of the progressive element in the party, who stand for everything evolutionary in the industrial and political field. It was because they feared this new revolutionary tendency that the reactionaries have chosen this way to cover the Reds with opprobrium.

Delegate Aller of Washington dropped into the REVIEW office on his way back home, to pledge us more support because he feels the REVIEW is the only real, big revolutionary publication in the United States. Comrade Aller said that he had never bought stock before in this company, but after seeing and realizing the good work we are doing, he is proud to become a stockholder.

The two Sadlers, Barth, Bostrom and Wells, did splendid work. Barth and Aller never were able to catch the Chairman's eye even when they were the only delegates on the floor. Evidently the Chairman thought of the Greatest Socialist Party platform that has ever been written, that sprung from Washington, and got the blind staggers. These chairmen were Delegates Lee and Hillquit.

When they asked Gaylord of Milwaukee what he meant by sabotage he was afraid to go down on record. Above all things speak in whispers when the Senator is around or he'll order you put out of the party. We don't really know what he's fighting, so we don't know what to avoid. We hope every Red in the country and every Socialist who really stands for fair play will demand a definition of sabotage. Berger, Spargo and Gaylord and Harriman say we have no right to dictate to the trade unions or any labor organization, so sabotage must be something of a political nature.

Con Foley, Pennsylvania, and O. K. all the time, said: "If the workers don't take hold and make the Socialist party their party, they are going to have it handed to the little cockroaches. This Convention means great step. The Reds forced everything and it kept the Daffodils busy trying to keep up."

There are too many professional people trying



TOM LEWIS, PORTLAND, ORE.

to lead the working class instead of workers fighting their own battles. The workers should run their own Conventions. They should dictate to others who may wish to serve and within a few years, they will double the strength they showed at the last Convention and run the party in the interests of their own class, was the verdict of Ed Moore.

If you want to know something about the Oregon delegation read the following Oregon resolution: "The attitude of the intellectuals toward the party should be one of service to the working class and not one of personal ambition."

According to the REVIEW definition sabotage means striking on the job; that is, staying on the job, drawing your pay and checking production. Some of the convention delegates who stopped at the Hotel English complained because of the poor service in the dining room. You got your napkin along about time for dessert and your knife and fork after your meat grew cold. It seems that the waiters were dissatisfied with working conditions in the hotel and struck on the job. They pulled back instead of helping things along. They didn't know it was sabotage but they did it just the same.

Question: Will the delegates who tipped waiters who were balking (or striking on the job), practicing sabotage, be expelled from the party if Section 6 of the Constitution goes through? Isn't tipping a practical form of endorsement?

What was the matter with the Ohio delegation? Nothing! All Reds but two. Watch the line-up and you'll know who the two are. Margaret Prevey can put it over any Yellow that ever assumed the platform to befuddle the delegates. Mrs. Storck was on the job just as she has been in holding Study Clubs the last five years. There are more copies of "Value, Price and Profit" sold in Ohio than any other state. Nothing doing in the co-operative line in the Buckeye state. Tom Clifford handed out Berger's "Call to Arm" (the famous ballot and bullet editorial), and counselled the party to avoid antiquated methods. He proved by Berger's own words that he was one of the chief advocates of violence. Pete Kinnear was on hand to assure the fighter that the Red delegation next time would be able to switch the party over into the hands of the working class.

Delegate Patterson wondered if the chairmen needed the services of an oculist. Mayor Duncan was the only one who could see the Red side.

An Indianapolis paper defined the Yellows as those who go backward, and the Reds as those who go forward. Evidently he is wiser than some Socialists.

Steve Reynolds said the only thing that hurt him was that he couldn't take all the delegates home with him.

Jennie Potter and Max Boehm were on hand doing good work. It was queer how lonesome the politicians looked. It was noticeable that they never turned their backs to each other. This is one of the ills of politics. No man's back is safe against the stabs of his associates.

Luella Twining said the rank and file had taken hold of Convention matters in great shape and she believed they would get into the saddle next time. She rejoiced in the wonderful sentiment for industrial unionism. She says Europe is ablaze with it.

A good bunch came from Texas. State Secretary Green has turned in to the National office over 181 local charters during the past two months.

Haywood says he can now speak from the Socialist platform bearing the message of Socialism to the disfranchised black men and women, and to the disfranchised white men and women, for industrialism includes all these comrades.

Charles Edward Russell gave a talk at Tomlinson Hall Wednesday night that brought down the house. He advised the Socialists to cut out dabbling with palliatives and seek to abolish capitalism.

Delegate Hickey declared the Convention was a straight line up between the professionals and the proletarians. That the Reds had enough information on hand to disqualify the Wisconsin delegation on Saturday, but decided that under no condition would they cause a split in the Convention. We showed those who are hurling "Disrupters" at us that

the Feather Bed Socialists were themselves seeking a split in the party. The Reds proved to be the conservators of party unity. This spirit was again splendidly demonstrated on Thursday, when, after a battle that lasted into the morning, Tuesday, and was repeated on Wednesday, the Trinity of Toms unanimously accepted the resolution that had been finally drafted by the other side. It was my opinion that the opportunists believed we would accept no resolution prepared by them. Our acceptance made them the most amazed men in the Convention.

Fred Merrick and Bob Wheeler were two delegates that did splendid work, yielding personal interests for those of benefit to the working class. Justice, of which Comrade Merrick is editor, is growing by leaps and bounds. Further, Fred is not a politician and he is keeping step with the progress of industrial evolution. Five years from now the Daffodils will tell us how they led Fred Merrick and Bob Wheeler into the Industrial Fold. Watch 'em.

Delegate Wheeler has been appointed special investigator for the new party committee on Industrial Education. He is to prepare a statistical study of the introduction of automatic machinery in the basic industries and its effect on the workers. Comrade Wheeler will confine his investigations principally to the glass, steel, coal, cement, railroad industries and agriculture. The particular purpose of this investigation is to gather data to establish a sound basis for conclusions as to the ultimate utility of industrial education. Few educators have a conception of the rapidity with which industrial processes change and inventions progress. Many think in terms of the past. The conception of a society when the great work of production is done by automatic machinery, staggers the mind. Emil Seidel, vice-presidential candidate, has been elected on the new committee. Seidel brings to the work of the committee the practical experience of the working class. It is highly important that the committee should have the point of view of the man who sees the changes taking place in industry. Comrade Seidel and Robert Wheeler add very much to the strength of the committee.

Delegate Luki, editor of *Tyomies*, reported that he had attended three Socialist Conventions. The second convention, he said, was in complete control of the conservatives, and the last one was mostly in control of the revolutionists. We need (he said) more delegations like Washington, Ohio, Oregon, and part of Pennsylvania, and especially Ohio. You can always count on the Finnish comrades.

Delegate Hendrichson of Massachusetts claims the Indianapolis Convention promises more for working class control of the party than any previous convention.

Hoogerhyde of Michigan is a good man to nail the dues-stamp grafters.

Somebody says the Reds put one over on Milwaukee and that hereafter Wisconsin will have to buy dues stamps from the National office just like any common state. Personally, some of us think it looks bad for a state to be holding out on the party at the same time it is flooding the country with letters begging for "help."

Some say they don't like Carey doing the Steam Roller. Well, he didn't stick to the role for long.

Lots of good comrades to be counted in Pennsylvania, and Illinois shows that she is waking up.

Delegate Patterson wonders if the Chairmen (except Duncan of Montana) need the services of an oculist. They could rarely see a Red but were always able to glimpse the N. E. C. members right off the reel. On several occasions when the Chair decided in favor of the Feather Bed Socialists, a vote brought out a decision in favor of the Reds by an overwhelming majority. Justice did not attend the Convention except when Duncan had the Chair.

If Montana and her delegates had a chance to teach some of the Eastern states a few points in economics, there would be a different line-up next time.

The Reds showed great self-control and in spite of the violent tactics of Bully Gaylord and the slurs of other professional mud slingers, they never lost their heads.

Patterson said the Reds averaged 33 per cent of the delegates and were the fighting force of the Convention. They calmed the Bolters and worked all the time for party unity. But when it came to votes the politicians and delegates dominated by middle-class instincts made a loud noise.

Delegate Ida Callery of Arkansas is one of the women who does big things. Under her state secretaryship the party membership has grown to be ten times what it was six months ago.

SOME OPINIONS

The dying and dispossessed little business element and the professional cult needing a political agency through which to express their material interests, have begun to get control of the machinery of the Socialist party. In this they are aided by trade union conservatives, who, winking at violence in their own ranks, were ready to declaim against an assumed violence on the part of modern working class organizations. The Socialist party, built up so painfully upon the promise of its being a working class organization is in the greatest danger of being dominated by class groups whose aim—whether conscious or not—is a revolution, by force if necessary, which will overthrow the oligarchy of wealth but which will substitute a political state with a cult still riding the backs of the working class. They fear a revolutionary movement from below, and seek to thwart it, even threatening, as they did in open convention, to dis-

rupt the party in order to accomplish their ends. The encouraging factor, however, was the vigor, virility and remarkable strength displayed by the large number of "reds" present at the convention. The future of the working class movement depends upon the growth of this hopeful element.—Gustavus Myers.

The "sensational" or "psychological" moments of the Indianapolis Convention were:

The unanimous report of the Committee on Labor Unions.

The unanimous report of the Committee on Platform.

The vote to insert the "I. W. W." in the telegram to San Diego.

The roll call on Section 6 of the constitution.

The adoption of the Farmers' Program.

The unanimity of the committees was due entirely to the self-restraint of the minority. The majority, secure in its numbers, would have much preferred to have a fight and thus assert itself. It is correct in its view that too much harmony may be fatal to the dominion of this particular majority. Results manifested themselves immediately. The indirect recognition of the I. W. W. was a bitter pill for our leaders, and when the vote on the immediate demands showed that the insurgents captured, for a moment, the steam roller and were running it in the wrong direction, it was time for the leaders to do something.

Section 6 was a shrewd move to reform the scattered forces and put the "fear of God" into the hearts of the minority. For once, the minority committed a big tactical error in opposing it. It should have let it go without a word. On the contrary, it should have demanded the inserting of the decalogue and the penal code in Section 6. The section is preposterous. On the roll call I had to vote with the minority. I had no opportunity to urge my views on the minority, in or out of the convention hall. But I say now we should pay no further attention to Section 6. I signed the demand for the submission of a substitute section, but felt all along that the thing was mismanaged.

In the Farmer's Program, our hearts bled profusely for the small farmer, but we forgot about the farm laborer.

Taken as a whole, the Indianapolis Convention was as good a Socialist convention as was ever held anywhere. It represented a true Socialist movement and the most intelligent part of the working class. True, it was unduly dominated by ex-ministers, lawyers and other professionals. Intelligent workingmen's leadership would have been better. But we have got to take what we have. The honesty and devotion of these professionals cannot be impugned. Take it as coming from a professional.

Let us now go to work. We have a good party. We have got a good ticket. Let us defer all disputes till after election. Let us go to work.—Henry L. Slobodin.

A REVOLUTIONARY MAYOR

DOWN at St. Marys, Ohio, they have a revolutionary mayor. His name is Scott Wilkins and he does not believe that his work as a Socialist ends when he calls upon the workers to unite at the ballot box. He believes in Socialism on the job as well as in the city hall. When he is confronted with a situation that demands action, he does not ask for a report by the city attorney as to just how far capitalist laws will let him go; he doesn't wonder how the middle class or small business men will regard him; he doesn't look in the scriptures for guidance. He simply decides what course of action is up to him to take as a representative of the working class and then gets busy, preferring to lose control of the administration in behalf of his cause rather than hold on to political jobs by trimming his sails.

How he does things is perhaps best told by the capitalist paper of his home town, *The Evening Leader*, which is continually outraged at the way he behaves:

Following the adoption of revolutionary resolutions at the Socialist State convention, at Columbus, last week, Mayor Scott Wilkins, of this city, who was a delegate to that con-

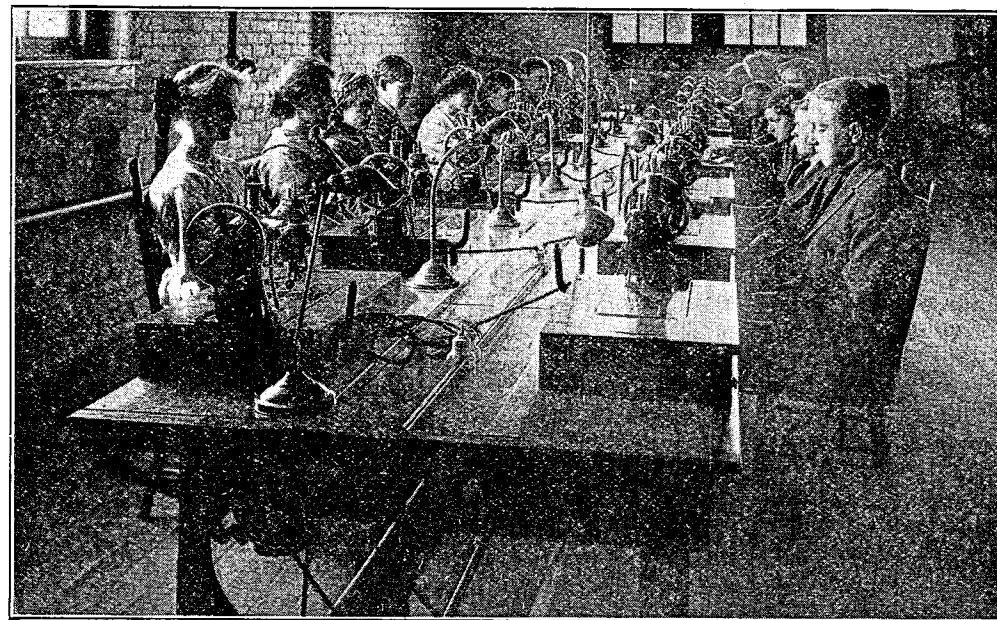
vention, returned with an apparent desire to get action without delay. Accordingly he visited the chain works during the noon hour, Monday, and asked the workmen to meet with him in the council chamber, that evening, for the purpose of organizing. The only pretense for an excuse for this desire on the part of the Mayor to organize the chain workers, aside from the resolutions referred to, was the umbrage taken because the manager of the chain works saw fit to give a few of his men a lay-off for one week because they refused or failed to work last Saturday afternoon according to orders. Quite a number of the chain workers and men from other shops attended the meeting Monday evening. During the course of the evening Mayor Wilkins urged the men to organize, and stand together in a strike to force the granting of demands they might make. He assured the men that they would receive protection from the city administration, as it is a working man's administration; that in case of a strike he would see that protection was given them, and in case of trouble he stated that he would swear in the strikers as deputies. He informed the men that only two things could defeat a strike at the chain works—the militia and the shutting down of the plant. As to the first mentioned barrier the mayor informed his audience that there is no danger of the militia being sent out as Governor Harmon is too busy with his campaign, and in case the shop shut down he gave utterance to the following comforting remark: "Let 'em take their junk pile and get out of town."

THE OHIO YELL

Jigger up, rigger up,
Rah! Rah! Rah!
Wake 'em up, shake 'em up,
Hah! Hah! Hah!
DEBS—Debs!
Rah! Rah! Ohio!

Ripsaw, ripsaw, ripsaw, bang!
We belong to the Gene Deb's gang,
Are we Socialists? I should smile!
We're Revolutionists all the while.

"Haywood and Haywoodism" is the significant title of an article by Carl Hovey appearing in the *Metropolitan Magazine* for June. In this article Mr. Hovey, who is the author of the recently published book, "The Life-story of J. Pierpont Morgan," which has attracted widespread attention and provoked considerable comment both here and abroad, has written a close, intimate sketch of a man whom he deems a "born leader of men." Haywood's leadership in the famous Lawrence strike is analyzed and a searchlight is thrown upon his personality and the methods by which the strike was conducted. Mr. Hovey has approached his subject with a sympathetic and appreciative eye, and the result is a first-hand study as brilliant as it is unusual.



GLOVE MACHINES INSTALLED IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS BY THE GLOVE MANUFACTURERS AT GLOVERSVILLE, NEW YORK.

A Pair of Glove Towns

BY

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

There are hundreds of little factories in Gloversville and Johnstown, where several thousand people are engaged in the making of gloves, silk gloves, woolen gloves, kid, chamois and all kinds of leather gloves. There is no other industry—nothing but gloves.

When Mrs. Farthing came to the Old Stump Town, from England, she was the only glove-maker in the village and plied her craft in her own home, making a few pairs of gloves through her own labors. That was only fifty or sixty years ago. But as the town and the industry grew the spot came to be known as Gloversville,

because it was the home of so many pairs of leather gloves.

From that day to this the industry has prospered in Gloversville until now the output is millions of pairs of gloves a year.

Considering the commercial importance of glove producing, it is a remarkable fact that the industry has not yet been trustified. It is still one of the few fields that has not been grabbed up by the trust-makers. But great changes are taking place.

Foreign manufacturers with up-to-date ideas are locating here and they are es-

establishing large factories. At present the petty labor exploiters still hold sway, but their disappearance is only a matter of time. Tiny workshops are scattered everywhere over Gloversville and Johnstown, as well as in the business districts.

Tanneries have sprung up beside the mills that prepare the skins. Some finished leather is annually imported but the bulk of the skins are sent in raw and untanned from foreign countries. They come in bales or hogsheds. Large shipments come from Africa and South America, but the greater number of hides come from Australia.

Skins of various animals are employed—deer, calves, sheep and lambs, goats and kids, etc., but kids have nothing to do with the production of the “kid gloves” of commerce. One of the tricks of the trade enables the manufacturers to produce “kid gloves” out of sheep hide. But this is not more wonderful than the strange transformations and metamorphoses that occur in other lines of production unknown to the general public.

When Sir William Johnston brought over several families of glove-makers in 1760, and settled them on the spot that is now known by his name as one of the two great American glove towns, the diligent Scots were glove-makers in the truest sense of the word. The workers followed an outline marked upon the leather, cutting out the gloves with a pair of sharp shears. The same individual completed a pair of gloves, usually preparing the hides and even dyeing the leather.

But much is altered today in Johnstown and Gloversville. While almost the entire population is employed in the making of gloves, it cannot be truthfully said that they are any longer glovemakers. Every little detail has been specialized.

The skins are prepared, tanned and colored by processes requiring many hands, before they are ready for the cutters. Steel dies are almost universally employed not only for the bodies of the gloves but also for the thumbs and sides of the fingers. Owing to the elastic character of the material, the cutting is a very delicate operation. Cutters must exercise great care and skill. They are the best paid workers in all the shops.

From the cutting tables the gloves are

bundled up in lots of a dozen pairs and carted around from house to house. Nearly every home contains its one-eighth horse power glove sewing machine, with motor attachment. A housewife who does not work on gloves is called “lazy” by her neighbors in the glove towns. So nearly has this idea permeated the community that each abode may be described as a one-eighth horse power adjunct to the factory where toiling mothers bending over their task, lull their babies to sleep to the accompaniment of the whirr of the motor machine.

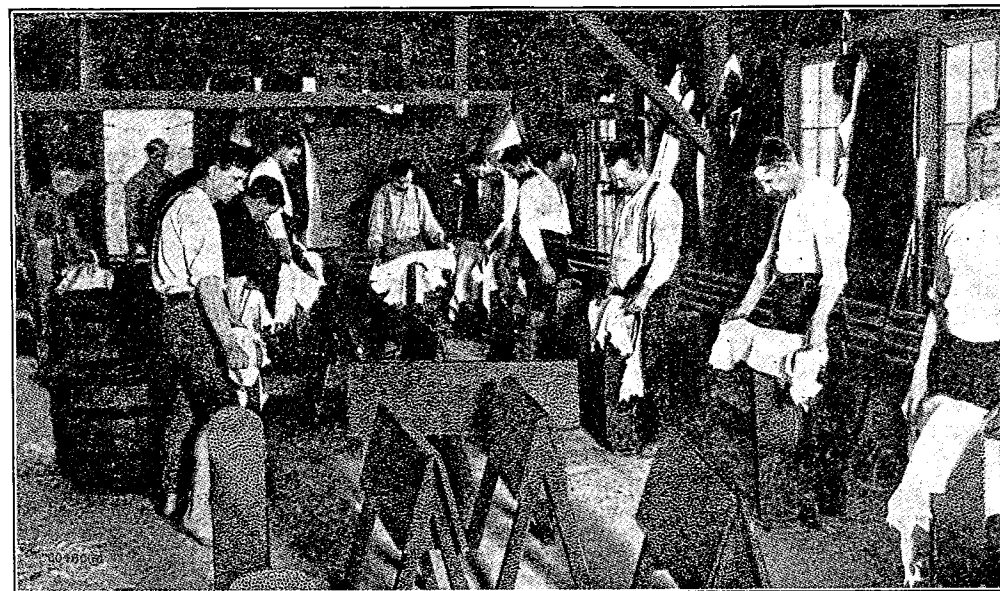
Some hand-work is still required in the making of gloves but rarely is more than one operation performed in a single home. The factory wagon comes; the driver gathers up the unfinished parts of the gloves and delivers them to the next house or to the house around the corner, where another wage-slave house-wife does her little part.

The limp, flapping pieces of sheepskin visit several families before they are returned—perhaps tearstained—to the factory doors. In one home the silk-stitching on the back of the wrist-end of the glove is done, at 20 cents a dozen. At the next house the ends of the silk-stitching threads are pulled, tied and cut off inside, at 3 cents a dozen. And so on and on. The system is piece-work perfected.

The gloves are chiefly “shaped” in the factory, the workers being almost exclusively women and girls. The state law limits the age of girls employed, but there never was any known limit set for the hiring of the old. Grandmothers may be seen working in the same factory with their daughters and granddaughters.

Each glove worker is expected to own a machine. These usually cost about \$60. I will never again pass the Singer (Sewing Machine) Building, in New York City, without recalling the girls who were exploited to build it.

The Manufacturers' Association controls the electric company that supplies the power to run the sewing machines, for which the girls are charged 40 cents a week. A similar charge is made for running the home motors which are owned individually, having been purchased at a cost of about \$40, generally paid for on



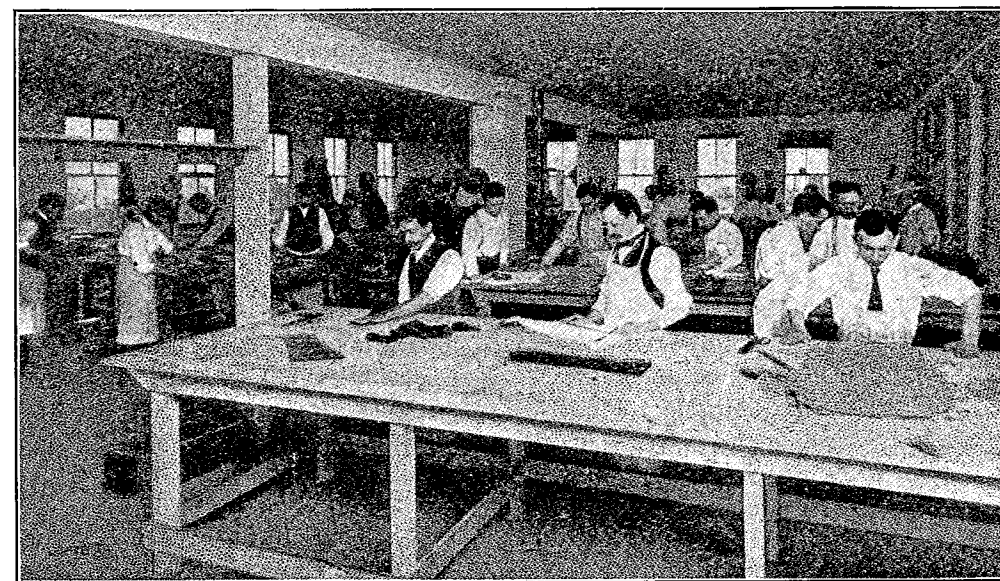
KNEE STAKERS WORK 10 HOURS A DAY FOR \$1.50.

the installment plan of \$5 down and \$5 a month.

The labor power problem here is a difficult one for the bosses to solve. The Chamber of Commerce has tried the paternal system of transplanting wage slaves, extending all sorts of inducements to workers across the water, but with

very little success. When they advertise for “help,” “best working conditions in the city” is the bait. This means that machines and power are furnished free, or rather by the company, as the worker comes out in just about the same shape in the long run.

Standing advertisements are usually



GLOVE CUTTERS WORK 10 HOURS PER DAY, \$10.00 PER WEEK.

kept in outside newspapers telling of the high wages and good conditions in Johnstown and Gloversville. But there is no enchantment here. Many women have come and gone away because they have been unable to make a living. It requires time and patience to become a skillful glove operative. As in other piece-work crafts, there are some experts that make fairly good pay, but the general average is not above other factory workers' wages.

As in Troy and other communities where womanhood is exploited, normal conditions are reversed. A young woman contemplating marriage is confronted with the problem of supporting a husband. Hundreds of women are doing this and others are considering the step, believing that they can almost provide a living for two if the man can help a little.

But there is little work in the glove towns for men to do. Naturally they become shiftless and refuse even to perform the house work for the absent factory wife. And when the day's work at the factory is over, the married woman gathers her children off the streets, prepares a scanty meal and returns to her task. Often she must trim the bundle of gloves she has brought home from the factory before her day's work is done. Can Socialism destroy such a home?

The immediate condition of the working women could be materially improved through industrial organization. The bosses are very much afraid of unionism, Socialism or organization of any kind but a military one.

They systematically and methodically engender racial and religious prejudices

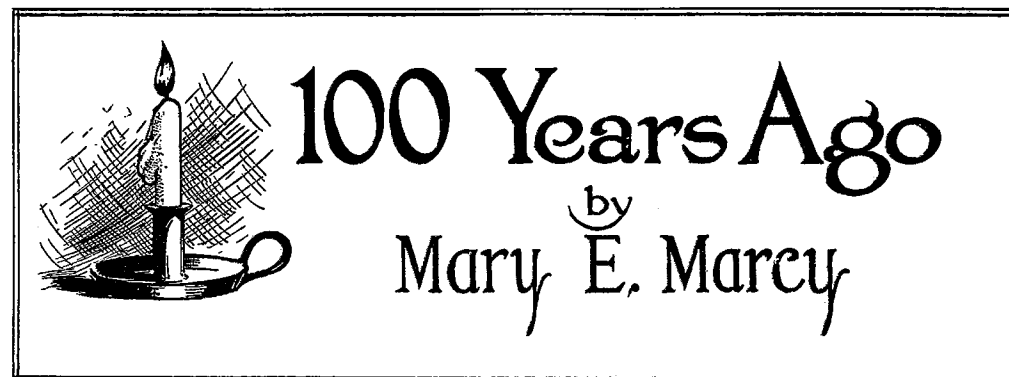
in order to prevent the workers from becoming class conscious. Many nationalities are represented here. Americans are in the minority, especially among the working class.

The vocational school, as it is conducted here, is a ruse of Capitalism that I have never before found. For cold-blooded, calculating, premeditated scheming to exploit children as soon as age and the state law will permit, the Manufacturers' Association here beats anything I have ever heard of. The Association has actually managed to convert the public school system into an APPRENTICE SHOP for glove-making. In the vocational or industrial classes, no manual training of any description is taught but MAKING GLOVES. Forty-five minutes every day is devoted to instruction in the making of gloves—forty-five minutes "devoted to the trade." A power table equipped with sixteen machines is installed in the basement of the high school for the benefit of the children (? ? ?)

Funds contributed by the factory owners paid for the power table and the machines. The public school fund is appropriated to furnish power and pay the teacher of students. A course in the basement school factory is credited as a period of the elementary course.

Benevolent system! Children are not allowed in the factories, so the exploiters evade the laws by establishing factories in the schools. School days! The happy, happy days of childhood! Here they are strangled by the gloved hand of Capitalism!

The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, became all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of Modern Industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor.—Communist Manifesto.



IT WAS not until we knew Grandmother Hopkins, a beautiful old lady of eighty-eight, who had come to make her home with relatives in the city, that we realized what invention and the factory system have done to the old fashioned home.

She had grown a little childish but her pain and wonder over the ways of flat dwellers and "roomers" was always accompanied by a flow of words on the good old days and only to hear her was a liberal education on the pioneer days in the Central States.

The switch with which we turned on and off the electric lights, the marvels of the gas range and steam heat would always start her off on reminiscences of the great old fire places and of candle making.

The candle wicks, Grandmother told us, were made of loosely spun hemp, tow or cotton, sometimes even of milkweed. Six or eight long strands of the tow were usually tied to a stick and were dipped into great kettles filled with hot tallow. Later, when the settlers raised bees, wax was often used. Candle making was the work of the women of the household, and the task was an arduous one. The long wicks had to be alternately dipped into the hot tallow or wax and allowed to cool, the candles increasing in thickness with every operation. Feeding the fire alone was a job of no mean proportion. All through the year the women hoarded every ounce of deer suet, moose fat, bear

grease and tallow for the time of the annual candle making.

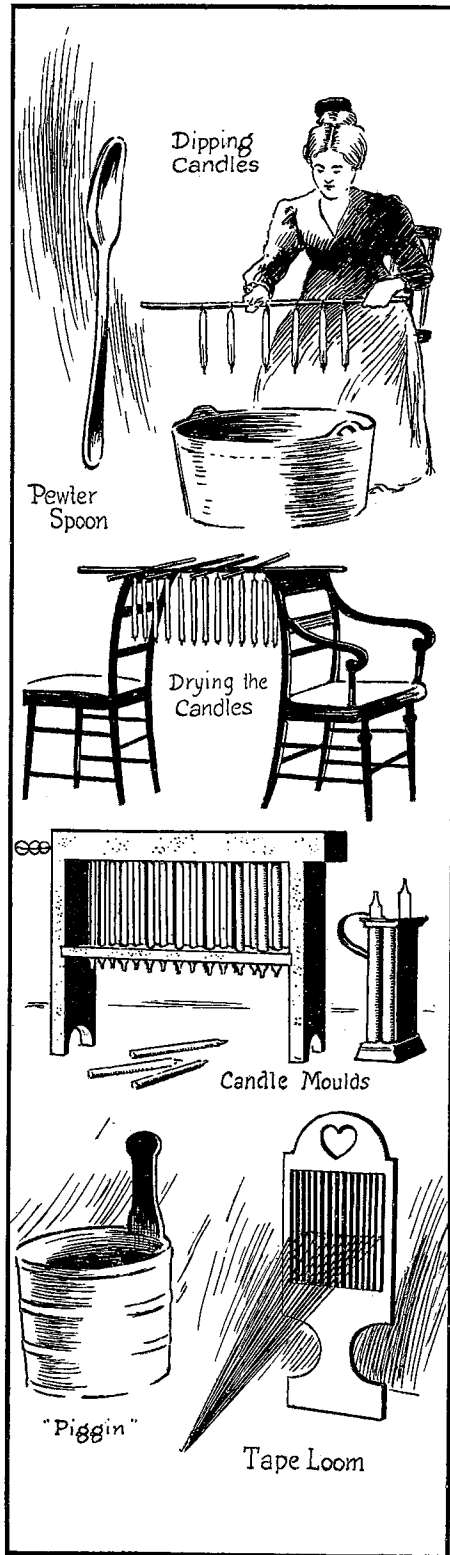
Home made pewter lamps were also used in Grandmother's day. These were mere bowls or cans containing a narrow spout from which hung wicks which, when lighted, gave forth an unpleasant smoke but a glow vastly superior to candle light. Fish and other home made oils were first burned. These were prepared by the women. This was before the day of lamp chimneys.

Fire.

In the days of the early settlers it was a family catastrophe when the fire went out. But in Grandmother's time flint, steel and tinder were recognized household necessities. In 1827 a patent was granted the inventor of the first matches. These were made of strips of wood dipped in sulphur, and ignited readily. The inventor sold 84 matches for 25 cents, but it was many years before matches came into general use.

Candle making, fire building and light striking are no longer a part of "woman's work." They have been abolished from the home. Gas, steam and electricity are at hand ready to do our bidding. Even the making of matches has become one of the great industries, where thousands of girls and women operating modern machines produce millions of matches in a single day.

The hot and cold water taps were another point of wonder to Grandmother. In her girlhood days water had to be carried sometimes long distances from



springs and heated in great pots over the fireplace.

The Pennsylvania Dutch had the first stoves used in America. The first stove was built into the house, three sides being indoors, while the stove had to be fed from the outside. As the men worked out of doors a goodly portion of the time, the fire tending fell to the lot of the women. I doubt not but many of them could wield an ax with any of the men.

As cattle increased, the duties of the dairy grew. There came butter making; and cheese making was an unending care from the time the milk was set over the fire to warm and curdle, through the breaking of the curds into the cheese baskets, through shaping into cheeses and pressing in cheese presses, and placing them on the cheese ladders to be constantly turned and rubbed.

Soap Making.

Soap making time came in the fall, and meant more work for the housewife. Even the lye had to be manufactured from wood ashes at home. And there were geese to be picked three or four times a year, for everybody slept on feather beds in those days.

I remember one of grandmother's stories of an old time neighbor who burned down a deserted house merely for the sake of the few nails used in its construction. Nails were one of the most valuable of all the commodities in her grandmother's day.

November was the appointed killing time. Of refrigeration there was none and fresh meat lasted only a short time in warm weather. Choice pieces were sometimes preserved in cool springs for a little while but almost all meats had to be promptly pickled and salted away for preservation. Rolliches and head cheeses were made at killing time; lard was tried and tallow saved.

In the winter might be found in the homes of every good housewife, hogsheads of corned beef, barrels of salt pork, tubs of hams being salted in brine, tonnekins of salt fish, firkins of butter, kegs of pigs feet and tubs of souse. And there were head cheeses, strings of sausage, very highly spiced to preserve them, jars of fruit, bins of potatoes, apples, turnips, parsnips and beets.

The kitchen, or living room, was constantly hung with strings of drying apples, onions, rounds of pumpkins and peppers. Sugar was very scarce and its place was taken by pumpkins and very soon by honey, till maple syrup and maple sugar were discovered.

Today some women still preserve the fruit

and vegetables for their own families. This is no longer a difficult matter. A telephone message brings the required material from the nearby grocer, also jars to be hermetically sealed. The ingredients are ready to hand, prepared by the thousands of men and women working in huge factories all over the world. Fire is brought up to our very table. We have only to turn it on. But the woman who now does preserving at home is the exception. Little by little the factories have taken up this branch of "woman's work" and it is now much cheaper to buy factory canned goods than to do the work in the home. Perhaps our grandmothers who suffered through the hot summer days over blazing stoves are not sorry to see this branch of home life destroyed by the factory system.

Spinning and Weaving.

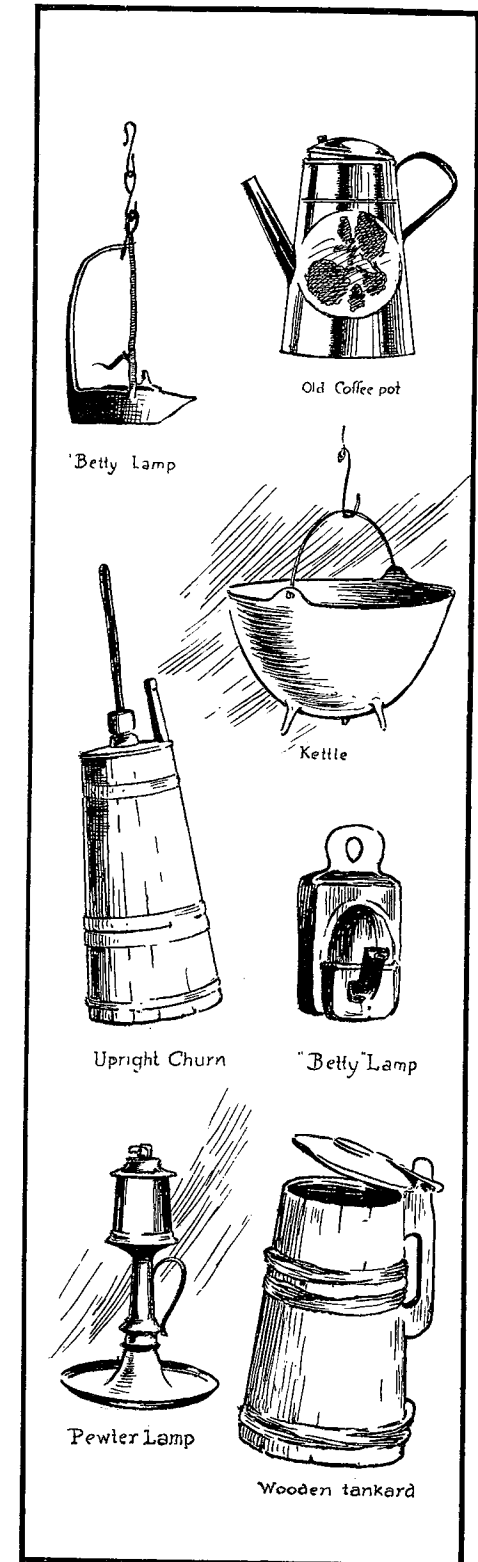
Almost within our fathers' time, every farmer and his sons raised wool and flax. His wife and daughters spun them into yarn and thread. When the flax plants were only three or four inches high they were weeded by the women and children who were compelled to work in their bare feet in order to avoid crushing the young stalks. Usually men prepared the flax and "broke it," while the girls, working their feet on the treadle, spun the fiber into an even thread. The thread was then wound off into reels or skeins.

These were bleached by being laid in water for four days, the water being constantly changed and the skeins wrung out. Finally they were "bucked," that is, bleached in ashes and hot water for a week or more, after which came a grand rinsing, washing, drying and winding on bobbins for the loom. All this labor in the bleaching process was not by any means the end of the operations.

Steadily wool production increased. The fleeces had to be gone over by the women with care, and all pitched and tarred locks, brands and beltings were cut out. But they were not lost. The cuttings were spun into coarse yarn.

Dyeing.

The white locks were carefully loosened and separated and tied into net bags to be dyed. Indigo was the favorite blue dye. Cochineal and logwood and madder made beautiful reds. Bark of the red oak or hickory made pretty browns and yellows. The flower of the golden rod when pressed of its juice, mixed with indigo and added to alum, made a bright green. Sassafras bark was used to secure a rich brown and orange.



The next process was carding. The wool was first greased with oil, then combed and spun. Later families sent their wool to the mill to be carded by crude machines, while the spinning and weaving was still done at home. This is, we believe, still the prevailing method in Ireland.

The same primitive methods prevailed for a long time in the cotton industry. But the invention of the cotton gin in 1792 soon made necessary the use of machinery to take care of the increased supply of cotton produced by the gin. The spinning jenny and power looms soon appeared. More work, formerly performed in the home, was now done in mills and factories. This meant more "breaking up" of what all our grandmothers' called home. Cotton cloth was for a time still printed, colored or "stamped" by hand, in the home. Grandmother remembers wearing "beautiful cotton dresses" printed by her mother.

In her home life in colonial days, Alice Morse Earle quotes as follows from a letter written by an American farmer only a little over one hundred years ago:

"At this time my farm gave me and my whole family a good living on the produce of it and left me one year with \$150.00, for I never spent more than \$10.00 a year for salt, nails and the like. Nothing to eat, drink or wear was bought as my farm provided all."



HOME MADE SUGAR.

About the same time Abigail Foote set down her daily work in this wise (Home Life in Colonial Days):

"Fix'd gown for Prude. Mended mother's riding hood. Spun thread. Carded tow. Spun linen. Hatchel'd flax with Hannah. Worked on cheese basket. Spooled a piece. Milked cows. Spun linen. Did 50 knots. Made broom of Guinea wheat straw. Carded two pounds of wool. Spun harness twine."

Beside the work of cooking and taking care of the home generally the women of grandmother's time were in charge of the dairying, raising of small stock, combing, carding, spinning, weaving, knitting, sewing, pickling, preserving, salting, soap and candle making. All stockings and mittens were knit at home till 1850, when a patent was granted for wool weaving machines. It was a good many years later that machine weaving became general.

Women made every article of clothing worn by the entire family except sometimes, the shoes. She made bonnets for the girls and hats and caps for the men. She wove the shawls worn by everybody and invented the first straw hat. When there were carpets these too were the work of her hands.

In grandmother's day the home was the industrial unit. Every man, woman and child knew how to produce things for the needs of the family. Nothing was specialized beyond the family. The individual farm was almost sufficient unto itself.

Something has destroyed the home and home life that our grandmothers knew. It is enough that we conjure up a picture of the old ways and compare them to the lives of the flat dwellers, the boarders and roomers of today. More proof is not needed. The old fashioned home has been destroyed, is being further destroyed by the invention of new machinery and the progress of specialized factory production.

From the very first the machine carding of fleece was so cheap that farmers were constrained to send this work to be done in the mill. Then came machine spinning and weaving. At every step it became evident that home labor could be more remuneratively employed in other branches rather than by doing these tasks



performed at such low cost in the mills.

For a long time all the family clothing was still made in the home, where the sewing machine helped to reduce the drudgery of the housewife. And in our own time every article of wearing apparel can be purchased ready made at prices so low that home made clothes have become almost a thing of the past.

Cheapness has battered down the wall of the farmer's prejudice and gradually he has permitted almost every branch of industry to be taken from his home to be done in the mill and factory, while he has set the members of his family to specializing in lines where the pay is better. It was never possible for the seller of home made products to compete with the mill or factory machine commodities for long.

Farm machinery has steadily lessened the work of the men upon the farm. One man can today, by the use of modern machines, accomplish the work that ten men did formerly under the old methods.

But the young men and women have followed their old work into the cities,

into the woolen and cotton mills, into the match factories, and packing houses. Many of them no longer have even their meals in their own homes. Great armies of restaurants and cafes have sprung up everywhere, where people may dine for less than it would cost to cook at home.

Laundries there are too—"breaking up" another branch of the old time "home." With one dozen sheets washed and ironed by machine for 25 cents came the beginning of the end of the old back-breaking wash-tub days. Monday, or "wash day," has lost its old time significance. It is just like any other day.

Gone are the candle-making seasons, the wood splitting and fire feeding and water carrying times. Of home soap-makers we have none and few of us would even know how to make lye if we had to. Steam heat, electric lights, bakeries, laundries, restaurants, ready-to-wear clothing have destroyed, little by little, year by year, the classic institutions of the old time home. Tasks that it took our grandmothers many days in the doing

are now better done in fewer hours in the factories.

Every day sees new tasks taken from the home and performed in the mills and factories, and every day sees more and more women joining the great army of industrial workers. The home of today has become only the shell of the home of yesterday. Spring house cleaning and sweeping have fallen before the march of the vacuum cleaner. The housewife has been deprived of "woman's work." She is more and more being forced into the class of proletarians. Home owning for the vast majority of people has ceased to exist. Women must find jobs, must sell their labor power—their strength to work, in order to earn a living. The bread and butter problem has given them a new "sphere" in the factory.

They now work beside men in the mills and are forced to compete with them for jobs.

The great inventions that should have lessened woman's labors have benefited her not at all. Stripped of all property, she is in the way of being directly exploited, as her father and brothers are being exploited. In order to earn a living she grinds out profit for some capitalist.

The great factories, and modern machines that perform, with very little expenditure of human labor, the arduous tasks that formerly were hers, do not bring ease or comfort or plenty to her. For these tools, these great machines by which clothes and food and other commodities are produced, are owned by a few men and women who do not operate, or use them.

Because there are always thousands of unemployed men and women seeking for jobs, wages are always driven down to the bare cost of living. For the bosses, the factory and mill owners, always buy labor power or working strength where it is cheapest. All the clothing, the shoes, hats, food, etc., that the **workers** produce are kept by the factory and mill owners. They should be the property of those who do the work. This is the aim of Socialism. It proposes that the men and women who work shall own the factories, mills, mines, railroads and the land, and

that they shall themselves own the things they make.

The time has come when it is impossible for young men or women to save enough out of their wages to start into business for themselves. Every industry is now controlled by vast aggregations of capital that run up into millions of dollars. It takes great sums of money to buy the necessary machines, to put up modern plants that alone can successfully compete with the great trusts. The time of the poor boy or girl who may become a captain of industry is about past.

The professional fields for men and for women are badly overcrowded and the competition among professional people will bring the remuneration in these fields down to a bare living just as it does in the department stores and sweat shops. A young dentist recently informed us that thousands of boys in America are studying dentistry because there is a demand for them in some of the large foreign cities. Within ten years this field will be overcrowded and dentists will be competing for work till there will be only a scant living in this profession for any of them.

It is too late to go back to Grandmother's way even if we wanted to. There is no more free land. The capitalist system under which we live draws our sons to the cities to earn a living, our daughters into the factories, our husbands into the mines. It sends us into the mills to make cloth.

The capitalist system has broken up the old fashioned home and scattered it to the four corners of the earth for the sake of profits. Our only hope lies in Socialism.

There is no hope for the propertyless young man or woman becoming independent today. There is no one to assure you that you and your husband shall have steady work—that your children shall be able to earn three square meals a day. This is the task of Socialism.

Whether or not you are one of the fast decreasing number of housewives today, or whether you are a wage slave directly exploited in the factories, mills or department stores, your home broken up, or your hope of a home destroyed by the

capitalist society of today; Socialism is a message of hope for your husband, your father, your children as well as for yourself.

Socialism means that those who work shall eat; that the reaping shall be done by those who sow. It means that every man and woman in the world shall have equal and ample opportunity to work without being robbed of most of his product by a rich boss.

It means that the workers shall collectively own the mines, mills, factories, railroads and land—all the instruments for producing the necessities of life. It means that these men and women shall own the things they produce.

The Socialist party is the one party in the world today that represents the working class. It offers to every woman equal political and economic rights to those accorded men.

If you are a working woman, or the wife of a working man, read the literature of Socialism and join the Socialist party.

Meanwhile, if you are at work in factory, mill or shop, organize in the shop. An industrial union will give every man, woman and child a vote today.

The emancipation of the workers depends on the workers themselves. Write for information on Socialism and the Industrial Union movement.

SHALL WE UNITE?

BY

AN ALASKAN MINER

THE I. W. W. as at present organized, may or may not be working along the lines that will bring about the best results toward the improvement of economic conditions for the toiling masses; but that some form of Industrial Unionism that has a worldwide scope is absolutely necessary, I think every Socialist must admit, something that will bind closer together the various trades working in the same industry, if nothing more, would be a slight help. There are many calling themselves Socialists who get very much excited when anything is said that shows up the short-comings of craft unionism. They quote parrot-like the words of Marx and Engels, "Workingmen unite," etc., but they are bitterly opposed to any move that is proposed looking toward unity of the workers. They say in effect that Marx and Engels did not really mean that we should unite in order the better to oppose the capitalist class, but that we should instead of uniting, organize ourselves into opposing factions, some of the strongest of which to become

"aristocracies of labor" and ride to labor conventions in special trains, and when their fellow workers belonging to some other union were on strike, calmly take scabs in their places and go on with their work. They say in effect that any territory containing a number of tribes always at war with each other, is the home of a united nation.

We are told that craft unions may become so powerful that they can compel their employers to accede to any reasonable demand. Will any one claim that any advance in wages one of these powerful unions may get is taken directly from the Capitalists employing its members? Will any one claim that such an advance shows that labor as a class has been benefited or that the capitalist as a class has been damaged? It seems to me that any advance in wages one group of workers may get the capitalist will more than make up for by increasing the price of the commodities this particular group of workers have produced for him, shifting the burden on to those less able to bear it, the great body of those un-

skilled men and women who are unable to build up an aristocratic labor body.

We are well aware that only a small percentage of the toilers of America are organized. What are we trying to do for the others. It is obvious that they can't join these aristocratic unions. They are continually shifting from one occupation to another, anything they can find that will furnish a bare existence. Today they are working in the woods, tomorrow in a brickyard, on a section, in the harvest fields, mines, sewers or anywhere that offers work. Are these men to be ignored by Socialists, while some of the comrades are falling over one another to show that they are friends of the aristocratic unions?

We are warned against saying anything about craft unionism, because some fear if criticized too much they will form a labor party of their own. I don't think there is any danger of that if the Socialist Party shows itself to be a real work-

ing class party. If we show that we are really in sympathy with all the workers and not only with the aristocrats of labor. I don't like the term "aristocrat" at all. Aristocrats, whether of birth, wealth, privilege or labor, are invariably conservative, and it seems to me that if Socialists become too intimate with conservatives, they are apt to lose some of their revolutionary character.

The master minds in the movement have ever cried unite! and there are signs that some of the workers are giving heed to the cry and repeating it. Already their voices are reaching us, **Unite!** and still louder **UNITE!** and I hope in the near future to hear their cry floating over land and sea from every race, color, and creed, with a volume of sound equal to the combined voices of thunder and of the waves breaking on a rocky shore, in perfect unison with the grand chorus, **Unite! Unite!! UNITE!!!**



SOCIALIST MINERS—DEADWOOD, ALASKA.

MORE ABOUT

"THE TAINTED SHOE LABEL"

By PHILLIPS RUSSELL

**Named Shoes Are Frequently Made
In Non-Union Factories**

**BOOT & SHOE
WORKERS UNION**

DO NOT BUY ANY SHOE
No matter what its name, unless it bears
a plain and readable impression of this
UNION STAMP

All shoes without the UNION STAMP
are always non-union.

Do not accept any excuse for absence of the UNION STAMP

BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS' UNION
244 SUMMER STREET BOSTON, MASS.
John P. Tobin, President Chas. L. Balne, Secretary-Treasurer

A TYPICAL TOBIN ADVERTISEMENT.

MR. JOHN F. TOBIN, president of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, doesn't like what was said about him and his methods in the April REVIEW. He doesn't like it to the extent of about eight pages of closely written type. Blustiferously, not to say bluffously, he advances upon the scene and speaks as follows:

"Boston, Mass., May 2, 1912.

"Editor International Socialist Review, Chicago, Ill.

"Dear Sir: Under the title "THE TAINTED SHOE LABEL" there appeared in the April (1912) issue of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW an article said to be by Phillips Russell.

"Before beginning this reply to the article referred to, we desire to ask, who is Phillips Russell; what does he represent and what is his motive?"

The emphasis here is Mr. Tobin's own. Now, if I confessed that I was born in Timbuctoo and was bow-legged and wore pink whiskers, that would have a lot of bearing on the question as to whether Mr. Tobin and his aids did or did not do their best to break the strike of the Cincinnati shoe workers by importing scabs and turning them over to the bosses, wouldn't it?

If I stated that I were John D. Rockefeller's private secretary, represented the Standard Oil Company, and disliked Mr. Tobin because he once poisoned my pet cat, that would have a lot to do with the fact as to whether or not the secretary of the Shoe Manufacturers' Association of Cincinnati kept these scabs in an expensive hotel and supplied them with union cards, wouldn't it?

I was in Cincinnati during the strike and got my knowledge of the facts at first hand.

But in order to satisfy Mr. Tobin upon his emphasized questions it might be well to answer them in detail as follows:

1. Who is Phillips Russell?

Associate editor of the REVIEW and member of the staff of the New York *Call* at the time it published the letter of Mr. William Maily, former national secretary of the Socialist party, in which he denounced the union shoe stamp as "a swindle upon the labor movement."

2. What does he represent?

Opposition to all such frauds as the Tobin shoe stamp and to organized scabbery, whether conducted under union auspices or not.

3. What is his motive?

To show all persons that they are playing into the hands of the capitalists when they buy shoes disgraced by the Tobin stamp.

Now we will go on and let Mr. Tobin expose himself in his own words as follows:

This article is flagrantly unfair and untruthful; so much so that it is calculated to mislead only those who are least well informed upon trade union law and policy. We hope you will see fit to give space to this letter and circulate the REVIEW to the same extent as your April (1912) issue.

To begin with, the article seeks to make it appear that this organization is in league with shoe manufacturers and against the shoe workers and that the public who purchase union stamp shoes merely gets himself "played for a sucker" and that the organization is privately owned by one John F. Tobin, the general president of the union, who makes use of the union stamp merely as "a thing for barter and sale and a means of enslaving the workers and tying them tight to the bosses' machines."

The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, is a democratic organization governed between conventions by a general executive board, who meet three times each year between conventions, and the laws are made either in a convention or by the initiative and referendum of the membership. For 14 years the officers were elected by referendum vote, but because of corrupt practices in the elections and failure of a great majority of members to vote, the laws were changed to elect in convention every two years, so that now a substantial part of the members govern the union instead of a small minority, as under the referendum system.

Section 15 of the constitution provides that "The trade stamp or label of this union shall

be a shield design with the words 'Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Union Stamp,' and the factory number appearing on the stamp; that the union stamp shall be impressed upon the sole of boots and shoes that are made wholly by members of this union."

Section 16 of the constitution provides "The general executive board shall have discretionary power in making rules governing the use of the union stamp, but shall publish such rules regularly in the Journal and shall not issue the union stamp to any firm unless contract is approved by the local union in a town or city where only one local union exists, or by the council, in a town or city where more than one local union exists; that the sum of \$500 in cash shall be paid to any person or persons who will furnish evidence sufficient to prove fraudulent use or issue of the union stamp contrary to the laws and rules laid down by the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union."

This union, in common with all other well-regulated unions, deputizes the management of the union label to some person for greater convenience in legal matters connected with the label. The contract under which the union stamp is used by shoe manufacturers is made between the firm and the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, with headquarters at 246 Summer street, Boston, Mass., and the agreement further provides that "the employer agrees that the union is the lawful owner of the union stamp," hence it is not owned by Tobin.

We are proud of the fact that the rankest enemy of our union has never yet been able to furnish any tangible evidence of corruption or even loose or careless management of the union stamp; that our union stamp stands free from any stain as to its legitimate use. The tainted article goes on to say that for five months a devoted little band of 200 shoe workers have been on strike in the city of Cincinnati against a reduction in pay.

The facts are that a little band of about 20 Goodyear inseamers, under the leadership of a suspended member of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, with a somewhat unsavory trade union record, made an attack upon our union in Cincinnati, where we are well organized, where a fair standard of wages exists and where the dual and seceding union sought to injure our organization by declaring a strike alleged to be for the purpose of resisting a reduction in wages, and widely and falsely advertised by them as such, but in reality to secure an increase and to throw large numbers of our members out of employment by promises, threats and actual assaults upon shoe workers, members of our union, as well as those who were not members.

Possibly 200 were induced to leave the factories in sympathy with this alleged strike. One of our general organizers, C. J. McMorrow, is held up to criticism and photographs of documents tending to show that he furnished strikebreakers are produced, but these critics fail to give McMorrow credit for the fact that it was upon his advice that our local

unions in Cincinnati did not take the course which we believe they would have been justified in taking, of refusing to recognize the strike in any way except as a deliberate and unrighteous attack upon our union.

Adopting McMorrow's advice, our local unions in Cincinnati voted to recognize the strike in the Goodyear inseaming department, which was the only place where a demand was made for an increase in wages. Our Cincinnati local unions instructed their members to remain at work in all other departments, as is clearly shown by the following resolutions adopted by all our Cincinnati locals:

"Whereas, A strike started by the inseamers of several factories for one-fourth cent extra per pair under the jurisdiction of the United Shoe Workers of America, an independent union not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor,

"Resolved, That Union 222 of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, in the strike of the inseamers, remain absolutely neutral. That its members be ordered to keep off of the inseaming machines in the factories involved, either to learn to run them or as experienced operators, and immediately leave their jobs if any of our members are running them; that it orders its members to remain at work in the factories involved in this strike unless ordered otherwise by Union 222.

"Further resolved, That its members have the right to take any job offered in these factories other than inseaming; that it denies the right or authority of the United Shoe Workers of America to declare any job unfair other than the job of inseaming in the factories at present on strike in that department."

The fact that the Cincinnati Trades and Labor Council, which was on the ground and familiar with all the details of this trouble, passed resolutions unanimously supporting our organization and condemning the dual body, we offer as the best evidence of the correctness of our position.

Our justification for appearing in this controversy at all lies in the fact that our fourteen hundred members in Cincinnati indicated that they did not desire to be placed in a position other than that of neutrality in a contest waged by a hostile union. The strike was in the Goodyear inseaming department, and notwithstanding the assaults and threats of the active ones upon our members and others working in other departments calculated to force them to act in sympathy, we have adhered strictly to the resolutions passed by our local unions in Cincinnati and our activities were confined exclusively to the jobs declared fair by our Cincinnati members.

Hundreds of our members were forced into idleness through this strike and benefits were paid to them by our organization, an expense which to a great extent might have been avoided had our organization engaged in furnishing strikebreakers for the Cincinnati manufacturers, as Mr. Russell charges in his article. It is a positive fact that not one cent of the funds of our union has been used to assist the

Cincinnati shoe manufacturers in securing help to break the strike.

The tainted article further states that the Tobin union has simply degenerated into a scab recruiting agency for the bosses, as has been proven in the Brooklyn shoe strike last year, but the article entirely disregards the fact that in Brooklyn the I. W. W., by false promises of an increase in wages, induced members of our union to go out on strike in violation of our arbitration contract and in violation of the workers' own price list, which they had made and which was signed by their own committee, as a shop's crew, when the price had still three months to run before its expiration. Because we protected our contract, regardless of expense to our union, and made good, we are charged with being strikebreakers.

The tainted article further states "the Tobin policy is to fix a price list by agreement with the bosses, then to force it upon the workers, whether they want it or not. If it involves a reduction in wages, as it frequently does, the members are told there is no help for it because a readjustment of wages has been made necessary." This is as rank and deliberate a falsehood as ever issued from the false pen of a malicious writer. We challenge proof of any instance where Tobin, or any person for him, made any wages without consent of the workers.

The general officers of our union, under our constitution, have no right, and never at any time have agreed to or fixed any wages without the consent of the local union having jurisdiction over the wages in the factory, as provided in Section 29 of our constitution, which reads as follows: "The local executive board shall adjust wages and conditions of employment subject to the control of the local union." Section 9 of our constitution also provides that the general price list committee shall assist local unions or councils in adjusting scales of wages within the jurisdiction of our union and further says "this section is not intended to abridge the rights of local executive boards, or councils, in establishing wages or conditions."

The reference to the Cass and Daley incident at Salem, Mass., we will comment upon by saying that it is built upon false premises and false conclusions. A dual organization declared a strike in the Cass & Baley factories while we were organizing them to issue the union stamp, in which factories substantial increases in wages have been secured in common with all factories wherein our union stamp is used.

Our organization has the commendable record, well established, of maintaining the highest wages prevailing in the shoe trade. Our organization has succeeded in numerical and financial strength despite the attempts of rival shoe unions to tear down and underbid our wage scale.

Reference is also made to an article from the pen of William Maily, former national secretary of the Socialist party, written in August, 1910, which denounced our union in the New York *Call*, in which he called attention to

the methods of our union in Brockton and Haverhill, Mass. It might be well to say that Mr. Maily's conclusions were entirely one-sided; they were drawn from a biased source and Mr. Maily made no attempt to get authentic information. Even Mr. Maily is not always consistent, as is shown by the following: (The original is in my hands and will be produced if desired):

"Eugene V. Debs, Chicago, Ill.

"Dear Comrade Debs: This note will introduce to you Comrade John Tobin, president of the Boot and Shoe Workers of America. You will find in him a staunch and faithful friend of the workers, and as he is a special friend of mine, you will greet him as I know you would greet myself were I to call upon you. You will find much in common between you, and his meeting with you will, I am sure, give you as much pleasure as it will give him. With very good wishes, I am, as ever,

"Yours truly and fraternally,

"WILLIAM MAILLY."

Reference is also made to one C. P. Dean, who is described as a "militant unionist," who is alleged to be blacklisted by our union. C. P. Dean was expelled by our local cutters' union in St. Louis, Mo., for conduct unbecoming a union man and in conspiring against the local. He has always been a bitter enemy of our organization and under the circumstances naturally is not in good standing.

The purpose of the article and its source is clearly shown near its close when it says: "The United Shoe Workers have already waked up as to what is going on. They realize that only an industrial organization and a steady reduction in working hours can save them from becoming absolute slaves. They are seeking to draw all the workers in the shoe industry together into **ONE BIG UNION.**" This indicates to our mind very clearly that the intent is to injure this union and to discredit the American Federation of Labor, which is characterized as the "Gompers Crew."

We again say that the union stamp of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union represents the highest standard of wages in the shoe trade. It represents the right of the workers to make a bargain for their wages between the employer and their local union without outside interference of any kind. The union stamp is honestly issued, honestly administered and free from any stain.

Again we ask, who is Phillips Russell, what does he represent and what is his motive?

Yours truly,

(Signed) JOHN F. TOBIN,
General President.

No one, after reading this letter, can deny that Tobin is the foxy official he is reputed to be. In characteristic fashion he ignores the direct charges made in the April REVIEW and seeks to distract attention from them by raising issues quite foreign to the matter under discussion.

Is a strike "in reality to secure an increase" to be deemed an excuse for breaking it with union scabs?

He does not deny the authenticity of the photographed correspondence between his own general organizer, Chas. J. McMorrow, and William Tateman, agent of the Cincinnati shoe bosses, relative to the shipping of scabs from Boston.

He does not deny that this same Tateman was formerly business agent of the Tobin union in Cincinnati, but made himself so useful to the employers that they made him secretary of their association at a fat salary, in which capacity he issued union cards to scabs. Loudly Mr. Tobin asserts that "not one cent of the funds of our union has been used to assist the Cincinnati shoe manufacturers in securing help to break the strike." I never so charged. The union didn't need to supply the funds. The bosses attended to that.

He does not deny the authorship of the famous circular "To Shoe Manufacturers," in which he declares: "In view of the fact that you can use the Stamp without in any way surrendering control of your business or placing yourself to the least disadvantage, **EITHER AS TO WAGES OR OTHERWISE**, there appears to be no good reason why you should not secure the use of the Union Stamp immediately." The emphasized words, be it noted, are Mr. Tobin's own.

He does not deny that he supplied scabs to break the Brooklyn shoe strike, but boasts of the fact that "we protected our contract, regardless of expense to our union," even though a large section of the Brooklyn shoe workers repudiated the contract when they found they could not live under it.

He does not deny that the Salem, Mass., Central Labor Union investigated the Cass & Daley case and found that the Tobin stamp had been put in the firm's shops "for business reasons only," and that "questionable methods" had been used. He does not deny that the C. L. U. twice refused to rescind its findings until the Gompers inner circle of the American Federation of Labor threatened severe punishment and then the C. L. U. agreed to expunge its findings from the record only because the trouble had blown over.

He does not deny that Mr. William

Maily severely denounced Tobin practices in Massachusetts, but tries to offset this by quoting the letter of introduction to Debs. It is to be noticed, however, that Mr. Tobin refrains from giving the date of this letter. This is material, because at that time Mr. Tobin bore a good reputation in the labor movement.

Not everybody knows that Mr. Tobin was once a Socialist, but such is the case. At least he was a member of the Socialist Labor party before what is now the Socialist party split off from it and formed a dual organization. Tobin was once a radical of the radicals. No one was so bitter against the capitalist system. He simply cleaned up the masters whenever he spoke.

This is worth remembering, because a great many of the more guileless members of the Socialist party even today show a tendency to be carried away with a man simply because of his capacity for making fiery speeches. Mr. Tobin was one of those early Socialists who went out to "capture" the trade unions. Instead, as has happened to many another man of promise, the trade unions captured him. He became entangled in the meshes of the craft union system and now look at him. Even at meetings of strictly A. F. of L. men Tobin has been upon more than one occasion booed and jeered.

As to Mr. Tobin's demand for "proof" of reduction in wages forced on the membership of his union, will Mr. Tobin kindly recite for us the history of the suspension of Business Agent Studley by the Stitchers' Union of Brockton, Mass., after the state board of arbitration had ordered a reduction of wages in the Douglas factory?

Wasn't Studley the representative of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union before that board and didn't he make excuses for the reduction by claiming a "readjustment" was necessary?

What about the plight of the members of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, who worked for Cushman & Hebert, after they found themselves working for lower wages in Lynn than they got for the same work before the removal of the shop from Haverhill?

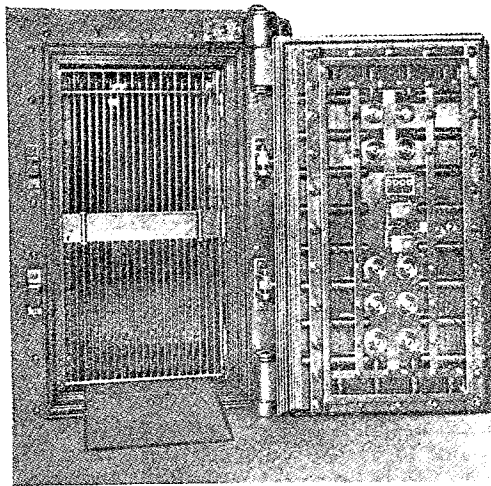
If Mr. Tobin is afraid of One Big Union, why is he taking part now in a conference looking to the uniting of all shoe workers into one organization?

But too much space has been wasted on Mr. Tobin already. No good purpose is served in thus entering into an argument with him except to show that a lot of us who have been faithfully patronizing union stamps and labels are frequently bunkoed and that the official ring of the American Federation of Labor allows fakiration and corruption to exist in itself without protest and sometimes even upholds it.

Tobin is not much worse than many another head of a craft union. He has been caught with the goods on, that is all. He is the product of a system, a creature of the craft union policy which says "win all you can for yourself and to hell with the rest."

In conclusion, it should be stated for the benefit of several inquirers that there is no other "union" shoe stamp except that of the Tobin ring. Under the circumstances any person is justified in buying any shoe he pleases, except, of course, when it is the product of a manufacturer who is a known enemy of bona fide labor organizations.





STEAM PROTECTED STEEL VAULT.

STEAM PROTECTION FOR PROPERTY

BY

DAVID FULTON KARSNER

THERE'S no getting away from it: the master class is preparing for the revolution of the working class. If there is anyone who has any doubts as to this statement let him or her take a trip to the safety deposit vaults of Harris & Company, bankers, Chicago. Once there, the person would find that special provision, not found elsewhere in Chicago, has been made against any possible mob violence or riots. Completely surrounding the vaults is a high-pressure system of steam pipes with outlets through which, in case of extreme emergency, live steam can be forced, completely enveloping the vaults. This wall of steam would make it impossible for anyone to operate within the vault zone. In other words, the "mob" that charged upon the vaults would be scalded to death and would drop in their tracks like so many rats.

Aside from this protection against the hungry masses the vaults are equipped with an independent electric burglar system, which insures immediate notification to special police in case the vaults are tampered with. In addition to the special police who would be called in event of an alarm, there are several other sets of guard officers, each independent of the other, employed by the vault company.

So we see that some masters have prepared while others are preparing. It

stands to reason, therefore, that the "mob" would be accepting an invitation to die were it to suddenly be seized with an impulse to confiscate the great amount of wealth that is stored in the basement and sub-basements of this giant skyscraper. But right here is where the bankers will have another guess. We may as well tell them that they are entailing useless expense.

For in the days of the future (revolutionary) uprising I doubt whether the masses will even have to go to the trouble of charging at all. I am prone to believe that things will be handed to them. Not by the masters, of course, but by the members of the working class, who will be in a position to direct the valves, which, if turned, would cause a flood of steam directed against them. You see, this institution is depending upon a part of the working class to keep the other part out of the zone of wealth. But suppose that by the time we want to revolt, those men of the working class who are now paid to protect sacred property, are with us. What then? Well, the steam might be turned in another direction.

But that shows the thoughtlessness of the master class. They have such confidence in the working class whom they have subjected, seduced and tyrannized, that it is quite beyond their mental ability to comprehend that some day these men and women, upon whom they must

inevitably lean for protection, will be educated up to the principles of Socialism, and that these people will turn their guns and valves the other way.

But here we are again: when the masses of dejected and downtrodden workers of these states do revolt, they will not do so simply as a means to lay their hands upon the money in the banks. If they ever make a dash for anything it will be for food, clothes and ultimate and permanent shelter. The cold storage houses of this country are today filled with millions of tons of food—an adequate amount to feed the teeming millions of idle workers of these States with a good surplus left over.

Then, too, the dry goods stores and warehouses are bulging and creaking under the weight of carloads of clothing which can never be sold at profit to the shop owners because a bulk of it is either moth eaten, faded, or otherwise out of style. Yet, this clothing is kept stored up while four millions of men in these States today are clad in rags. Factory girls and little boys who make the garments often go to their work half naked. I believe if the poverty-ridden people today were told to choose between food and clothing on the one side and a reasonable supply of money on the other,

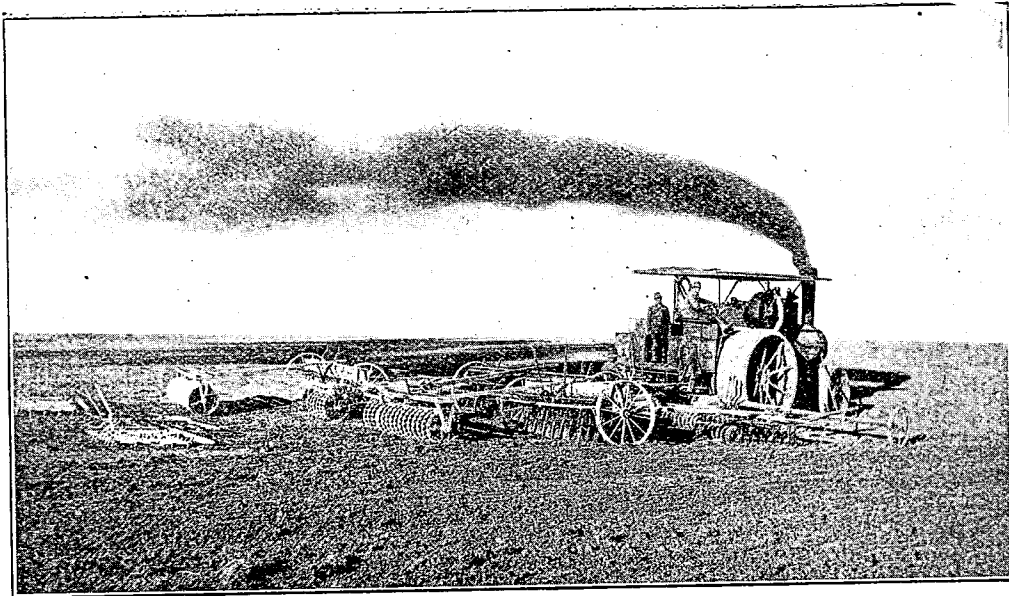
they would select the food and clothing.

Then, too, there are tens of thousands of vacant houses in these States, besides acres and acres of land upon which houses could be built, but these are kept from the masses, who cannot occupy them because of high rent. Yet, in New York City and Chicago, and every other city, the workers die in dark, dank tenement houses, into which they are crowded like swine in a pen.

No, they will not charge the banks in the days of the revolution. They will fight for something more substantial, if it becomes necessary to charge at all. But it is certainly up to all revolutionary Socialists to point out to those members of their class who are protecting property with the aid of live steam or machine guns, or the policeman's club, that they, too, "have nothing to lose but their chains, and a world to gain."

But Socialism does not mean robbing the happy possessors of tooth brushes, of their property. It is not concerned with the personal property used by individuals. It means taking control of the mines, mills, factories, land and railroads by the workers who run them. It means that these great tools of production shall be used for the benefit of the workers themselves.





THE COMING OF THE BIG MACHINE IS A MILESTONE IN THE MARCH TO SOCIAL PRODUCTION.

INSURANCE AGAINST CROP FAILURE

BY

JOHN RANDOLPH

WE Socialists have been almost criminally negligent (from the class struggle point of view) in not long ago pointing out to farmers just how largely they would all benefit by social, instead of individual, production on the farm.

To begin with, one of the greatest disasters overhanging the heads of millions of hard working farmers the world over, is a failure of crops. One of nature's crying injustices is a late frost or a drought that destroys all the hard labor of a season, for however diligent man may be in sowing and tending his crop, he has always the fear of his work going for naught. But Socialism—social production and distribution—proposes a way whereby the individual farmer may toil with the full knowledge that he shall reap the fruit of his labors.

It is first of all our purpose that all men and women have full and free ac-

cess to the instruments of production—the mines, the mills, the shops and the land, these great tools of production on which the lives of men and women depend. It is our aim that the workers who till the land, who mine the coal, who work in the factories, shops and mills shall own these things collectively, so that no worker shall be compelled to divide his product or crop with the owner of the mine or the land in order to secure an opportunity to dig coal or sow wheat.

To the man or woman who lives by the profits made through the labor of others, we have nothing to offer, except a job besides the man who adds to the world's wealth by his labor.

The Fate of the Small Farmer.

Of late we have been in communication with a number of the best known farm experts in America. One and all have given the opinion that big capitalists, already entering the farming territory, will

in a very few years drive the little farmer from the land.

Almost universal has come the report that larger and more marvelous machines were being made for farming—machines that it will be unprofitable to use on a small scale. More and more as farm machinery is perfected and used, will these machines come to represent large investments of capital—that only very wealthy farm owners can furnish. With the introduction of modern machinery, the small farmers, and farm tenants will find themselves unable to compete with their capitalist neighbors. The prices of farm products will fall so that there will not be enough to support the tenant and the landlord. And eventually the small landlord will be compelled to sell out to farm corporations with immense capital.

By the use of modern machines the men employed in large furniture factories make many chairs in a single day. The man who carves chairs by hand—although he may spend several days in producing a single chair—can get no more for his commodity that cost him many days of labor than the machine chair—made in an hour, will bring. Useless labor, hand labor can no longer compete in the machine process.

All through the history of machine production, the new—or modern—method has become the general—and in many instances—the only method.

From all quarters comes the report of the farm experts: "The small farmer will be driven from the farm through his inability to furnish capital to buy modern machinery and larger farms which alone can make the use of such machinery profitable."

Modern farm machinery will cheapen all farm products and only the capitalists using the cheap method will be able to stay in the game.

As the use of modern farm machinery becomes general, the world over, more and ever more capital will be required for farming. Farm lands are already rising in price and greater is the capital required to buy. The bankers will refuse to lend money on a mortgaged farm for the purchase of the expensive machinery required to work a farm profitably.

In a recent number of the REVIEW, Mr. Ellis described some of the large farms run on a modern factory basis, where the farm hands work all the time—day and night—in two shifts and the hard work is performed by steam or gasoline tractors.

The capitalist system of society is already forcing the small farmer off the farm, just as it has forced and will continue to force the business man of small capital to the wall. Competition is no longer a fact in the world today; it has given way to concentration, and monopoly.

The Hope of Socialism.

Socialism is the inevitable outcome of monopoly and the capitalist system of society which finally divides the people into two great opposing groups with the owners of the means of production and distribution, the mines, land, mills, factories and railroads on one side and the propertyless wage workers, who have only their labor power to sell, on the other.

The interests of these two groups are diametrically opposed. It is perfectly obvious, if a farm laborer raises forty bushels of wheat to the acre that the more the idle farm capitalist takes, the less there will be left for the laborer; or the more wages the laborer receives the lower will be the profits of the farm capitalist.

Hence arises on the farm, as in every other industry, a continual conflict between the idle owners and the propertyless wage workers. Socialists call this conflict the Class Struggle.

Then comes Socialism representing the millions of suffering workers on one side and opposing the few idle capitalists on the other.

It is not the aim of Socialism to turn society backward and inaugurate again the era of wax candles in place of gas and electric lights. It does not propose to divide the great Standard Oil Company into a thousand little competing oil plants.

There are excellent features contained in the trusts. They have introduced everywhere labor saving machinery; they have put one vast industrial organization in the place of thousands of wasteful competing little plants. In other words they have learned how to produce oil

and shoes, and sugar with the least possible expenditure of human labor. They have brought system out of chaos. All this they have done for the sake of personal profits and at the expense of the working class. With some of these achievements of the trusts, Socialism has no quarrel. It proposes to continue shortening the hours of labor necessary to produce wheat and oil and other commodities. But Socialism is the instrument of the working class and proposes to take over the factories, mines, land, mills and railroads to be run by and for the workers themselves.

One of the Evils of Individual Production.

Today, the man who owns a small factory, a bakery shop or a restaurant does not expect any one to be foolish enough to insure him against failure.

The same is true of the small farmer. Nobody cares to insure him against crop failure or loss of the small farm.

It is only in a socially owned industry, socially supervised and managed that it would be possible for the organization (or government) to insure the farmer against crop failure.

To explain more fully, Socialists declare that the **necessary** labor contained in a commodity (for example, we will say a pair of shoes represents two hours of necessary labor) determines its value.

In a socially owned industry, where every worker had an equal voice in its management, the organization would see to it that the most modern machinery was used in the production of wheat or shoes. This is one of the aims of Socialism, that labor be lightened by the use of machinery wherever possible in all industries, and that scientific methods be employed everywhere, so that the greatest amount of food, clothing and

houses be produced with the least necessary expenditure of labor.

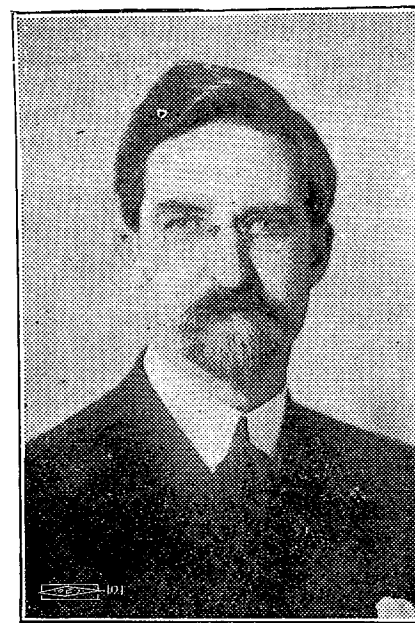
Under Socialism agricultural experts will advise the farmers about the best crops to plan in the soil he is to work. The best seeds will be supplied by the industrial administration and the individual farmer will be glad to accept expert advice in order to get bigger and better crops.

Under Socialism the value of shoes or wheat will be determined by the average amount of necessary labor required to make shoes with the use of the most improved methods. And the individual worker will be paid for the hours of **necessary** labor he has spent in shoe making or wheat growing when using the most improved tools or machinery.

The agricultural department of the industrial administration will supply farmers with expert advice regarding crops, fertilizer, and will supply them with the best farming machinery. And the total farming output will be valued according to the total **necessary** number of hours of labor spent in producing it.

The farmer who has worked 600 hours during the year will receive twice as much as the man working only 300 hours.

If a late frost kills off part of the Michigan crops, neither the Michigan farmers, who have toiled in vain, nor other farmers will suffer. The total number of bushels of wheat will represent exactly the same number of hours of labor as the larger crop would have represented, if there had been no frost in Michigan. Think this over, you farmers. Socialism will give you a sure payment for all your labor. In an early number of the REVIEW we will publish articles showing what Socialism will do for the farmer and why every small landowner, every farm tenant and farm laborer ought to be a Socialist.



EUGENE WOOD.

ASTRADDLE OF THE FENCE

BY

EUGENE WOOD

Author of "The Big Change"

A FRIEND once said to me: "You know how often you have to choose between two different courses of action, one of which has certain advantages which the other lacks, but also certain disadvantages which the other lacks, and you study and study over it and the more you study the more you don't know what to do."

"Yes," I said.

"Well, I'll give you a rule to follow in all such cases."

"Go ahead," I told him. "I want to hear it."

"Choose one, and stick to it."

And, you know, that's good sense. You lose more by hesitating than by choosing the worse of two courses of action.

What makes me certain it's good sense is that it's just what I can't do. A waverer am I, unable to declare that Proposition A is the embodiment of all practical wisdom while Proposition B is just nonsense and they who advocate it are fools

when they aren't fakes. Somehow I want to know why certain ones are just as set on having B as others are for having A, and the upshot is that I see the good points of both sides. It's a weakness of mine; I own up but that's just how it is with me.

Take, now, this matter of Political Action *versus* Direct Action. (I am so little able to take sides that I could hardly bring myself to write that word "versus." I don't see why there should be any "against" in the matter.) I am so feeble-minded that when I read what Political Action has accomplished in Germany, I grin, and nod my head and say, "Uh-huh!" And when I read what Direct Action has accomplished in Lawrence or in Great Britain I also grin and nod, and say "Uh-huh!" The only time I frown and shake my head and say "H'm!" is when those who believe that the working-class must rule the world get to sparring amongst themselves whether Proposition



A or Proposition B is the only true statement and those who advocate the other are fools and fakes.

Now, don't you go to thinking that I'm one of these fair-minded, dispassionate persons you read about. I'm not. I'm not even fair-to-middling-minded. And I'm as full of prejudices as a dog is full of fleas, prejudices on both sides.

Let me tell you my sad story. First off, when I began to see what sort of a world I had been kicked into without my consent I thought it could be fixed over into a half-way decent place to live in. We'd begin by abolishing the Robber Tariff; then we'd enact the Single Tax; then we'd take over the "natural monopolies," and then we'd get after the Money Power, and then—What are you grinning about? Oh, I see. You've been over that road too, eh?

I brought shame and confusion on my family by becoming a Democrat. The Democratic Party was going to cut the dog's tail off—inch by inch so's it wouldn't hurt the poor brute so much. And, if you too traveled that same road, you do not need to be told that it was the farthest thing from the Democratic Party's intention to so much as graze the tip end of the ultimate hair on the Money Power dog's tail.

Then I got mad, and, just for spite, I didn't vote for years and years. I don't suppose you noticed that I wasn't voting any, but I says to myself, I says: "I won't give 'em that much satisfaction. If I can't vote to stop the devilment I sha'n't vote to continue it."

So, you see, I have a prejudice against Political Action right from the word go. Not a reason, just a prejudice.

They say that a man convinced against his will is of the same opinion still. If ever there was a man in that fix with regard to Socialism, I am he. I didn't jump; I was pushed. Inexorable logic did the pushing, with the kind assistance of the friend I mentioned in the beginning of this article. Yes, the very same man.

So, now that I have climbed off the water-wagon of refusing to dally with this vote thing, I am prejudiced in favor of Political Action. It affords so fine an

opportunity of soaking it to some of these fellows, to beat down what they have to say, to get the everlasting laugh on them, until in the course of two or three years of steady propaganda I get them to where they say: "Yes, there's a good deal in what you argue. Yes, you're right about that. Oh, there's no doubt that the Socialist party is the coming party." And then they go and vote the same old ticket they've always voted. They've got prejudices too.

Just among friends, I may say that I don't bubble over with hope like a fresh-opened bottle of sarsaparilla about the chances of electing a Socialist ticket here in our village. I live on Long Island, which was settled so recently as 1637, and being just a new country we haven't yet got sidewalks. We're only 2,000 in population, many of them the original settlers, at least I judge so from the views they hold. Only property owners can vote on the question of public improvements, and they are unanimous, almost, in the opinion that concrete sidewalks are a wicked waste of money when coal ashes can be got for nothing. Our leading grocer won't answer the telephone when it rings; he won't give the dog-gone new-fangled thing that much satisfaction. Likewise about voting. "Why can't they leave things be the way they was"? he demands to know. "Always changing, changing, changing!"

Now don't you go to telling me it's that way every place. It just shows you do not know the first thing about Long Island natives. When they settled here they settled, they sedimentated, they sunk down and stratified. I keep on voting the Socialist ticket though, and when nice weather comes I get on the soap-box at the foot of Main street, and bark to what seems emptiness, but I know that in the shadow of the barbor-shop and the stable of the Commercial Hotel are human beings hiding and listening. And this agitation is bearing fruit. Up to six years ago we never had more than 5 votes in the village; at the last election we had 32. Going some, eh? Thirty-two votes out of 482.

You won't see any poverty here; we'd sooner die than let it get out that we are

hard up. Just the same, Jim Priest gets only \$2 a day and keeps a wife and three children on that. They're all the color of a piece of suet. Frank Shoemaker hasn't been able to do a tap of work for more than a year—he looks like death—and besides his wife and two children he has his paralytic father to keep. The girl has had to leave school and go to work for \$5 a week. That's the entire income of the family at present. Uncle Dave Tuttle is 73 years old and has to drive a coal-wagon or starve. The Sammises lived on potatoes all last winter with what clams they could dig. You'd be astonished to know how many families secretly "called on" to get shoes so their children can go to school. A good two-thirds of the village are undergoing starvation of either mind or body. There is some drunkenness among them but not much, and some foolishness. Whether poverty is the cause or the result of drunkenness and foolishness we'll not argue about. There are plenty of cases where the question is narrowed down to the undoubted fact that these people are poor because they don't draw as much wages as they earn.

The remaining third of the village have a good time. Pint for pint of whiskey I don't think they're any soberer, and their foolishness is just of a different sort. They don't earn anything but they get a lot of money. Somehow or other they have managed to get hold of a cinch, they have the compelling power to make the rest of us give up to them.

I don't depend on them for my job, thank Heaven! but those who do, and whose lives must be about as happy as if they had a cinder in their eye all the time keep on voting the Republican and Democratic tickets. (A hard rap at Political Action.) They also laugh like the devil to hear how Bob Jinkins, the walking delegate of the carpenters' union in the next village got kicked out of a building by the boss who thought he was egging them on to ask for more wages. Kicked? Sure he was kicked. Right in the pants. And he had the boss arrested and the magistrate threw the case out o' court; wouldn't even listen to Bob. Ha! Ha! Ha! Whoo-ee! He had a right to be

kicked out. Fellow't do like that. (A hard rap at Direct Action.) As near as I can learn this village is about like all the rest of the country only a little more so.

Now, just as a matter of efficiency, and forgetting that there are such things as justice and pity in the world at all, I don't think it's a good way to do to have a good two-thirds of the population stupid, and ailing and worried, trying to work, and a scant third smart, healthy, and easy in their minds trying not to work. That's evidently not the best way to get results. It ought not so to be. And what ought not to be won't be for very long. There'll have to be a change.

But how profound a change?

Here we have a structure built in 1787, a little old-fashioned then, no plumbing, no gas or electricity, little bits of window-panes, full of rats and —er—other things. The wooden steps are worn through, the plastering is coming off, the roof leaks. The way it is, it isn't fit to live in. What shall we do?

Proposition A: Tack tin over the rat-holes—use corrosive sublimate; put new treads on the stairs; patch the plastering; mend the roof; get in plumbing; wire the place for electricity, and so on, and gradually, don't you see? transform it into a twenty-story steel and concrete building with all modern improvements.

Proposition B: Tear the shack down and build the new building in its place.

Both propositions, as you observe, contemplate the erection of a twenty-story steel and concrete building, but they differ in regard to the immediate demands.

While we stop to gather our mental forces we may as well refresh our minds with the wisdom of the ancients. It was Aristotle, wasn't it? who said: "Profound changes are never sudden, and sudden changes are never profound." Great head, that lad had. A very quotable utterance. I wonder if it's true. Two months ago I passed by a vacant lot in New York City, all solid rock that probably had been just so ever since the Glacial Period. Last week I passed it by, and a cellar had been blasted out, and the steel framework for an apartment hotel was up to the fourth story. Pro-

found changes are never sudden, and sudden changes are never profound.

With hammer and chisel I suppose the cellar could be dug out, and the change, while profound, would not be very sudden. But the change was just as profound when the cellar was blasted out, and if there is anything suddener than blasting I haven't heard of it yet. It's the suddenest thing I know of.

Listen: **Any desired change, whether profound or shallow, can be effected when you are strong enough, and the stronger you are the suddener the change. The slowness does not depend upon the profundity of the change but upon the power of those who want the change.**

How shall we get the power?

The old-fashioned, I might even say, the Romanticist way was by fighting, barricade-fighting, preferably. If that were Proposition B, and the ballot-box were Proposition A, I should decide promptly and stick to A uncompromisingly. I don't know anything about barricade-fighting except what I have read in "Les Miserables," but it doesn't appeal to me. It possesses thrill, I admit, but that's because story-book people do the fighting. Me? I hardly think so. I might bring myself to shoot a soldier, and again I might not. I dislike extremely to kill people; I don't even like to see it done. I'm funny that way, I guess. I once reported a hanging, which is a neat and respectable form of murder, and it made me sick as a dog. I got my copy in first though.

And I don't like to be shot at. It makes me so nervous, you can't imagine. And being hit is ruinous to the clothing. It won't come out. That's if you don't die. If you do, being all over blood is the least of your troubles. But that's not my main objection. If you shoot soldiers you shoot poor devils of wage-workers, and if you blow up stereotypers, the same objection applies. You don't hit the right ones. The capitalists are somewhere else. And if all the capitalists in the world were in front of the barricade or over the dynamite bomb, and not a grease-spot were left of any of them, the agent would still come round for the rent the first of the month, the interest would be due June

1, just the same; the profits would be distributed in quarterly dividends just the same.

As compared with the barricade the ballot-box has all the best of it. It takes up so little of your time. You go into the stand-up confessional, make your X-mark under the Arm and Torch, give your ticket to the gentleman, and it's all over but the shouting. (We haven't begun that on Long Island—not the shouting.) And there you are. Biff! You smack Capitalism right in the face. Take that, you saucy devil!

A week or so later when the Socialist vote is exhumed from the debris of election—we don't get it for anyhow a week, not around these parts—it is really exhilarating. We have increased our vote from 5 to 32 in six years, and all we have to do is to gain 209 more and we'll carry the election. Let's see how long will that be? How do you figure it? Never mind. It'll be "quite some time yet," as they say here. And all during that "quite some time," Jim Priest will be trying to keep his family on \$2 a day. Two-thirds of the village will be starving mentally or physically. Still, a day will come, James Montgomery, when we'll capture the governmental powers of this village, the Trustees, President and all; the School Board, the Board of Health, the Village Clerk, the Tax Collector—Yes, even the dog-catcher. And then—

I had been making a grand talk to my doctor on Socialism, and had got that far, when he said: "And then—"

"Why, we should run the village in the interest of the people—"

"Yes, they all say that," he smiled. "Understand me, I do believe you Socialists would give us a better government than we have now because I think you're sincere and actuated by high motives. I'm not asking for argument but for information: How would you Socialists administer the village government so that our citizens wouldn't have to winter on potatoes and clams? How would you provide that a workingman would have more than \$2 a day to keep his family on? The village is not organized to produce the means of life but to levy, collect and expend taxes. That's all it can do

legally. It hasn't political machinery for more than that."

"Yes, but," I smiled at him, "while we were capturing the village we should also be capturing the state of New York. And the United States."

I could see he lost interest at once. It was like telling him that all the coal in the country would be burned up—one of these days. It seemed to affect him in the same way. Kind of remote, you understand.

"Yes," he said, "and when you get both houses of Congress, and the President, all of 'em solemnly sworn to protect, preserve and defend the Constitution (which they wouldn't want to have preserved, protected and defended) you would still have the Constitution because you couldn't possibly ever get a vote big enough even to amend it legally. Pack the Supreme Court if you will with Socialist lawyers. If they are good lawyers they will have to decide that any legislation which does not preserve the spirit and intent of what was prescribed one hundred and twenty-five years ago is unconstitutional just the same as if they were reactionary corporation lawyers. On top of that there are tons and tons of previous court decisions that really constitute law and—Well, I've got to be going. I have two confinement cases and five other calls to make. Take those tablets one every four hours. Is that your umbrella or mine? Well, good afternoon."

I've been thinking about what he said. It was not good my saying that I couldn't prophesy, that he had a vote to decide what would be done—all that kind of thing, you know. He just waved it away for the subterfuge he knew and I knew it was. Our diagnosis of the country's predicament is sound; our conception of what it ought to be cannot be excelled, but unless we can give a pretty accurate description of how we propose to treat the case it may be that we won't be called in.

If Proposition A be Political Action and Proposition B be Direct Action, it is evident that A has larger popularity from the start, more prejudices in its favor. A very great many people really

believe that this present government is one by majority. If the majority doesn't rule they think it is because we don't go to the primaries, and do not watch the politicians close enough; if you'd keep your eye on the cat all the time she'd never eat the canary. They don't seem to have read or to remember what Madison, the Father of the Constitution, said about its guarding "the minority who are placed above indigence from the agrarian attempts of the ever-increasing class—the great majority—who labor under all the hardships of life and secretly sigh for a more equal distribution of its blessings."

A very great many people also really believe that the present form of government is a positive thing, whereas it is essentially negative. It doesn't say: "You must do so and so," and make you do it. It says: "If you don't do so and so, I will punish you with fines or imprisonment." Suppose you don't. Then if the government should happen to catch you at it, and should happen to want to prosecute you, and did not forget to dot all the i's in the indictment, and its lawyers were on the level, and nobody tampered with the jury, and your lawyers weren't very smart, you would be found guilty and sentenced, and then you'd appeal the case for as long a time as your money lasted. That's supposing you're so scared of going to jail that you're all over goose-flesh about it. But supposing you aren't. The Constitution says that the right of free speech shall never be abridged. The city council says that I. W. W. and Socialist speakers shall not talk in the streets. If they do, they go to jail. As fast as a speaker gets upon the soap-box he's arrested, till, finally, the jail is chock-a-block, and still they come; till jail-room has to be hired, and the poor tax-payers feel the pin stick them right where they live. They have to let the speakers go, and permit them to speak whenever they like. What sort of a school is it where the bad boys burst out laughing while the teacher is whaling them as hard as she can lay it on? The Constitution is nothing; the city ordinance is nothing. They have no cinch, no compelling power.

Where shall the cinch be found?

A law was passed in the state of New York forbidding employers to work bakers longer than ten hours a day. The law was black marks on white paper and no more. The employers went right on working the bakers more than ten hours a day. Then the United States Supreme Court in all its might, majesty, dominion and power declared this act was unconstitutional. And that solemn decision was black marks on white paper and no more. For the bakers worked no longer than ten hours a day. They had organized in the meantime. The real law-making power resided not in the legislature nor yet in the Supreme Court, but in the bakers.

The compelling power, the cinch, seems to be here or hereabouts.

Artemas Ward once wrote a burlesque sensational novel one chapter of which began thus: "It was midnight and darkness brooded over the city. The prisoner, in his lonely dungeon cell stood gazing moodily. For seventeen long years he had not tasted food nor drink. Suddenly a thought struck him! He opened the winder and jumped out!"

What was burlesque with Artemas Ward is plain sober fact about the working-class. Prisoners on a slim diet, all they have to do is to open the winder and jump out.

They are working people, and all of present day government, political and industrial depends upon their staying working people. Upon this rock Capitalism is founded. Indeed, what is Capitalism but the habit working people have of accepting less wages than what they earn? Let them stop being working people temporarily, not one at a time but all together, and the whole world tips over. No exterior power can make the working people work unless they want to work. Imprison them? The jails aren't big enough, and there's their keep to be provided. Starve 'em? They're starving now. It's like Mr. Man thinking to punish Brer Rabbit by flinging him into the briar-patch. "Baun an' bred in de briar-patch!" squalled Brer Rabbit when Mr. Man flung him there.

The Co-operative Commonwealth is an arrangement whereby the working-peo-

ple, owing nothing but possessing the implements of production, having them in their hands this minute exchange their time and trouble with each other on an even-Stephen basis. It has no point in common, that I can perceive, with the present political government. It is not a confederacy of territory but a confederacy of industry. Modern industry cuts across all political boundaries.

Political Action, I do not doubt, will play its preparatory part to the Co-operative Commonwealth. It will write upon the statute books such salutary laws as Old Age Pensions, Employers' Liability, The Eight-Hour Day—excellent laws, well-written laws, laws as carefully got up as the Sherman law abolishing the trusts. It won't be able to abolish lawyers, though, who will drive log-teams through the enactments.

* * * * *

You think I'm all for Proposition B. That's only one leg. I'm astraddle of the fence. I'm for Proposition A, too. I'm going to vote my X-mark under the Arm and Torch until they put me on the cooling-board.

It is true that the feudal system, which maintained itself by the sword, was defeated by the sword. And it is my best guess that the capitalist system which maintains itself by the ballot will perish by the ballot. But also, mark this: Feudalism perished because it couldn't get the money. The capitalists have the money, but Capitalism will perish because it cannot get Labor.

And how long will Jim Priest have to support his family on \$2 a day if he waits for labor to unite on the industrial field? Well, in view of all the scrapping that goes on, jurisdictional fights and dual unions, and all that, I think the best thing we can do is to take the gloomy view. There's no sense in being so confoundedly hopeful all the time, anyhow.

View the matter calmly and dispassionately as a person should who sees his neighbors and friends getting the worst of it. The powers that be will keep on raising the prices of things that Jim Priest has to buy to live on until his \$2 will look like 30 cents used to. The powers that be will tell Jim

that they're sorry but they don't see how they can pay him any more and still do their duty by the stockholders. He'll stand for it without a murmur. And presently he and his family will lie down and die, quietly and unostentatiously so as not to annoy the summer people or give the place a bad name and so depreciate the price of real estate. All the people in this Long Island village of whom Jim Priest is a type will do the same. That's how we're constituted.

You see out here we haven't any unions because there aren't enough men in any one craft to organize a union. Nobody's ever going to tell Jim Priest that there is such a thing as an industrial union that will take

in anybody that works for wages. He'll never read the newspapers or the magazines or ever hear from anybody that the workers of the world are learning to unite, and discovering that when they do unite, skilled artisan and pick-and-shovel man together, they have the world by the tail on the down swing. All that is going to be kept a deep, dark secret from him.

No. There's no hope. Not a glimmer. The workingmen in this part of the country will never unite on the industrial field; will never unite on the political field. Laws, I don't know what's going to become of us!

Isn't it a pity though, that other people should be so stupid?

Take Heart

BY

EDWIN BRENHOLTZ

Take heart, take heart, the winter's past;
High is the sun of comradeship;
Across the earth our hands, at last,
Encircling, never slip.

The masters laugh; the masters sneer;
"They won't together stand."
But in their breath the note of fear,
For we're of every land.

The masters spy; the masters plan;
The masters laugh again;
*We'll arm with death the downmost man
And state his orders plain.*

The masters plan; the masters spy;
And they are trembling now,
For May has come with its reply—
NO MORE SHALL LABOR BOW!

Take heart, take heart, O toiling host,
Let the masters order, *Slay!*

They shall not drink their usual toast
In blood *that* first of May.

Take heart. The time tempestuous comes.
The time—but cowards shirk;
They'll trumpet "*Shoot,*" and sound the drums,
And thunder, "*Die or work!*"

Take heart, and strike; and stand as *one*,
And hurl their thunder back.
Before the skirmish is begun
They're whipped—if *none* be slack.

Take heart, take heart. Uncounted hearts
Are thrilling just as yours;
Rejoicing when this curse departs,
And shamed while it endures.

Take heart, and act—on *you* they wait;
On *you* the words depend.
Beware, beware, that not too late
Is uttered STOP, and, END.



VERDICT—NOT GUILTY

Report of National Investigating Committee

To the Comrades of the Socialist Party of America:

We, Clyde A. Berry of Joplin, Missouri, and Stephen M. Reynolds of Terre Haute, Indiana, make to you the following report:

1st. On Nov. 23, 1911, Comrade Robert Hunter submitted to the National Executive Committee the following motion:

"I move that we request the National Committee to elect a committee of three to investigate and report the facts upon the following subjects:

"(1) Is the Chas. H. Kerr Co. a co-operative enterprise?"

"(2) To what extent are the shares of that company owned by party members and party locals?"

"(3) To what extent has that company a monopoly of the literature of Socialism?"

"(4) If the company is a co-operative, in what manner if any can the stockholders control and manage their property democratically?"

2nd. By request of the National Executive Committee, made Dec. 7, 1911, this motion was submitted to the National Committee as Motion No. 10.

MOTION NO. 10.

"That we request the National Committee to elect a committee of three to investigate and report the facts upon the following subjects:

"(1) Is the Chas. H. Kerr Co. a co-operative enterprise?"

"(2) To what extent are the shares of that company owned by party members and party locals?"

"(3) To what extent has that company a monopoly of the literature of Socialism?"

"(4) If the company is a co-operative, in what manner if any can the stockholders control and manage their property democratically?"

The vote will close December 28. Please use the enclosed voting card.

3rd. This motion was carried by a vote of 34 to 22 and by National Party referendum this committee was chosen:

W. R. Gaylord of Wisconsin.

Clyde A. Berry of Missouri.

Stephen M. Reynolds of Indiana.

4th. The committee voted to meet at Chicago, 10 a. m. May 3rd, 1912. Comrade Gaylord notified the national secretary that he would not be able to attend on account

of his meeting with the legislative committee of Wisconsin.

5th. At 10 a. m. May 3rd we, Comrades Berry and Reynolds, met at the office of C. H. Kerr & Company and personally examined the books of the said company, all of which were furnished to us by the company.

6th. We find that the C. H. Kerr Co. had been doing business from 1886 to 1893 as a partnership, that in 1893 the company was organized under the laws of Illinois with a capital stock of \$10,000, that the business of the company was owned practically by Charles H. Kerr individually, that about \$9,500 of the \$10,000 was owned by Comrade Kerr when incorporated and the balance by A. U. Hancock, that Comrade Kerr sold this stock and practically all the money was used in getting out books and these books were sold to stockholders at one-half ($\frac{1}{2}$) the retail price, that no other dividend was offered or promised.

7th. That the capital stock was increased, in due compliance with the laws of Illinois, in February, 1904, to \$50,000, and that stock has been sold since that time until now, May 4th, 1912. There are outstanding 3,688 shares of \$10 each. Of these Charles H. Kerr owns 1,137 shares, all strictly accounted for on the books of the company, the ownership accounted for according to business methods. That the other shares are owned by various persons, party locals, state organizations, etc., that the names of the owners are of record in the books of the company, and that there are locals and branches owning 390 shares, 183 shares are owned by Socialist societies and individuals outside of the United States and 1,774 shares are held singly by individuals, about one-half of whom are party members. At the January, 1912, meeting of the stockholders of the 3,697 shares then outstanding, 2,507 shares were represented either in person or by proxy. That at that meeting Charles H. Kerr held personally 1,137 shares and proxies for 1,282 shares. These proxies would seem to indicate that

the holders are not hostile to the ideas of Comrade Kerr so far as the business of the company is concerned.

8th. We find from the books of the company that the statement following, published in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, February, 1912, is true:

RECEIPTS DURING 1911.

Book sales	\$39,463.44
Review subscriptions and sales.....	22,006.03
Review advertising	1,774.28
Donations	33.00

Total

EXPENDITURES DURING 1911.

Manufacture of books.....	\$13,752.48
Manufacture of Review.....	12,232.16
Wages	9,876.28
Postage and expressage.....	9,465.78
Advertising	7,632.43
Review circulation expenses.....	1,386.76
Review articles and photographs....	1,032.16
Authors of books.....	1,903.25
Books purchased	631.53
Rent	1,160.00
Insurance	85.80
Taxes	195.20
Miscellaneous expenses.....	1,483.68
Interest	198.05
Profit	2,241.19

Total

The profits of \$2,241.19, together with \$1,220 received during the year from the sale of stock, were used to pay off a bank loan of \$1,000 and to reduce the loans from stockholders. The financial condition of the publishing house at the end of 1911 is shown by the following table of assets and liabilities:

ASSETS DEC. 31, 1911.

Cash on hand and in bank.....	\$ 367.24
Books, bound and unbound.....	8,308.22
Electrotype plates of books.....	14,258.76
Copyrights	12,831.39
International Socialist Review.....	5,000.00
Accounts receivable	695.95
Office furniture	539.00

Total

LIABILITIES DEC. 31, 1911.

Paid-up capital stock.....	\$36,970.00
Loans from stockholders.....	4,610.79
Accounts payable	419.77

Total

One loan of \$500 has already been paid since the beginning of January, and others will have to be paid in the near future, so that most of the net earnings of the publishing house during 1912 will have to be used in this way. (The loans by stockhold-

ers have been reduced from \$4,610.79 in January, 1912, to \$2,335.67 on May 6th, 1912.)

9th. Your committee requested the national secretary to address letters to publishers in this country asking them to report the amount of Socialist literature sold by them. The national secretary sent such letters to:

Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.
Social Democratic Herald, Milwaukee.
Political Action, Milwaukee.
Socialist Literature Co., New York City.
George R. Kirkpatrick, New York City.
Free Press Pub. Co., New Castle, Pa.
W. F. Ries, Toledo, Ohio.
The Clarion Pub. Co., Newark, N. J.
National Rip Saw, St. Louis, Mo.
Samuel A. Block, Chicago, Ill.
Intercollegiate Socialist Society, New York.
Wilshire Book Company, New York.

Replies were received from the C. H. Kerr Co. reporting:

1909	\$20,992.05
1910	33,586.89
1911	39,463.44

National Rip Saw reporting:

8 series, 20,000 copies each.....	160,000 copies
Oneal's Book	10,000 copies

Wilshire Publishing Company reporting that they had sold all their Socialist literature to C. H. Kerr & Company and had done very little in handling Socialist literature for last two years.

W. F. Ries sent following for three years last past:

1st year, 1,150,000. Gross sales.....	23,000
2d year, 1,200,000. Gross sales.....	24,000
3rd year, 1,400,000. Gross sales.....	28,000

Socialist Literature Company of New York:

From July, 1908, to July, 1911, sales..	\$16,754.47
Loss on business during 3 years....	3,733.98

No replies were made by any others to whom inquiries were sent.

Your committee further examined the books of the Kerr Co. and asked for information as to years prior to 1912 and also as to policy of selecting books for publication and received the following reply:

	Review	Books
Receipts for 1901.....	\$ 3,352.51	\$ 7,982.56
Receipts for 1907.....	2,533.26	22,174.31
Receipts for 1910.....	14,662.53	33,586.89
Receipts for 1911.....	23,780.31	39,463.44
Receipts for Jan., Feb. and March, 1912.....	6,783.35	15,050.67

In the selection of books for publication, and in the editorial conduct of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, it is the aim of this publishing house to stand on the

political field for revolutionary Socialism with "No Compromise; No Political Trading," and on the industrial field to support Revolutionary Unionism, and more specifically to encourage all unions whose ultimate aims are identical with the aims of International Socialism.

The Review subscriptions to individual addresses, 17,186. Sold monthly in bundles, 32,000.

Number of employes during 1911, 10 to 15.

Wages paid during 1911, \$9,626.28.

Officers receiving salary, 2.

Charles H. Kerr, \$1,500 per annum.

Mary E. Marcy, \$1,000 per annum.

All books and magazines, cards and leaflets are issued with the Union Label.

Employes have the 8-hour day and when in emergency any of them work overtime, they are paid time and one-half overtime. Employes have Saturday afternoons off, office closing at 1 p. m. After one year's service, employes are given a week's vacation on full pay.

During 1911, \$1,774.28 was paid to writers for Review articles and photographs and \$1,903.25 to authors of books.

SUMMARY.

Replying to Question No. 1 of Motion No. 10, "Is the C. H. Kerr Company a co-operative enterprise?"

The term co-operative has been given many definitions, some very loose.

(a) The Standard Dictionary says: "A co-operative society is a joint stock association for establishing and maintaining a co-operative store or factory or for borrowing and lending money among its members."

(b) A co-operative store is a store established by a co-operative society where merchandise is sold to *members* at or near cost, *profits* being divided among the members in proportion to their holdings of stock.

The C. H. Kerr Company has not paid dividends, has not earned any, until 1911. The company has kept its promise to stockholders in the manner promised, viz., by giving shareholders books at one-half ($\frac{1}{2}$) the retail price.

Questions 2 and 3 of Motion No. 10 have been fully answered by this committee in previous pages hereof.

Question 4. The company is a stock company. It is owned by the shareholders. The shareholders can control and manage the property. The Socialist Party of America has no more control of this publishing house than it has of the other publishing houses devoted exclusively to publishing Socialist books or magazines. The Socialist Party can and does control all publications to a greater or less degree by giving or withholding its individual approval of things published or advocated.

Your committee wants to say that all the books of the C. H. Kerr Company, stock books, minutes of directors and stockholders, ledgers, letters, proxies and the names and residences of shareholders were promptly given to your committee and that we have carefully examined the same and have reported herein the facts as we have found them and we believe that no Socialist publishing house has more open methods of conducting the publishing business than this one. It is not the ideal. It is not owned or controlled by the party. The profits when made belong to the shareholders. Comrade Kerr owns a very large part of the stock, almost one-third ($\frac{1}{3}$). He has the *legal right* to own it *all*.

His ownership has been paid for as the books show. It would be difficult for scattered stockholders to assemble their proxies and take control if they desired to. Evidently they do not desire to, for at the January, 1912, meeting of the stockholders, Comrade Kerr held, as shown, 1,137 shares personally and 1,282 shares by proxy out of 2,507 shares represented and 3,688 shares outstanding. This committee reports that Comrade Robert Hunter became a stockholder in the C. H. Kerr Company on January 25, 1900, that he has been a stockholder ever since, that he now is and that he gave his proxy to Comrade Kerr in writing "good until revoked," that he and any stockholder has the right to attend in person or by proxy stockholders' meetings and to examine the books of the company, that Comrade Hunter could have answered the questions propounded

in Motion No. 10 and have published his findings as fully as now published by this committee.

Your committee believes that in the best interest of the Socialist Party a full report should be made and have intended this report to be such to give full information to the comrades who may have

been confused by the motion itself and the comments made thereon.

We therefore submit the foregoing for your information and consideration.

Fraternally yours,

CLYDE A. BERRY,

STEPHEN M. REYNOLDS.

May 6, 1912.

Platform



of 1912

THE representatives of the Socialist party in National Convention at Indianapolis declare that the capitalist system has outgrown its historical function, and has become utterly incapable of meeting the problems now confronting society. We denounce this outgrown system as incompetent and corrupt and the source of unspeakable misery and suffering to the whole working class.

Under this system the industrial equipment of the nation has passed into the absolute control of a plutocracy which exacts an annual tribute of millions of dollars from the producers. Unafraid of any organized resistance, it stretches out its greedy hands over the still undeveloped resources of the nation—the land, the mines, the forests and the water-powers of every state in the union.

In spite of the multiplication of labor-saving machines and improved methods in industry which cheapen the cost of production, the share of the producers grows ever less, and the prices of all the necessities of life steadily increase. The boasted prosperity of this nation is for the owning class alone. To the rest it means only greater hardship and misery. The high cost of living is felt in every home. Millions of wage-workers have seen the purchasing power of their wages decrease until life has become a desperate battle for mere existence.

Multitudes of unemployed walk the streets of our cities or trudge from state to state awaiting the will of the masters to move the wheels of industry.

The farmers in every state are plundered by the increasing prices exacted for tools and machinery and by extortionate rents, freight rates and storage charges.

Capitalist concentration is mercilessly crushing the class of small business men and driving its members into the ranks of propertyless wage-workers. The overwhelming majority of the people of America are being forced under a yoke of bondage by this soulless industrial despotism.

It is this capitalist system that is responsible for the increasing burden of armaments, the poverty, slums, child labor, most of the insanity, crime and prostitution, and much of the disease that afflicts mankind.

Under this system the working class is exposed to poisonous conditions, to frightful and needless perils to life and limb, is walled around with court decisions, injunctions and unjust laws, and is preyed upon incessantly for the benefit of the controlling oligarchy of wealth. Under it also, the children of the working class are doomed to ignorance, drudging toil and darkened lives.

In the face of these evils, so manifest that all thoughtful observers are appalled at them, the legislative representatives of the Republican and Democratic and all reform parties remain the faithful servants of the oppressors. Measures designed to secure to the wage earners of this nation as humane and just treatment as is already enjoyed by the wage earners of all other civilized nations have been smothered in committee without debate, and laws ostensibly designed to bring relief to the farmers and general consumers are juggled and transformed into instruments for the exaction of further tribute. The growing unrest under oppression has driven these two old parties to the enactment of a variety of regulative measures, none of which has limited in any appreciable degree the power of the plutocracy, and some of which have been perverted into means for increasing that power. Anti-trust laws, railroad restrictions and refutations, with the prosecutions, indictments and investigations based upon such legislation, have proved to be utterly futile and ridiculous.

Nor has this plutocracy been seriously restrained or even threatened by any Republican or Democratic executive. It has continued to grow in power and insolence alike under the administrations of Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft.

In addition to this legislative juggling and this executive connivance, the courts of America have sanctioned and strengthened the hold of this plutocracy as the Dred Scott and other decisions strengthened the slave-power before the civil war.

We declare, therefore, that the longer sufferance of these conditions is impossible, and we purpose to end them all. We declare them to be the product of the present system in which industry is carried on for private greed, instead of for the welfare of society. We declare, furthermore, that for these evils there will be and can be no remedy and no substantial relief except through Socialism, under which industry will be carried on for the common good and every worker receive the full social value of the wealth he creates.

Society is divided into warring groups and classes, based upon material interests. Fundamentally, this struggle is a conflict between the two main classes, one of which, the capitalist class, owns the means of production, and the other, the working class, must use these means of production on terms dictated by the owners.

The capitalist class, though few in numbers, absolutely controls the government—legislative, executive and judicial. This class owns the machinery of gathering and disseminating news through its organized press. It subsidizes seats of learning—the colleges and schools—and even religious

and moral agencies. It has also the added prestige which established customs give to any order of society, right or wrong.

The working class, which includes all those who are forced to work for a living, whether by hand or brain, in shop, mine or on the soil, vastly outnumber the capitalist class. Lacking effective organization and class solidarity, this class is unable to enforce its will. Given such class solidarity and effective organization, the workers will have the power to make all laws and control all industry in their own interest.

All political parties are the expression of economic class interests. All other parties than the Socialist party represent one or another group of the ruling capitalist class. Their political conflicts reflect merely superficial rivalries between competing capitalist groups. However they result, these conflicts have no issue of real value to the workers. Whether the Democrats or Republicans win politically, it is the capitalist class that is victorious economically.

The Socialist party is the political expression of the economic interests of the workers. Its defeats have been their defeats and its victories their victories. It is a party founded on the science and laws of social development. It proposes that, since all social necessities today are socially produced, the means of their production and distribution shall be socially owned and democratically controlled.

In the face of the economic and political aggressions of the capitalist class the only reliance left the workers is that of their economic organizations and their political power. By the intelligent and class-conscious use of these, they may resist successfully the capitalist class, break the fetters of wage-slavery, and fit themselves for the future society, which is to displace the capitalist system. The Socialist party appreciates the full significance of class organization and urges the wage earners, the working farmers and all other useful workers everywhere to organize for economic and political action, and we pledge ourselves to support the toilers of the fields as well as those in the shops, factories and mines of the nation in their struggles for economic justice.

In the defeat or victory of the working class party in this new struggle for freedom lies the defeat or triumph of the common people of all economic groups, as well as the failure or the triumph of popular government. Thus the Socialist party is the party of the present day revolution, which marks the transition from economic individualism to socialism, from wage slavery to free co-operation, from capitalist oligarchy to industrial democracy.

WORKING PROGRAM.

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, the co-operative commonwealth, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP.

1. The collective ownership and democratic management of railroads, wire and wireless telegraphs and telephones, express services, steamboat lines and all other social means of transportation and communication and of all large-scale industries.
2. The immediate acquirement by the municipalities, the states or the federal government of all grain elevators, stock yards, storage warehouses, and other distributing agencies, in order to reduce the present extortionate cost of living.
3. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.
4. The further conservation and development of natural resources for the use and benefit of all the people:
 - (a) By scientific forestation and timber protection.

- (b) By the reclamation of arid and swamp tracts.
 - (c) By the storage of flood waters and the utilization of water power.
 - (d) By the stoppage of the present extravagant waste of the soil and of the products of mines and oil wells.
 - (e) By the development of highway and waterway systems.
5. The collective ownership of land wherever practicable, and in cases where such ownership is impracticable, the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation
6. The collective ownership and democratic management of the banking and currency system.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

The immediate government relief of the unemployed by the extension of all useful public works. All persons employed on such works to be engaged directly by the government under a workday of not more than eight hours and at not less than the prevailing union wages. The government also to establish employment bureaus; to loan money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works, and to take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

INDUSTRIAL DEMANDS.

The conservation of human resources, particularly of the lives and well-being of the workers and their families:

1. By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.
2. By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.
3. By securing a more effective inspection of workshops, factories and mines.
4. By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age
5. By the co-operative organization of industries in federal penitentiaries and workshops for the benefit of convicts and their dependents.
6. By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories and mines.
7. By abolishing the profit system in government work, and substituting either the direct hire of labor or the awarding of contracts to co-operative groups of workers.
8. By establishing minimum wage scales.
9. By abolishing official charity and substituting a non-contributory system of old-age pensions, a general system of insurance by the State of all its members against unemployment and invalidism and a system of compulsory insurance by employers of their workers, without cost to the latter, against industrial diseases, accidents and death.

POLITICAL DEMANDS.

1. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.
2. The adoption of a graduated income tax, the increase of the rates of the present corporation tax and the extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the value of the estate and to nearness of kin—the proceeds of these taxes to be employed in the socialization of industry.
3. The abolition of the monopoly ownership of patents and the substitution of collective ownership, with direct rewards to inventors by premiums or royalties.
4. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.
5. The adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall and of proportional representation, nationally as well as locally.
6. The abolition of the Senate and the veto power of the President.
7. The election of the President and the Vice-President by direct vote of the people.
8. The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of the legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed only by act of Congress or by a referendum vote of the whole people.
9. The abolition of the present restrictions upon the amendment of the constitution, so that that instrument may be made amendable by a majority of the voters in a majority of the States.
10. The granting of the rights of suffrage in the District of Columbia with representation in Congress and a democratic form of municipal government for purely local affairs.
11. The extension of democratic government to all United States territory.

12. The enactment of further measures for general education and particularly for vocational education in useful pursuits. The Bureau of Education to be made a Department.

13. The enactment of further measures for the conservation of health. The creation of an independent Bureau of Health, with such restrictions as will secure full liberty for all schools of practice.

14. The separation of the present Bureau of Labor from the Department of Commerce and Labor and its elevation to the rank of a department.

15. Abolition of all federal district courts and the United States circuit courts of appeals. State courts to have jurisdiction in all cases arising between citizens of the several states and foreign corporations. The election of all judges for short terms.

16. The immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions.

17. The free administration of justice.

18. The calling of a convention for the revision of the constitution of the United States.

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.

WALL STREET AND RAILROAD WAGES

BY

JOHN D.

THE wage dispute between the Eastern railroads and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, which began with a conference in New York City on March 25, has developed several points of grave interests to Wall street. When the managers refused the demands of the engineers for high pay, they declared with general reference to the world-wide demands of labor for increased wages and with regard to the position into which the roads are rapidly drifting, that "this headlong movement towards financial disaster cannot proceed unchecked." The commission has gone on record very strongly to the effect that the roads cannot at this time increase wages without putting up freight rates, since their capitalizations are so large and waterlogged.

Bankers point out the fact that in 1907 wages were increased and again in 1910, and that the advance now put forth will call for an increase in wages averaging 18.6 per cent. They also call attention to the fact that in other demands for higher wages the workers have given as a rea-

son the increased cost of commodities, etc. But not so in the case of the engineers. They raise a new point—that of increased responsibility. That is that they today are hauling bigger cars, tonnage largest in history of the roads and that the number of employees has been reduced during the past year by many thousands, placing additional burdens on those employed.

Conditions, under which the transportation systems have been operating since the 1907 panic, show that the roads if confronted with a repetition of demands for wages increases every season as now seems to be the case, stockholders, bondholders and officials generally will have to take definite action to offset the burdens already imposed by compliance with these demands. A president of one of the 50 roads involved in the present dispute said that to increase engineers' wages an average of 18 per cent as demanded by the Brotherhood, would be equivalent to adding \$5,000,000 to the road's operating expenses.

This is equal to annual interest rate of

4 per cent on a capital of \$625,000,000. The roads cannot stand this at the present time without being either able to increase freight tariffs or greatly reduce their operating force and thus add to the labors of those who retain their jobs. Now, the roads, should they increase the wage-scale without adding to freight charges, would cause a panic among the bondholders since the roads would run down in equipment, roadbed, etc., and thus weaken the property upon which the bonds are a first mortgage lien.

Last year, according to the Interstate Commerce Commission figures, the roads as a whole were unable to effect any economy sufficient to offset the increase in expenses, which amounted to \$46,209,859, despite a slump in the number of employees of 8,197 during the same period.

Bankruptcy is bound to follow an increase in wages, all along the line, provided, of course, rates are not advanced. Should that take place, receiverships will be avoided, but upon no other basis.

Government ownership will loom up strong in the event of the engineers win-

ning their new wage scale, and the magnates are anxious to foist, if possible, upon the government at their valuation the various over-capitalized systems which they now control. Besides this excuse for handing over to the people the railroads of the country, they find that it is now impossible to raise funds for the development of the properties on less than a 5 to 5½ per cent basis, where previous to the 1907 crisis, 4 to 4½ per cent was the prevailing figures. The higher rate is now serious to the roads since the new bond issues run but from 3 to 5 years, which is in itself a revolution in railroad financing, when the fact is taken into consideration that 20 years ago, all issues ran from 99 to 500 years before maturing. Wall Street is convinced that as at present constituted, it is impossible to meet the demands of the engineers without bankrupting scores of roads, provided they are denied the privilege of increasing freight tariffs. The situation is being watched very closely by financiers, who see in it one of the most important moves made to date, by a fraction of the working class to cut into their profits by increasing operating expenses.

SCAB PRODUCTS ADVERTISED BY THE UNION LABEL

BY

F. L. WALSER

CRAFT unionism is responsible for the closed shop so-called and the union label, which, so we are told by the advocates of this peculiar sort of unionism, guarantees fair wages and reasonable working conditions. "Buy only union made goods" and "Boycott the Scab product" is the battle cry.

But has it ever occurred to you that the union label may protect and advertise a scab product? A scab product at least in part.

For several years the International Typographical Union conducted a vigor-

ous boycott against the Butterick patterns. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent and the support of organized labor all over the country was enlisted in the attempt to bring the antagonist to terms and force the firm to sign an agreement with the union. There is a great demand for patterns and, of course, we had to caution our wives and sisters against buying the "Butterick," "New Idea," "May Manton," "Standard," and others, all being on the unfair list. A gloomy outlook for our housewives who cannot order their wearing apparel from

Paris or some swell Fifth Avenue shop, but whom necessity compels to do their own sewing. But they were not to be left in the lurch. Craft unionism does not confine its activity to "punishing its enemy," it also "rewards its friends" and in pursuing this policy the International Typographical Union in circulars and cards which were sent broadcast to the friends and sympathizers of organized labor all over the country by the millions warned against buying the "Butterick" and others and urged to buy the strictly union made McCall Pattern.

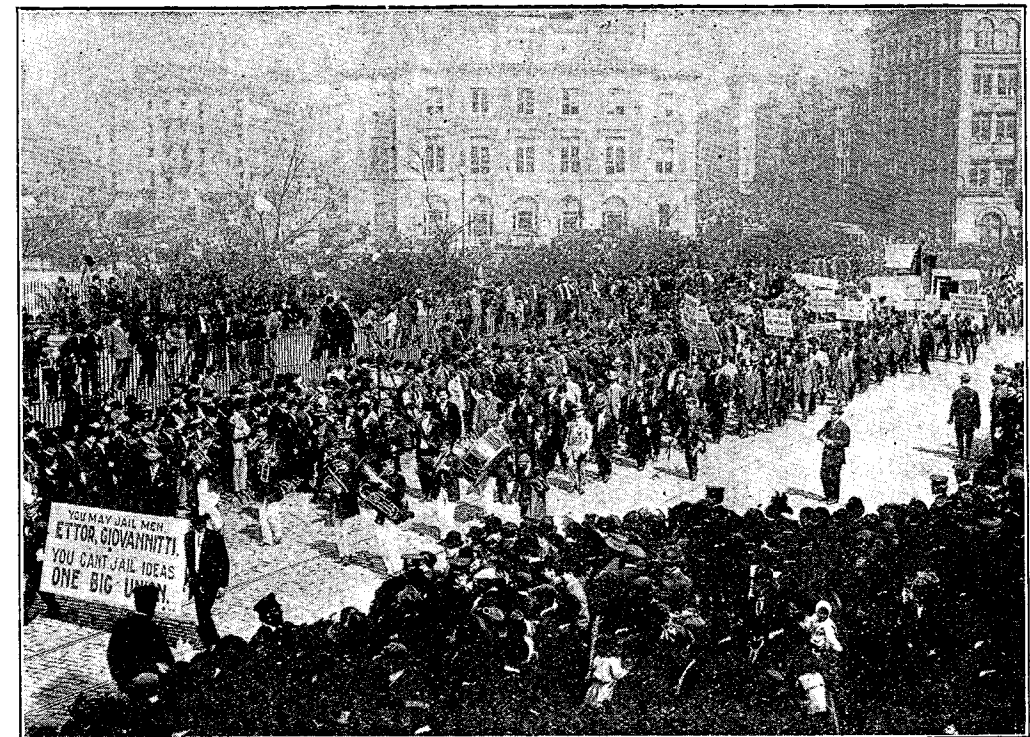
But now comes another story. In their New York plant McCall's employ about 450 men and women in the clerical and shipping departments or more than thrice the number employed in the mechanical department. The average wage paid in the clerical department is about \$8.00 per week with a system of fines for "being late," "throwing paper on the floor," and the like.

An expert bookkeeper with whom I became acquainted some time ago and who is now working for McCall's at the munificent salary of \$8.00 per week conceived

the idea of organizing the workers in the clerical and shipping departments. Before making any attempts in that direction he approached some of the printers to find out what assistance he might expect from their side. But they drew up their hands in horror. "Nothing doing!" "We have an agreement with the firm and we can't break our contract." And the printers continue to advertise the strictly union-made McCall pattern while the poor working slaves in the clerical and shipping department of that "closed shop" continue to work for starvation wages.

Do you want a more striking example of the inefficiency and injustice of craft unionism and its supposedly strongest weapon the boycott? The weakness of the boycott lies in the fact that while it injures the individual capitalist it does the capitalist system absolutely no harm. It injures one capitalist by helping another. What "Butterick's" and others lost, McCall's, no more scrupulous in their dealings with labor, won.

Craft unionism is indeed a crime against the working class.



MAY DAY PARADE, NEW YORK CITY.



GIOVANITTI.

ETTOR

HAYWOOD.

EDITORIAL

A Plot to Murder Wage-Workers. Our readers already know that Ettor and Giovannitti, the I. W. W. organizers who directed the Lawrence strike in its earlier stages, were thrown into jail on charge of conspiracy to murder. At the time this seemed merely a move to cripple the strike, and it was expected that when work was resumed at the mills they would be released. Now, however, it seems that a desperate effort will be made to pack a jury with tools of the mill owners and send our comrades to the electric chair. No one claims that they had any part in the actual killing of any one. The victim was a woman striker, and the shot was fired by a policeman, as is fully explained in the *New York Call* of May 10. The real question is whether the prisoners were inciting the strikers to violence, and on this point there is an overwhelming array of testimony in the negative. The *REVIEW* had a representative on the scene all through the closing days of the strike, and from his personal knowledge we can say that the capitalists and police were eager to have the strikers resort to force, and in many ways did all they could to provoke violence. The strike committee on the other hand realized that any resort to force would give the police and the soldiers the pretext they were looking for to slaughter hundreds of strikers. Consequently they maintained such discipline and restraint among the strikers that the pretext never came, and finally the strike was won. Now in revenge, the jackals of the mill owners are seeking to murder Ettor and Giovannitti. Their trial has been postponed to the August term of court. Money for their defense is urgently needed. Send it direct to William Yates, Treas., 430 Bay State Building, Lawrence, Mass.

A History-Making Convention. The Socialist convention held at Indianapolis May 12 to 18 marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of organized Socialism in America. During the last four years the working class of the

United States has made marvelous advance in its sense of solidarity, in its revolutionary spirit, and in its fighting tactics, and the convention was a mirror of this advance on the economic field. The self-appointed leaders were on hand as before, they took themselves as seriously as ever, but with a single exception on which we shall comment later they failed utterly in controlling the action of the convention. The alliance of professional men, small capitalists and craft union officials which hitherto has been somewhat successful in manipulating conventions, has been hard hit. The working class is coming into control of the party, as it must soon come into control of the nation.

Two factors were decisive in bringing about this revolution within the party. First and greatest was the irresistible march of the Machine Process in the shops where the wage-workers earn their living. Day by day for four years the workers have experienced painful object lessons of the futility of the reactionary craft unions in the fight against organized capital. Slowly the sentiment for revolutionary unionism has crystallized until the would-be leaders of the Socialist party realized that it would be suicidal for them to antagonize it openly. So their representatives on the committee to which this subject was referred framed a declaration which, without using the phrase **Industrial Unionism**, conceded the whole principle for which the friends of the *REVIEW* have been contending. In this their object was not harmony but a fight. They thought our friends would contend to the last ditch for a mere phrase, thus losing the support of the rank and file. But they were beautifully disappointed. Tom Hickey, Tom Lewis and Tom Clifford, the three revolutionary members of the committee, signed the report and supported it on the floor of the convention, and our friends joined in adopting the report unanimously. This self-restraint on the part of the revolutionary delegates was the second decisive

factor in the bringing about the fortunate result.

The Passing of the N. E. C. For years the greatest obstacle to the development of a working class party has been a self-perpetuating oligarchy known as the National Executive Committee. They have been elected by a plurality vote of the entire membership of the party on a general ticket, each member voting for seven. The mass of the membership have usually scattered their votes on a multitude of local candidates not known away from home, and it has thus been easy for those in office, by utilizing their opportunities for self-advertising, to obtain the plurality of votes needed to keep them in. The inside machine bitterly resented the action of the membership in electing William D. Haywood as one of their august body, and the recent election of Kate Richards O'Hare as international secretary over Morris Hillquit may have shown them the advisability of retiring through the front door rather than through the window. However that may be, the new constitution places the future control of the party organization in the hands of a National Committee to consist of the state secretaries of all the states together with an additional member from each state for every 3,000 members. This committee is to meet annually and is to select an executive committee of five to act under its direction. We believe that these changes are in the direction of real democratic control of the party. The several state organizations will hereafter increase rapidly in importance, and it is through them that the rank and file will make their wishes felt in all matters of party control.

An Appeal to Stupid Prejudice. Article II, Section 6, of the new constitution submitted to the Socialist party membership by the late convention is a blemish on an otherwise admirable piece of work. It provides:

Any member of the party who opposes political action or advocates sabotage or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation shall be expelled from membership in the party. Political action shall be construed to mean participation in elections for public office and practical legislative and administrative work along the lines of the Socialist party platform.

The words in italic type were added by the would-be leaders in revenge for their signal defeat on the resolution defining the relation of the party to the unions, and the passage of the clause was undoubtedly due to the fact that most of the delegates were wholly unfamiliar with the word "sabotage," and supposed it to mean the same thing as "crime against the person," which was the phrase used in the printed report of the constitution committee. As a matter of fact, the ratification of this clause by the membership would have no effect whatever, since no member of the Socialist party is in the habit of advocating sabotage "as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation." But before we go further, let us define our term. The word is too new for the dictionaries, but it fortunately happens that the Boston Globe, a leading capitalist daily, thought its readers needed enlightenment on this word, and in its editorial columns said (Feb. 23, 1912):

Nor does "sabotage," from the word meaning shoe or boot, and hence "giving the boot," necessarily include violence or force. It may mean only the prevention of work, without involving the destruction of property. If, for instance, work in a factory could not be resumed because a striker had locked the door and thrown away the key, that would be a case of "sabotage." On the other hand, the term is also applied to comparatively mild acts which cause financial loss to employers. But sabotage and violence are not synonymous.

A separate referendum will be taken on this clause of the constitution, and the result of this vote will merely be a rather interesting test of the extent to which the education of the membership has progressed. The phrase "sabotage and other methods of violence" is neither more nor less intelligent than, for example, "overalls and other weapons." If any party member wishes to go on record as an ignoramus, he can gratify his ambition very readily by voting for the adoption of the clause. Meanwhile our "leaders" will have to answer to their dear friends, Gompers, Mitchell, Tobin and the rest, for the fact that they are giving an immense amount of free advertising to the tactics known as sabotage. These tactics are not "advocated" as a matter of theory; they are not suggested by any

one as a weapon for the "emancipation of the working class," but they are as a matter of fact being practised in a quiet way as a response to the capitalistic tactics of "scientific management." It is safe to say that this practise will not be diminished by anything the Socialist party may say or do. Our traditional policy in the matter has just been admirably reaffirmed

by the convention in these words:

The party has neither the right nor the desire to interfere in any controversies which may exist within the labor union movement over questions of form of organization or technical methods of action in the industrial struggle, but trusts to the labor organizations themselves to solve these questions.

Why not let it go at that, and why make ourselves ridiculous?

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

Russia—Socialist Reorganization.—In January there took place in Russia a conference of a number of local Socialist organizations. The result was an attempt to reorganize the national Socialist Democratic Party. The International Socialist Bureau has sent out the following account of this conference:

"The past few years have been for the Social Democratic Party of Russia years of confusion and disorganization. For three years the party has found itself unable to call a congress, and during the past two years the central committee has been obliged to remain entirely inactive. The party continued to exist, but only in the form of individual groups, which, because of the lack of a central committee, carried on their work separately in the larger cities.

"For some time, under the influence of the re-awakening of the Russian proletariat, the party has been getting on a solid basis again, and just recently it has been possible to call a party conference, a thing which has not occurred since 1908, at which the organization of both capitals, of the northwest and southern regions, of the Caucasus and of the industrial region of the center were all represented. Twenty organizations allied themselves with the committee which called this conference, i. e., almost all of the organizations which exist at the present moment in Russia.

"In the course of its twenty-three sessions the conference investigated and discussed all the questions on its program, some of which were of the utmost

importance. The situation and tactics of the party were given a thorough analysis, an analysis the results of which agree exactly with those reached by the congress of 1908 and the last general meeting of the central committee, held in 1890. Especial attention was given to the approaching elections to the Duma, and a resolution was adopted in which the tactics to be adopted by the party are outlined in detail. The problems of famine, workingmen's insurance, relations to labor unions and strikes, etc., were also discussed and such solutions as were possible were offered.

"The conference investigated also the question of the so-called "liquidators." The representatives of this tendency in the movement deny the existence of an illegal party, maintain that the party has in reality been disbanded, brand the notion of reorganizing it as reactionary utopianism and affirm that the party can come into existence again only when it is possible for it to have a legal form. Nevertheless, this wing of the movement, which has separated itself from the illegal party, has not thus far been able to found a legal one. The conference made it clear that the party has been fighting the tendency of the "liquidators" for four years, that the congress of 1908 and the conference of the central committee in 1910 declared their opposition to them, and that in spite of all efforts that have been made against them they continue to conspire against the party and attack it in the legal press.

"Finally the conference elected a cen-

tral committee and an editorial staff for the Social Democrat. In addition, action was taken with regard to Russian Socialists living in foreign countries. It was declared that since there are in foreign lands many groups of persons more or less socialistic groups, which are necessarily disconnected from the Russian proletariat and therefore entirely without responsibility, the conference draws attention to the fact that these groups can not in any way represent the Social Democratic Party, that the party cannot be responsible for such groups or undertake to protect them, and that anyone seeking relations with the party should do so through the central committee."

This statement of the present condition of the movement in Russia has been attacked by various groups of expatriated Russians. It is said that the January conference represented only a minority of the membership and so had no right to pretend to reorganize the national party. According to this representation the central committee which has been constituted has no authority and the work of unification must be begun all over again.

The editor of the Social Democrat has answered this attack at length. He states that the reorganized party does not pretend to include the various national Socialist bodies within the borders of Russia, such as the Polish party, the Lettish party, etc. But it does contain, according to his statement, the great majority of the Russian Socialists. The "liquidators" are, of course, ruled out of it. But they are nothing but middle-class Socialists who were unable to endure the persecutions of the reaction which followed the uprising in 1905. They are opposed to a definite Socialist organization, therefore a Socialist party cannot be expected to include them. But leaving them out of the account, it is maintained, the reorganized party contains the main body of Russian Socialists.

Socialists outside of Russia may well suspend judgment so far as the controversial points of this matter are concerned. But one thing is clear, and that is that the revolutionists of Russia are getting on their feet again. This is news

that will be received with joy by the working class of the world.

England—A New Labor Daily.—The labor movement of England has been singularly backward in the development of its press. Germany has more than seventy labor dailies; until within the past month England had not one. This unpleasant fact may be partly due to the fact that English liberal papers know the game of patting labor on the back better than do their continental counterparts. In part it may be due to the formidable financial difficulties in the way of any publishing enterprise in England. The members of the English Socialist and labor movement, moreover, have a very high ideal in matters journalistic. In America Socialists have been content to begin with small dailies, four-page or six-page sheets, carrying a good deal of propaganda matter and boasting only a limited news service. What all sections of the working class in England have in mind is a daily labor paper comparable in size, make-up, news service, and amount of advertising with the greatest capitalist organs. The founding of such a paper involves the raising of a large amount of capital. The Social Democratic Party attempted to raise 10,000 pounds for this purpose, but was unsuccessful. The Independent Labor Party has collected more than 70,000 pounds to be devoted to the establishment of its new organ, The Daily Citizen, but will not begin publication until 150,000 pounds are assured.

Amidst all the talk of papers which might have been or are to be, there appeared almost unannounced the first number of the first English labor daily. It is called the Daily Herald, and it made its initial bow on April 15. Though the fact is not officially proclaimed, it is generally known to have the backing of the London book printers. Here is what the new spokesman for labor promises:

"Bound to no particular section of the movement, the Daily Herald is the mouthpiece of all industrial, political and social activity. While giving general support to the policy and program of the Labor Party in the House of Commons, we do not claim identity with them, and reserve to ourselves the right of criti-

cizing their actions whenever it becomes our duty so to do. The trade unions will find in the Herald a persistent and fearless advocate of their principles—of rare utility also in the dissemination of official views and instructions. Exponents of Socialism and industrial unionism will likewise find opportunity in our columns for the open expression of their views. In short, we stand for absolute freedom in thought and action, unfettered by party ties of any description."

A large contract, truly! Whoever hopes to see a really free, open, above-board, unbiased labor paper, "hopes for what ne'er was, nor is," and probably ne'er will be. In the nature of things it cannot be. Yet the Daily Herald starts well. There is in the first number Socialist and labor news of all sorts. A great mass meeting of the British Socialist Party is well reported. No attempt is made to conceal the fact that it was Tom Mann who received the ovation of the occasion. The movement "for the consolidation of the trade unions in the building industries into one industrial organization" is given adequate space and intelligent interpretation. There is, moreover, no attempt to fraternize with capitalist sheets or to conciliate the great. The tone of the editorials is temperate, yet definitely militant.

This is all good. Nevertheless, I must confess to a doubt or two. It remains to be seen whether one publication can be big enough to cover Tom Mann and J. Ramsay MacDonald. The editor of Justice is more than skeptical. He writes: "We have no faith in 'laborism' in newspapers any more than in politics. It is much too vague and indefinite, as the failure of the Labor Party has proved. We do not believe there is any room for a 'labor' daily. But a Socialist daily paper is another story. Had either of the new ventures adopted a bold Socialist policy, it would have insured a successful future, and would have 'filled the bill.' As it is, we must bide our time—our turn will come later."

Hungary. Socialist Party Congress.—Among the numerous Socialist congress-

es held during the Easter vacation the most interesting was the one which took place in Hungary. Our Hungarian comrades are making a tremendous fight against militarism and in favor of a modern electoral system. Their work of propaganda and organization is carried on under great difficulties. The majority of the workers of Hungary are employed either on the land or in small concerns. There is lacking the feeling of solidarity which comes about naturally after the introduction of industry on a large scale. The rural laborers, moreover, are so poorly paid that it is impossible for them to purchase propaganda literature or pay party dues. Nevertheless, the party has made good progress.

The fight against militarism has for the present been successful. Bills to increase military appropriations have been defeated in the present session of the national parliament. In the fight for a new electoral law the party has been able to tie the government up in a deadlock. This was the situation at the time the party congress met. Naturally enough, the sessions were carried on with a feeling of enthusiasm and sense of responsibility. The government threatens to adjourn parliament and order a new election. If this threat is carried out, it is probable that military force will be used to give the government a majority in the new house. This is the situation actually faced by Hungarian Socialism at the present moment. Amidst tremendous applause the party congress adopted a resolution which concluded with the following sentence: "If the enemies of the popular franchise resort to an adjournment of the chamber of deputies in order that they may be able through the terrorism of money, of brandy, and of bayonets to overwhelm the forces fighting for a new electoral law, then the Social Democratic Party will fight terrorism with terroristic weapons and will, moreover, use all its powers to see that only such deputies are returned as will fight against military appropriations and in favor of a universal, equal and secret right of suffrage."

The Labor Struggle

Misguided Seamen.—Just after the Titanic disaster, 300 firemen on her sister ship, the Olympic, struck rather than put to sea when they found that the life-saving equipment was inadequate. The proper course for them to have observed, of course, was to continue at work and send a petition to Parliament for a redress of grievances, meantime paying a committee for lobbying on the outskirts of the 'Ouse of Lords. By faithful and diligent work among the legislators and the expenditure of much money, they might have secured an adequate safety law about the time most of them were drowned in the next disaster. But instead of that, the poor, misguided things resorted to DIRECT ACTION. They knew the conditions, they knew what the proper safeguards ought to be, so they simply ORGANIZED ON THE JOB and agreed among themselves that they wouldn't work until those safeguards had been provided for. True, they were arrested as soon as they put foot ashore for "mutiny," but the judge considered it "unwise" to hold them as soon as it was discovered that the working class of England was taking an interest in the proceedings. It is time resolutions were being drawn up opposing such "anarchistic" tactics. If the workers start to emancipating themselves in this way, where will our politicians get off?

Striking at the Strike Fund.—One of the favorite theories of the trade union type of mind is that nothing can be done until a large strike fund is gathered to be used in emergencies. There are signs that in the future it will be most useful in supplying something for the capitalists to grab whenever trouble arises. Coal operators in Wyoming recently brought suit for damages against the miners' union and attached the strike fund as a guaranty that there will be something to collect from when the suit is won, as, of

course, it is most likely to be in a capitalist court. The truth is that a big strike fund tends to make a union more cautious than revolutionary. It hates to do anything that will put that nice, fat pile in danger. The 25,000 successful textile workers of Lawrence didn't have a strike fund, did they? But they won, didn't they? But they got plenty of money, didn't they? From whom? From the working class, wasn't it? Very well, then, that's where the money will always come from when there is a real class struggle on.

How to Get Rich.—It was shown before the congressional investigating committee that the Pittsburgh steel worker, whose average wage is 15½ cents an hour, by close economy can save the sum of \$1.50 a year. Now if he can put that in a savings bank, in a billion years he would be as rich as John D. Rockefeller. You see how simple it is. But instead of that, the improvident creature goes out and spends it on automobiles for chorus girls. Where is this wave of extravagance going to lead us, anyway?

Our Partnership.—A preliminary bulletin from the census bureau states that the value of the goods manufactured in this country increased from \$14,793,903,000 in 1904 to \$20,672,052,000 in 1909, or about 45% increase. If it is true that capital and labor are partners the number of wage earners should have increased in about the same proportion, but instead we find that these numbered 5,468,383 in 1904 and 6,615,046 in 1909, or about 20% increase. It is stated that this small increase was due to "improvements in methods of manufacturing." In other words, the capitalists are steadily dispensing with human labor by the installation of new machinery. That's why the percentage of men out of work is constantly growing. The remedy is to cut down the working hours.

"Harking Back."—And now let us leave these unpleasant topics for a moment and have a smile with our friend and fellow worker, S. Gompers. In the May *American Federationist* he devotes considerable space to his views on this new and horrid thing, "Syndicalism." He turns aside momentarily to wallop the nasty Socialists, in his usual vein. Judging by the way he quotes from it, Sam is evidently one of the closest readers of the REVIEW, though the tenor of his comments would lead us to believe that he holds it with a pair of tongs. On the subject of Industrial Unionism he solemnly separates himself from the following: "Industrial unionism, so called (for no comprehensive definition has as yet been found to prescribe its boundary lines, or to classify the elements to be contained therein) is a theory, which, if carried to its logical (or better still, illogical) conclusion, is harking back to the primitive battlefield." There you are! Sam has exposed our whole evil purpose. We are going to arm ourselves with bone knives and bows and arrows and thus give battle to the Steel Trust. Gompers here gives us an entirely new interpretation of the history of early days. We always had an idea that our primitive forefathers fought each other in small bands like the trade unions do in jurisdictional rows today, but instead of that, it seems, these battles of the past were fought, for example, between the Textile Workers, industrially organized, and the Industrial Union of Cigar, Stogie and Cigarette Makers. Thus do we read and learn.

Same Old Quarrel.—The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America and the United Garment Workers are now having words over a matter of jurisdiction, the former accusing the latter of organizing a craft that properly belongs to the Journeymen. Here we have the same old quarrel arising out of craft divisions. The garment making trade, besides these two unions, also includes the International Ladies' Garment Workers. Here are three big crafts in the same industry. Thus we see that the A. F. of L. plan of organization not only encourages and upholds dual unionism and triple unionism but multi-

ple unionism. And yet our intellectual guides tell us that we ought not to advocate industrial unionism because that would be dividing the workers! As if they could be divided much worse than they are today, with numerous small crafts each making its own rules and suspicious of the others. These internal fights are bound to continue till a great union of all workers concerned with the making of wearing apparel is formed.

How Did Wall Street Know It?—While Grand Chief Warren S. Stone of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was going around making dark threats of a strike on the eastern railroads, market letters were being sent out by several Wall street firms containing this sentence: "There will be no strike of engineers." Now, how did they know that? Who gave this secret assurance to financial insiders. Reading of Wall Street news at that time showed that many little stock buyers hastily began selling at the threat of a strike, but the big guys merely closed one eye and bought stocks at the low prices thus caused. While we are on the subject, let us take note of the fact that Stone and his committee selected Pat H. Morrissey as the men's "representative" on the arbitration board which is to determine wages for the engineers. This is one of the most humorous tricks that Stone, who is a leading member of the Civic Federation, ever put over, because Morrissey, who is one of the finest specimens of labor skate extant, is president of the "Railway Employes and Investors Association," an organization formed by the railroads themselves. The arbitration board will thus be composed of three men, all acting for the railroads! Of course, some sort of "concession" will be made to the engineers, because they have been too useful to the capitalists in scabbing on other organizations not to get a little something.

Those Ignorant Asiatics.—A force of Hindoos, brought to break the strike in the lumber mills of Aberdeen, Wash., quit work as soon as they learned what the situation was, so what scabbing was

done was performed by Americans. Instead of solemnly resolving against Asiatic immigration, why not send for some more of these poor, ignorant foreigners to teach class consciousness to our aristocratic American workers?

Eight Hours and Prosperity.—The Senate Committee on the eight hour law in government workshops reports as follows: "The evidence gathered and the facts at hand lead us to believe that the approach of a general eight hour day of labor has no blight to cast on the economic prosperity either of the working class or of the nation at large, while it will be certain to contribute greatly to the moral and social elevation of both." This is the same as saying that the capitalist class can afford to concede an eight-hour workday and still make profits,

which proves that there is nothing revolutionary about the eight-hour demand. It is chiefly useful as a means of concentrating the attention of the working class on one particular object, but the demand might be made for four hours just as well as eight.

Organizing the Unskilled.—A new organization is the International Union of Machine Shop and Round House Workers, formed at Denver recently. Its object is to organize the unskilled railroad workers, to whom so little attention has been paid in the past. Its preamble declares that "We assert that the working class, and it alone, can and must achieve its own emancipation. We hold, finally, that an industrial union and the concerted political action of all the wage workers is the only method of attaining this end."

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NEWS AND VIEWS



ELYRIA, OHIO, REDS ENTERTAIN HAYWOOD AT SOCIALIST HEADQUARTERS.

From London. Comrade Toleman of London sends us seven new yearly subs. and writes: "I only wish you could hear the praises of your British comrades of the straight, unadulterated, revolutionary attitude you take up. They are absolutely delighted."

National Secretary Work never a Preacher.

Dear Comrades: In the May number of the REVIEW I notice the following:

"Our National Secretary is an ex-preacher; a union stenographer would do as well." (This was in a communication from Comrade Lindsay Lewis.—Editor.)

I am not an ex-preacher. Please get that straight. I never was a preacher. Furthermore, I am a member in good standing of the Stenographers' and Typists' Union. Please publish this and oblige—JOHN M. WORK.

Approve Haywood.—Just because our Com. Wm. D. Haywood happens to lay some stress on the industrial field, we are told by Local Yuma, Arizona, that he is unfit for the executive committee. We, Local Boise, take exception to this and declare that if Haywood is unfit for the executive committee we had

better disband the Socialist party and tell Carl Marx to turn over in his grave, since by such an act we would proclaim to the world that the bona fide workers were not able to be a directing head. Local Yuma, in the desert of Arizona, seems to have a spirit in its ranks. This spirit seems to be able to go thousands of miles to report the words of a man who, maybe, is little to its liking. If Com. Haywood transgressed the holy word, why doesn't Local New York, in whose territory Com. Haywood is said to have desecrated the Socialist party, we say, why doesn't New York move to recall Com. Haywood? Perhaps Com. Hillquit and others, who are always in New York, have too much influence there, and as they love Com. Haywood the New York local overlooks whatever Com. Haywood says. We rather think that the gods of our party make the faith in New York, but only the rank and file of Yuma, Arizona, believe it. Comrades, we, Local Boise, have had the good fortune to know Com. Haywood at close quarters. We saw him suffer day by day in the damp jail in this city. We saw him heroically withstand the slaughter of bloodthirsty lawyers and all

for our cause. Comrades, we know that Com. Haywood is a true Socialist. His dues are paid in the Socialist party, and above all he never flinches from his duty to the working class, our class. If the referendum proposed by Local Yuma should carry, a smile of pleasure would spread itself over the face of every enemy of Socialism. We, Local Boise, call on all true comrades to snow under the proposed recall and thereby keep Com. Haywood where he was duly elected by a big majority.

MICHELE CIMBALO,
SEWELL H. CHAPMAN,
Local Boise Press Committee.

Industrial Unionism in Australia. The dissemination of Socialist literature has always been to me the very basic principle of a class-conscious and effective working class organization, and I am more than gratified that the Amalgamated Workers' Association of Queensland has now definitely pledged itself to further the object. The organization is undoubtedly the most advanced and militant in Australia, and numerically is second only to the Australia W. Union, which is a sectional Union and covers the whole of Australia, while, though we shall shortly extend to the other Australian states, the "Fighting A. W. A."—as it is generally known—is confined to Queensland. It is quite a new organization comparatively, and its constitution and aim is to embrace every individual and every union in the one organization. As you from your own experience can readily understand, we have the open and veiled hostility of most of the officials of the sectional unions for obvious reasons, but the rank and file are rapidly realizing here the absolute necessity of the one big union. At our last conference this year, a sum of fifty pounds was donated, and a fixed sum of not less than one hundred pounds per annum was granted for the purpose of purchasing Socialist and Unionist literature. I have the honor of being Secretary of the committee appointed to select and purchase such literature and am fully aware of the educational value of it.

You will be pleased to hear also that the Butchers' Union of Queensland has granted money for this same object, through the enthusiastic advocacy of some A. W. A. members amongst them. Comrade Crampton, organizer for the Butchers, is also an A. W. A. comrade, and we shall get literature in conjunction. Shall be sending you an order within a couple of weeks as we want to get moving as soon as possible. Comrade Kunye, from whom we get our REVIEWS, is one of us. You may have heard of Brisbane general strike, which has just concluded. It was simply miraculous that the forty-three sectional unions of Brisbane struck en masse not for more wages or shorter hours, but for a principle and the succoring of a victimized union. The vast majority of these unions remained on strike for five weeks, and despite a vile capitalist press, government and pulpit, the educational value of it to the workers here

has put the movement forward twenty years. The police and specials, armed with rifles, bayonets and so forth, took possession of the meeting places and streets and on a now memorable Black Friday bludgeoned and rode down men, women and children. By the way, the workers throughout Queensland came out on strike for a week in support of their Brisbane comrades, showing one of the finest examples of the oneness of Labor ever seen. Brisbane has indeed made history the past two months, and there was actually no premeditation or organization whatever for such a stupendous fight, until after the strike was declared. This, of course, was deplorable generalship but magnificent courage and enthusiasm. It has put new life into all of us of the old brigade who had almost despaired of the workers in Brisbane. It was the blackest spot in Queensland, but they rose like lions after slumber and astonished both their friends and their foes.

ERNEST H. LANE, President A. W. A.



TOM MANN AND BILL HAYWOOD.

Tom Mann Sentenced.—Tom Mann, the industrial union labor leader who inspired over a million English miners to strike a few months ago, has been sentenced to serve six months in jail for calling upon the troops during the recent coal strike to refuse to shoot down strikers or their sympathizers. Comrade Mann defended himself and asked no mercy of the court. The charge against him

was "inciting to mutiny." The following quotation from Comrade Mann's speech will show how dangerous he was to capital class interests and why severe measures were used against him.

"Men, Comrades and Brothers: You are in the army, so are we. You in the army of destruction; we in the industrial or army of construction. We work at mine, mill, forge, factory, or dock, etc., producing and transporting all the goods, clothing, stuffs, etc., which make it possible for people to live. You are workingmen's sons. When we go on strike to better our lot, which is the lot also of your fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters, you are called upon by your officers to murder us. Don't do it.

"In God's name, where do they come from, these soldiers—from the ranks of the toilers and the homes of the workers. For the most part they are sons squeezed out of a job, not allowed to be able to get a job, not to get food and clothing. They go to the army and become the servants of the capitalists. It is one thing to be working on the battlefield and another thing to be brought into a strike area among the very class from which these soldiers are drawn, sometimes their own relatives struggling, as the miners are now, to obtain a tolerable living wage. For these men, these soldiers, to be ordered to fire and to murder, to fire and to kill, for that is how they have been told how to fire, and then to tell us we dare not and shall not on pain of imprisonment utter our voice, utter a sentiment or dare to address them and urge them not to do so—then if we obey we are indeed cowards and mean things. But we are built of different stuff, and by all the gods and devils I will let the government know that I will not stand it."

We have looked over the English papers in vain but cannot find anywhere one kind word in the capitalist press for Tom Mann. This shows what a valuable fighter he is for the working class.

Friends of Darrow. Comrade Walden of Bonners Ferry, Idaho, sends us a Resolution passed by the Socialist local there from which we quote the following:

"Workingmen, Darrow has spoken for us in the labor crises of the past. Let us speak for him. Let us make haste lest it be said to our everlasting disgrace that we turned away from our friend while the hounds of Otis—Otis whose name suggests nothing to union men but crawling maggots and running sores—lick their frothy chops and go on, unchallenged by the unions but for whose defense Darrow would not now be facing this charge, go on with their very apparent intent to ruin him financially, debar him from practice, humiliate him before the world and break his tired heart."

Looks Forward to It. I take two weekly papers, and one other monthly, but I look forward to receiving the "fighting magazine" more than any of the others. I feel proportionally mad when it is held up for any reason.

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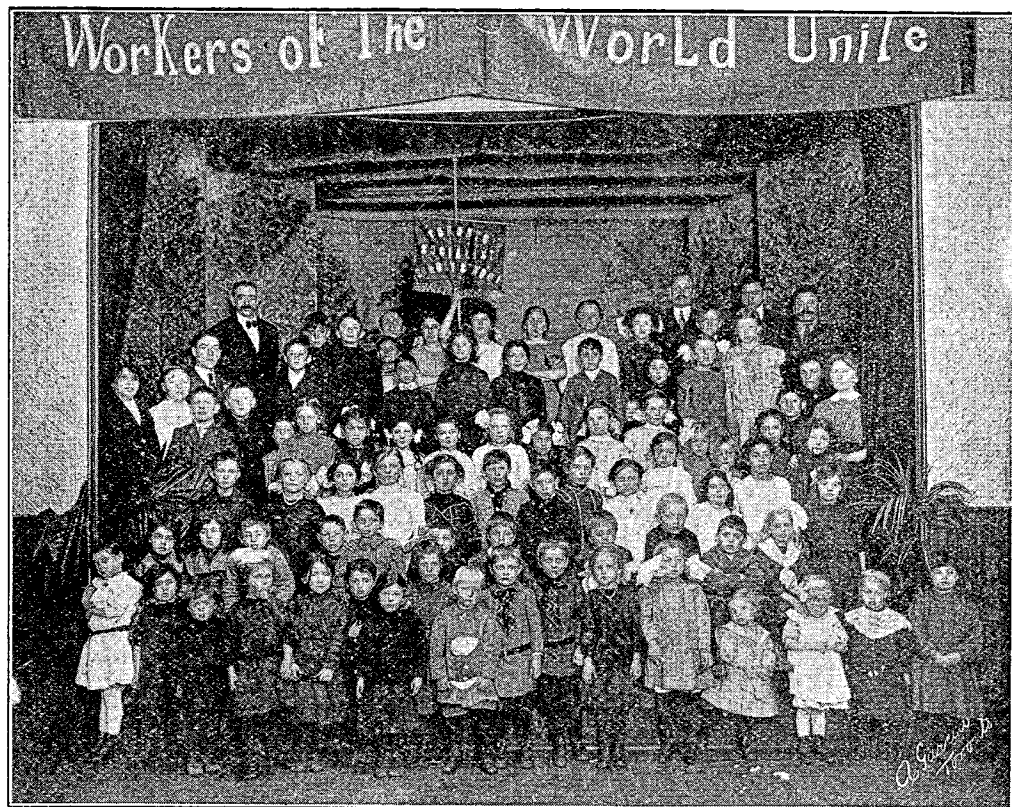
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TORONTO SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOL.

First S. S. S. in Canada. Last September Finnish, Jewish, Italian and English locals in Toronto opened the first Socialist Sunday School in Canada. All sent their children, all attended themselves when they could, all supported it financially, all helped when it was needed. It is inspiring to think over the good times we have had with the children; the love and good will they have given us. Best of all, this kindness is making for brotherliness and comradeship throughout the movement in the city of Toronto. Our first aim in organizing the S. S. S. was to do negative work, counteract the bad influence of the capitalist system of education on the impressionable young minds. At once, we found this meant substitution of positive teaching that would be a firm basis for later lessons on economics. Elementary science was accordingly taught, charts being used to illustrate the Botany lessons and specimens for the Zoology talks, showing evolution by concrete examples and pictures the children could understand. Simple talks on stars and the Nebular Theory led the older children and young people to ask questions. That decided us to set apart a few minutes each Sunday as "Question Time." Economic Determinism has been shown the potent factor in every History lesson, e. g., Social Instincts.

We hope great things will be done by this club, most of whose members stand across the back row of children. They are full of earnestness and are taking an active part already. This picture shows children of six nationalities, officers, teachers and members of the "Board of Education in the S. S. S."

It was a lovely sight to see the respect and love of beautiful motherhood in every child's face. A simplicity marked the service that was full of reverence for the sacred bond between mother and child.

What a lesson to the Capitalist class who point us out as the "destroyers of the home" and speak with bated breath of "The Red Peril."

We Socialists need but to show them our Sunday Schools where children are loved, not patronized, taught and not deceived. We hold naught good or worthy of our respect that does not give mother and child the place of honor.

ELIZABETH NESBITT.

Worth Any Other Two. The REVIEW is worth the price of any other two magazines put on the news stands.

MRS. EDGAR SMITH, British Columbia.

Sold Out Quick. I received the 20 REVIEWS and soon disposed of them. I would like to try 30 this time. Please send as soon as you can.

COMRADE STANLEY, Pennsylvania.

PHILADELPHIA SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOL—150 STRONG.
(See page 794, May Review.)

Young Rebels' Magazine.—We are glad to see the Young Rebels Literary Digest, a new Socialist magazine for the young folks. It is edited by Lester Bernard and sells at 5c a copy or 50c a year. Subscriptions should be sent to 925 Golden Gate avenue, San Francisco, Calif. Send in your sub and tell your friends about the new journal for young folks.

Smashing Us in Butte.—Whereas, a number of members of the Western Federation of Miners, heretofore employed in the mines at Butte, Montana, have been discharged because of their activity in the Socialist party; and

Whereas, the Western Federation of Miners stands for and advocates independent working class political action through the Socialist party, and advises its membership to engage actively in the work of the Socialist party; therefore, be it

Resolved, by said discharged and blacklisted miners, in meeting assembled this 12th day of April, 1912, that we do hereby officially advise the Western Federation of Miners, through its officers and executive board, of our situation, and ask the W. F. of M. to render to such discharged and blacklisted members as are in need, such moral and financial assistance as is required until they may either

secure other employment or be sent to other places where employment may be found.—Comrades Rissell, Kuitinen, Keturi, Ollikkala, Williams, Curran, Geick.

These resolutions were passed at a mass meeting April 12.—Frank Curran and E. L. Williams.

Comrade Williams says: "By a referendum vote our cause was defeated 4 to 1." Gradually the capitalists are weeding out the men active in Socialist circles in Butte by refusing to employ them. Is it possible that the industrialists are right when they claim that political victory means nothing permanent unless supported by a powerful industrial organization? Our friends in Butte seem to think so, and they are not going to overlook a single weapon that will help them in the class struggle.

Doing the Work. The local has instructed me to place a standing order for 20 copies of the REVIEW as soon as they come from the press. The hotter the better. They are doing the work.

COMRADE ACTON, Colorado.

What Two Little Girls Did. The REVIEW bundle did not last 25 minutes. Two girls sold them, one eight years old, the other six. Enclosed find \$2.00 for another bundle.

COMRADE COX, Amarillo, Tex.

Results from the Review. Local Puyallup is in favor of increasing its order for the REVIEW just as fast as it can. The comrades here realize that the results derived from the REVIEW are clear cut, revolutionary Socialists who see the class struggle and know its purport from the working class standpoint without the frills and confusing minor phrases used by mere politicians and office seekers who care little for the stern facts of the economic basis of all present institutions, which are bound to change as soon as the change is made economically.

COMRADE GARRETT, Washington.

From a Southern Socialist (?) Why is it that you have permitted in your Magazine an Article by Hubert H. Harrison (The Black Mans Burden), an article that is a Slap at every self Respecting white man in the South, North, East or West, an article that is full of Vile indecent fabolus Lies, and Article that is Teeming with insolence and misrepresentations, and Article that will strike a Felling of Bitterness in every White Mans Breast against the Socialist Party. and if it throws the South to the four Winds she will never have any power, for it is a fact that the Balance of Political power now lies with the South. I have been a Socialist for years and have made many members for it. but if I knew that 100 People was in the party with as little princible in their Blood and make up as this infamous Harrison I would do my all against the Party. But Mr. Editor you must have been asleep when this crept in, and allowed it with out thought. for you could if you would have obtained information that would have set this Falsifier adrift. I, myself, was raised in the North. I was raised Upon a Republican Platform my Kindred gave up their lives to Free this accursed race of People and I have spent now 20 Years among them, and will say that Your Statistics are made From Fanatical Designing men who want to still slap the South because the South is now rising to were her power can be felt. A nigger in the South and (I have lived in Several Southern States) gets more Protection more Justice than if he were in the North. He is really better treated than the poor white man. Can find Friends to help his miserable being when a white man's Appeals would not be Noticed. Now Mr. Editor for the Good of the Black Man, for the good of the white Man, and best of all for the Good of Socialism, do Repudiate this malicious Liar. Now in this County alone the Niggers get far more of Taxes than the whites per Taxes paid and this is so nearly every where I have been. It is a fact that admits no dispute that the best educated Niggers fill our chain Gangs, our low dives and the Mulatoes mostly come from well educated Negro women, and the Negro of the South today makes better wages, works less hours and lives far better than the average White man with Natural, not mimical, Talent does. I believe in justice, I believe in Equal Rights so far as the treatment of Negroes in law in

Honest dealings, but never in Social or Political Life. And the sooner the Socialists make up their minds to this and eliminate the Nigger from them, the sooner they will win the South, and when they win the South, they win the North, East and West.

Now Mr. Editor will you please do me the Justice and the South the Justice to publish this, and give it as fair a hearing. This Mud slinger ought to be made to live among some of the niggers he loves so well. It is easy indeed to gather statistics made by the same kind of men like he is, made in the interest of his lovable nigger. His manly instincts certainly goes no higher than a niggers, and goes to get the Niggers into the Socialist Party. Never will the White man that has had any experience or knowledge or has lived and made honest investigations be willing for the nigger to vote with him. much less to have him as a Brother Socialist. The nigger I admit "is a Specimen for the very purpose he claims we want them." Hewers of wood and drawers of Stone. and when he is at this and none of the vain foolish Political ideas get in his head is free and happy and knows more pleasure at hard work than at anything else, and when Men that is Men keep him there. But Fools, want to sit beside him and put their arms around him and say dear little nigger you are as good as I.— W. N. WERTZ, Thomasville, Ga. (We take pleasure in printing the above letter exactly as written, since it will give our readers a pretty fair notion of the intelligence of those who oppose applying the principles of Socialism when questions of race are involved. Our readers may expect future contributions from Comrade Harrison in early issues of the REVIEW.—Editor.)

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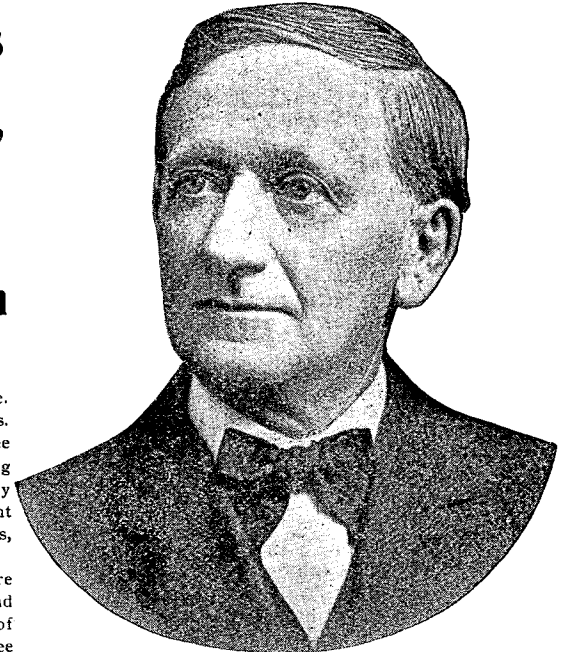
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Dear Sir:—

I began using your Appliance for the cure of Rupture (I had a pretty bad case) I think in May, 1905. On November 20, 1905, I quit using it. Since that time I have not needed or used it. I am well of rupture and rank myself among those cured by the Brooks Discovery, which, considering my age, 76 years, I regard as remarkable. Very sincerely yours, SAM A. HOOVER. Jamestown, N. C.

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Your Appliance did all you claim for the little boy, and more, for it cured him sound and well. We let him wear it for about a year in all, although it cured him 3 months after he had begun to wear it. We had tried several other remedies and got no relief, and I shall certainly recommend it to friends, for we surely owe it to you. Yours respectfully, WM. PATTERSON.

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Brooks Rupture Appliance Co. Gentlemen:—The baby's rupture is altogether cured, thanks to your appliance, and we are so thankful to you. If we could only have known of it sooner our little boy would not have had to suffer near as much as he did. He wore your brace a little over four months and has not worn it now for six weeks.

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The above is C. E. Brooks, inventor of the Appliance, who cured himself and who has been curing others for over 30 years. If ruptured, write him today.

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Please send me by mail, in plain wrapper, your illustrated book and full information about your Appliance for the cure of rupture.

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City

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Growing in New Mexico. The outlook for Socialism in New Mexico was never better. However, to fully appreciate the work being done, one must have a look from the inside rather than the outside.

The large per cent of Socialist seed that has been sown in the new state are being swollen by the waters of hope, and warmth of enthusiasm of the few comrades who never tire or allow the clouds of discouragement to intervene for a moment between them and the coveted prize.

And while the capitalistic lion is roaring against the young Socialist Samson today, tomorrow the carcass will be a Socialist beehive, and the Philistines will again be confronted with the old conundrum, "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness." Our organization consists of about 50 locals well scattered throughout the state, with something like 400 dues members. None of them are strong in number, but in each and all are a few who have no idea what the word quit means. The great mass of the English speaking people here are in the peculiar psychological state which invariably precedes a period of intense activity.

Hope in the old is lost, faith in the new is weak and flickering. Truly they are in the "shadow of the valley of death" and Socialism is the "great light" that is to spring up to them.

They are willing for a change, but their faith in the new is too weak yet to move them to action. They have been so accustomed to having all things politically done for them that it is a difficult matter to get them to act for themselves.

Add to all this the fact that many of our locals are composed of farmers who are scattered over a large area of country, rendering it very difficult for them to meet, and you can readily see why our showing is far below par.

Several lecturers have been employed in different parts of the state to good advantage. Comrade Kate Richard O'Hare and Comrade P. G. Zimmerman of Texas have delivered lectures and left a marked influence for the cause behind them.

We will have a number of encampments this summer. We will take part at the Mountainair Chataqua this summer, on "Political Day," and expect to have a speaker who will do honor to the cause.

So far we have been able to maintain only a kind of a "loose herding" system of organization in New Mexico, but we are planning a general "roundup" this summer, and we serve notice on the two old parties that the old maverick custom will be revived and the Socialist brand be placed on everything that we can get our propaganda rope on.

We have but one paper in the state that espouses the cause of Socialism—the St Vrain Journal. The editor, W. C. Thorp, is a full-fledged Revolutionary Socialist, whose editorials give forth no uncertain sounds, and his paper deserves the enthusiastic support of all Socialists in New Mexico. LURLYNE LAYNE, State Sec'y S. P., New Mexico.

The Outlook in Indiana for a big campaign, a large membership and a large vote is all that the veterans in the movement could expect. During the past year the membership of the party has doubled and I am confident that it will again double this year. Never at any time has there been so many inquiries from towns and localities that we have never heard from before. There are constant requests for speakers from all sections of the state now and six or seven speakers will be required to fill the applications for meetings.

During the last three months of 1911 the average membership was 3,122. In January and February of this year the average membership, based on the payment of dues, is 4,610. This is an example of the steady growth of the party.

The party is also united in the state and at the next meeting of the executive committee a long campaign, beginning in May, will be mapped out. The capitalist parties have made the usual blunders and it will not be surprising if we capture some of their strongholds, especially in the mining regions.

That there will be a large increase in the vote goes without saying. One of the lyceum lecturers predicts that it will be near 50,000. This may be above the mark, but we will not be surprised if it comes close to it

JAMES ONEAL.

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"I have made a faithful trial of the Sargol treatment and must say it has brought me new life and vigor. I have gained twenty pounds and now weigh 170 pounds, and, what is better, I have gained the days of my boyhood. It has been the turning point of my life."

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"Please send me another ten-day treatment. I am well pleased with Sargol. It has been the light of my life. I am getting back to my proper weight again. When I began to take Sargol I only weighed 138 pounds, and now, four weeks later, I am weighing 158 pounds and feeling fine."

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"Here is my report since taking Sargol treatment. I am a man 67 years of age and was all run down to the very bottom. I had to quit work, as I was so weak. Now, thanks to Sargol, I look like a new man. I gained 22 pounds with 23 days' treatment. I cannot tell you how happy I feel."

MRS. VERNIE ROUSE says:

"Sargol is certainly the grandest treatment I ever used. I took only two boxes of Sargol. My weight was 120 pounds, and now I weigh 140 and feel better than I have for five years. I am now as fleshy as I want to be and shall certainly recommend Sargol, for it does just exactly what you say it will do."

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Great Gains in Pennsylvania.—"The outlook for an aggressive and effective campaign in Pennsylvania is very bright. From every portion of the state we are receiving reports of activities on the part of locals and branches. Besides the speakers being toured by the state office—usually running from six to eight—there are hundreds of comrades developing their talent along this line and holding meetings in their own localities, that are of considerable influence in arousing and educating the workers to the necessity of getting together at the ballot-box. Industrial conditions in our state are such as to prepare a fertile field for Socialist agitation and progress. The great majority of the workers are in a state of want and oppression that, it seems to me, would be comparable only to the conditions in Russia. The strikes and lock-outs in many localities are evidencing the class struggle so plainly that even the most stupid can no longer be deceived into misapprehension or ignorance of its existence. Our Socialist organization, while nothing like we would like to see it, is much better prepared than ever before to carry on the work of propaganda and organization and we believe that big results will be apparent when the campaign ends next November."

"The membership, as indicated by purchases of due stamps, for January, February and March would indicate 13,500 paid-up members, which would possibly indicate seventeen or eighteen thousand within the limits of legal standing. This is about three times the number we had at the beginning of last year and indicates something of the progress that we have been making in our state."

"We believe there are fair chances for landing some members in the state legislature and if the coal strike materializes, it may be possible that a congressman or two might also be put into Washington. We are planning to push through a large number of speakers and these, with the twelve or fifteen counties employing their own organizers, are bound to have a powerful influence in strengthening the organization and continually fitting us for larger and better work."

"There are in the neighborhood of twenty-five or thirty local Socialist papers in our state, in addition to three or four of state-wide circulation. All this gives promise of a vigorous and enthusiastic campaign that is bound to show results when the ballots are counted."

Yours in the Cause

ROBERT B. RINGLER, State Sec'y.

A Little More of the Same. Enclosed find money for which send me 15 more copies of the May REVIEW. I have sold the 50 I ordered before.

COMRADE ROSEN, Illinois.

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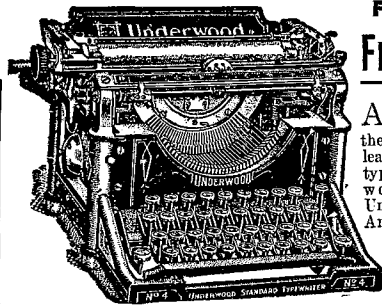
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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT
An Indispensable Book

IN the first stages of the Socialist movement in the United States, the propaganda literature was mainly reprints of the works of European Socialists, or works based upon European conditions.

Although the Socialist theory and philosophy applies to all countries, yet it is much easier to interest and enlighten the tens of millions of American workers in the conditions of their own country. Given the facts and their interpretation, the conversion of the working class reader to Socialism is inevitable.

This original service was first done by Gustavus Myers in his "History of the Great American Fortunes." In this comprehensive work Myers revealed the origin and sources of the vast private fortunes of the magnates who rule us industrially and politically. No longer did Socialists have to generalize on the robberies and other exploitations of the master class. The facts disinterred from a huge mass of official documents and court records are arrayed in detail in the "History of the Great American Fortunes." Their accuracy has not been disputed, nor can be.

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But another illuminative and original work has been completed by Gustavus Myers which is of equal, if not greater importance to the Socialist movement.

In this vast work, "The History of the Supreme Court of the United States," Myers presents, for the first time, the specific proofs of the rigging and juggling of our "exalted tribunal" by the capitalist class, and how from the foundation of the government to the present time the capitalists have packed that court with their retainers and tools.

It is a work, however, that is far more than its title implies. Without attempting to wander into theory, and confining itself strictly to the facts, it is an entirely original presentation of the whole process

of capitalist development and plundering from the settlement of America down to this very day. Under existing institutions this despoilment could not have been consummated as successfully and as adroitly had it not been for the courts.

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"The History of the Supreme Court of the United States" is not an academic work. In a simple, forceful style, Myers tells the narrative. It is a narrative that would have delighted Karl Marx, for the facts absolutely prove anew that in defining society into a conflict of classes, Marx—that great genius—was unerringly right. "The History of the Supreme Court of the United States" shows how from the settlement of the United States the governing power has either been the dominant section or sections of the ruling class or their representatives. It presents a vivid picture of the condition of the working class and that of their masters before the American Revolution. It shows how while the master class was defrauding and plundering in every direction, it was passing rigid laws to hold the workers in subjection. It gives the facts showing how the revolution was a rebellion of the traders and estate landlords, nearly every one of whom was engaged in some great plundering scheme. It details how these same plunderers drafted the Constitution of the United States, and manipulated it and state constitutions and laws against the working class. It brings out new and hitherto unknown facts of the underlying composition of the Supreme Court to the present time, and describes how almost every great predatory measure or scheme has been sanctioned by the Supreme Court. It gives fact upon fact proving

that the Supreme Court is the grand formal sanctioning committee of the capitalist class to approve and embed into law the despoilment and exploitation of the working class. At every point it shows the economic interests behind the changing personnel of the Supreme Court.

It is a work that will as deeply interest the farmer as the industrial laborer. The facts described will reveal to the 2,300,000 tenant farmers in the United States why and how the land on which many of them miserably exist—land once public domain—is now in the grasp of capitalists. The industrial worker, deep in poverty, and not knowing what to do about it, will find in this work the proof that it is the capitalist system that has crushed him, and that the courts which he has been taught to revere are simply the facile tools of the capitalist system that has reduced him and his family to poverty and degradation. And no Socialist propagandist can afford to omit reading this momentous work. Here he will find the facts that he has long been looking for but has been unable to get—facts which are the result of years of arduous research in the archives, facts that cannot be controverted.

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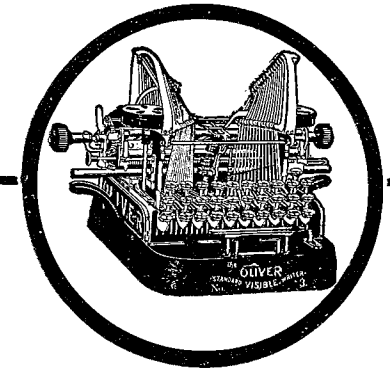
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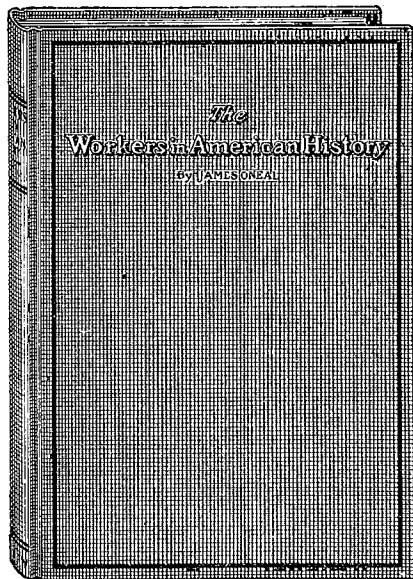
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